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Whitehall, May 23. 1679.

THis Book, entituled [*The Hiſtory of the Reformation of the Church of ENGLAND*] having been peruſed and approved by Perſons of eminent Quality, and ſeveral Divines of great Piety and Learning, who have recommended it as a Work very fit to be made publick, as well for the Uſefulneſs of the Matter, as for the Induſtry and Integrity the Author hath uſed in compiling of it; the Honourable Mr. Secretary *Coventry* doth therefore allow it to be Printed and Publiſhed.

JO. COOKE.

 Printed for Ric: Chiſwell, at the Roſe and Crowne in St. Pauls Church yard.

Vol I

THE
Historie of the
REFORMATION
of the
CHURCH of ENGLAND
RELIGION
SUPERSTITION
THE POPES
SUPREMACY
POPES
DECREES
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LONDON
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THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

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The First Part,

OF THE

Progreſs made in it during the Reign

OF

K. Henry the VIII.

By *GILBERT BURNET.*

LONDON,

Printed by *T. H.* for *Richard Chiſwell*, at the Roſe and Crown in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, MDCLXXIX.

TO THE KING.

SIR,

THE firſt ſtep that was made in the *Reformation* of this Church, was the reſtoring to your Royal Anceſtors the Rights of the Crown, and an entire Dominion over all their Subjects; of which they had been diſſeiſed by the craft and violence of an unjuſt Pretender: to whom the Clergy, though your Majeſties Progenitors had enriched them, by a bounty no leſs profuſe than ill-managed, did not only adhere, but drew with them the Laity, over whoſe Conſciences they had gained ſo abſolute an Authority, that our Kings were to expect no Obedience from their people, but what the Popes were pleaſed to allow.

It is true, the Nobler part of the Nation did frequently in Parliament, aſſert the Regal Prerogatives againſt thoſe Papal invaſions; yet theſe were but faint endeavours, for an ill-executed Law is but an unequal match to a Principle ſtrongly infuſed into the Conſciences of the people.

But how different was this from the teaching of Chriſt and his Apoſtles? They forbad men to uſe all thoſe Arts by which the Papacy grew up and yet ſubſiſts:

ſiſts: They exhorted them to obey Magiſtrates, when they knew it would coſt them their Lives : They were for ſetting up a Kingdom, not of this World, nor to be attained but by a holy and peaceable Religion. If this might every-where take place, Princes would find Government both eaſie and ſecure : It would raiſe in their Subjects the trueſt courage, and unite them with the firmeſt charity : It would draw from them Obedience to the Laws, and Reverence to the perſons of their Kings. If the Standards of Juſtice and Charity, which the Goſpel gives, of doing as we would be done by, and loving our Neighbours as our ſelves, were made the meaſures of mens actions, how ſteadily would Societies be governed, and how exactly would Princes be obeyed!

The deſign of the *Reformation*, was to reſtore Chriſtianity to what it was at firſt, and to purge it of thoſe Corruptions, with which it was over-run in the later and darker Ages.

GREAT SIR, This work was carryed on by a ſlow and unſteady Progreſs under King *Henry* the VIII; it advanced in a fuller and freer courſe under the ſhort but bleſſed Reign of King *Edward*; was Sealed with the blood of many Martyrs under Queen *Mary*; was brought to a full ſettlement in the happy and glorious days of Queen *Elizabeth*; was defended by the learned Pen of King *James*; but the eſtabliſhed frame of it, under which it had ſo long flouriſhed, was overthrown with your Majeſties bleſſed Father, who fell with it, and honoured it by his unexempled Suffering for it; and was again reſtored to its former beauty and order, by your Majeſties happy Return.

What

What remains to compleat and perpetuate this Bleſſing, the compoſing of our differences at home, the eſtabliſhing a cloſer correſpondence with the Reformed Churches abroad, the ſecuring us from the reſtleſs and wicked practices of that Party, who hoped ſo lately to have been at the end of their deſigns; and that which can only entitle us to a Bleſſing from God, the Reforming of our manners and lives, as our Anceſtors did our Doctrine and Worſhip; All this is reſerved for your Majeſty, that it may appear, that your Royal Title of Defender of the Faith is no empty ſound, but the real ſtrength and Glory of your Crown.

For attaining theſe ends, it will be of great uſe to trace the ſteps of our firſt Reformers; for if the landmarks they ſet be obſerved, we can hardly go out of the way. This was my chief deſign in the following ſheets, which I now moſt humbly offer to your Majeſty, hoping that as you were graciouſly pleaſed to command that I ſhould have free acceſs to all *Records* for compoſing them, ſo you will not deny your Royal Patronage to the Hiſtory of that Work, which God grant your Majeſty may live to raiſe to its perfection, and to compleat in your Reign the Glory of all your Titles. This is a part of the moſt earneſt as well as the daily Prayers of,

May it pleaſe Your Sacred Majeſty,

Your Majeſties moſt Loyal,

moſt Faithful, and moſt

devoted Subject and Servant,

G. BURNET.

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The

THE
PREFACE.

THere is no Part of Hiſtory better received than the Account of great Changes, and Revolutions of States and Governments, in which the Variety of unlooked-for Accidents and Events, both entertains the Reader and improves him.

Of all Changes, thoſe in Religion that have been ſudden and ſignal, are enquired into with the moſt ſearching Curioſity: where the Salvation of Souls being concern'd, the better ſort are much affected; and the Credit, Honour, and Intereſt of Churches and Parties draw in theſe, who though they do not much care for the Religious part, yet make noiſe about it to ſerve other Ends. The Changes that were made in Religion in the laſt Century have produc'd ſuch effects everywhere, that it is no wonder if all perſons deſire to ſee a clear account of the ſeveral ſteps in which they advanced, of the Counſels that directed them, and the Motives both Religious and Political that enclined men of all conditions to concur in them. Germany *produced a* Sleidan, France *a* Thuanus, *and* Italy *a* Frier Paul, *who have given the World as full ſatisfaction in what was done beyond Sea as they could deſire. And though the two laſt lived and died in the Communion of the Church of* Rome, *yet they have delivered things to Poſterity, with ſo much Candour and Evenneſs, that their Authority is diſputed by none but thoſe of their own Party.*

But while Forreign Churches have ſuch Hiſtorians, ours at home have not had the like good fortune: for whether it was, that the Reformers at firſt preſumed ſo far on their Legal and calm proceedings, on the continued Succeſſion of their Clergie, the Authority of the Law, and the Protection of the Prince, that they judged it needleſs to write an Hiſtory, and therefore employed their beſt pens, rather to juſtifie what they did, than to deliver how it was done; or whether by a meer neglect the thing was omitted, we cannot determine. True it is, that it was not done to any degree of Exactneſs, when matters were ſo freſh in mens memories, that things might have been opened with greater Advantages, and vouch'd by better Authority, than it is to be expected at this diſtance.

They were ſoon after much provok'd by Sanders *Hiſtory, which he publiſhed to the World in Latine: yet either deſpiſing a writer, who did ſo impudently deliver falſhoods, that from his own Book many of them may be diſproved, or expecting a Command from Authority, they did not then ſet about it. The beſt account I can give of their ſilence is, that moſt of* Sanders *Calumnies being levelled at Queen* Elizabeth, *whoſe birth and parents he deſigned chiefly to diſgrace, it was thought too tender a point by her wiſe Counſellors to be much enquired into: it gave too great credit to his Lies, to anſwer them; an anſwer would draw forth a Reply, by which thoſe Calumnies would ſtill be kept alive; and therefore it was not without good reaſon thought better*

better to let them lie unanſwered and deſpiſed. From whence it is come that in this age that Author is in ſuch Credit, that now he is quoted with much aſſurance: moſt of all the writers in the Church of Rome, *relie on his teſtimony as a good authority. The Collectors of the General Hiſtory of that Age, follow his thred cloſely, ſome of them tranſcribe his very words. One* Pollini *a Dominican, publiſhed an Hiſtory of the Changes that were made in* England, *in* Italian *at* Rome Anno. 1594. *which he ſhould more ingenuouſly have called a Tranſlation, or Paraphraſe of* Sanders *Hiſtory: and of late more candidly, but no leſs maliciouſly, one of the beſt pens of* France *has been employed to tranſlate him into their language, which has created ſuch prejudices in the minds of many there, that our Reformation, which generally was more modeſtly ſpoken of, even by thoſe who wrote againſt it, is now look'd on by ſuch as read* Sanders, *and believe him, as one of the fouleſt things that ever was.*

Fox *for all his Voluminous Work, had but few things in his eye when he made his Collection, and deſigned only to diſcover the Corruptions and Cruelties of the Roman Clergie, and the Sufferings and Conſtancy of the Reformers. But his work was written in haſte, and there are ſo many defects in it, that it can by no means be called a Compleat Hiſtory of theſe times; though I muſt add, that having compared his Acts and Monuments with the Records, I have never been able to diſcover any errors or prevarications in them, but the utmoſt fidelity and exactneſs.* Parker *Arch-biſhop of* Canterbury, *deſigned only in his account of the* Britiſh Antiquities, *to do juſtice and honour to his See, and ſo gives us barely the life of* Cranmer, *with ſome few and general hints of what he did.* Hall *was but a ſuperficial Writer, and was more careful to get full informations of the Cloaths that were worn at the Interviews of Princes, Fuſts, Tournaments, and great Solemnities, than about the Counſels, or ſecret Tranſactions of the time he lived in.* Holingſhead, Speed, *and* Stow, *give but bare Relations of things that were Publick, and commit many faults. Upon their ſcent moſt of our later Writers have gone, and have only collected and repeated what they wrote.*

The Lord Herbert *judged it unworthy of him to trifle as others had done, and therefore made a more narrow ſearch into Records and original Papers, than all that had gone before him; and with great fidelity and induſtry, has given us the Hiſtory of King* Henry *the Eighth. But in the Tranſactions that concern Religion, he dwells not ſo long as the matter required, leaving thoſe to men of another Profeſſion, and judging it perhaps not ſo proper for one of his condition to purſue a full and accurate Deduction of thoſe matters.*

Since he wrote, two have undertaken the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, Fuller *and* Heylin. *The former got into his hands ſome few Papers, that were not ſeen before he publiſhed them; but being a man of fancie, and affecting an odd way of writing, his work gives no great Satisfaction. But Doctor* Heylin *wrote ſmoothly and handſomly, his Method and Stile are good, and his work was generally more read than any thing that had appeared before him: but either he was very ill informed, or very much led by his Paſſions; and he being wrought on by moſt violent prejudices againſt ſome that were concerned in that time, delivers many things in ſuch a manner and ſo ſtrangely, that one would think he had been ſecretly ſet on to it by thoſe of the Church of* Rome, *though I doubt not he was a ſincere Proteſtant, but violently carried away by ſome particular conceits. In one thing he is not to be excuſed, That he never vouched any Authority for what he writ, which is*

not

not to be forgiven any, who write of Tranſactions beyond their own time, and deliver new things not known before. So that upon what grounds he wrote a great deal of his Book we can only conjecture, and many in their gueſſes are not apt to be very favourable to him.

Things being delivered to us with ſo much alloy and uncertainty, thoſe of the Church of Rome *do confidently diſparage our Reformation. The ſhort Hiſtory of it, as it is put in their mouths, being, That it was begun by the luſts and paſſions of King* Henry *the Eighth, carried on by the Ravenouſneſs of the Duke of* Summerſet, *under* Edward *the Sixth, and confirmed by the Policy of Queen* Elizabeth *and her Council to ſecure her Title. Theſe things being generally talked and ſpread abroad in Forreign parts, eſpecially in* France, *by the new Tranſlation of* Sanders, *and not being yet ſufficiently cleared, many have deſired to ſee a fuller and better account of thoſe Tranſactions than has yet been given; ſo the thing being neceſſary, I was the more encouraged to ſet about it by ſome perſons of great Worth and Eminence, who thought I had much leiſure and other good Opportunities to go through with it, and wiſhed me to undertake it. The perſon that did engage me chiefly to this work, was on many Accounts much fitter to have undertaken it himſelf, being the moſt Indefatigable in his Induſtry, and the moſt Judicious in his Obſervations, of any I know, and is one of the greateſt Maſters of Stile now living. But being engaged in the ſervice of the Church, in a ſtation that affords him very little leiſure, he ſet me on to it, and furniſhed me with a curious Collection of his own Obſervations. And in ſome ſort this work may be accounted his, for he corrected it with a moſt Critical Exactneſs; ſo that the firſt materials, and the laſt finiſhing of it, are from him. But after all this, I lie under ſuch reſtraints from his Modeſty, that I am not allowed to publiſh his name.*

I had two Objections to it, beſides the knowledg of my own unfitneſs for ſuch a work. One was my Unacquaintedneſs with the Laws and Cuſtoms of this Nation, not being born in it: the other was the Expence, that ſuch a Search as was neceſſary, required, which was not eaſie for me to bear. My acquaintance with the moſt ingenious Maſter William Petyt *Councellour of the* Inner-Temple *cleared one difficulty, he offering me his aſſiſtance and direction, without which I muſt have committed great faults. But I muſt acknowledg my ſelf highly obliged by the favour and bounty of the Honourable Maſter of the Rolls, Sir* Harebottle Grimſtone, *of whoſe Worth and Goodneſs to me I muſt make a large digreſſion, if I would undertake to ſay all that the Subject will bear: The whole Nation expreſſed their value of him, upon the moſt Signal Occaſion, when they made him their Mouth and Speaker in that Bleſſed Aſſembly which called home their King, after which real evidence all little Commendations may be well forborn. The Obligations he has laid on me are ſuch, that as the Gratitude and Service of my whole life, is the only equal return I can make for them; ſo as a ſmall tribute I judg my ſelf obliged to make my acknowledgments in this manner, for the leiſure I enjoy under his Protection, and the Support I receive from him; and if this work does the world any ſervice, the beſt part of the Thanks is due to him, that furniſhed me with particular Opportunities of Carrying it on. Nor muſt I conceal the Nobleneſs of that Renown'd Promoter of Learning Maſter* Boyle, *who contributed liberalty to the Expence this Work put me to.*

Upon theſe encouragements I ſet about it, and began with the Search of all Publick Records and Offices, the Parliament *and* Treaty-Rolls *with all the* Patent-

Patent-Rolls, *and the Regiſters of the Sees of* Canterbury *and* London, *and of the* Augmentation-Office. *Then I laid out for all the MSS. I could hear of, and found things beyond my Expectation in the famous* Cotton *Library, where there is ſuch a Collection of Original Papers relating to theſe times, as perhaps the World can ſhew nothing like it. I had alſo the favour of ſome MSS. of great value, both from the Famous and eminently Learned Doctor* Stillingfleet, *who gave me great Aſſiſtance in this work, and from Mr.* Petyt *and others. When I had look'd theſe over, I then uſed all the Endeavours I could, to gather together the Books that were printed in thoſe days, from which I not only got conſiderable hints of matters of Fact, but (that which I chiefly look'd for) the Arguments upon which they managed the Controverſies then on foot, of which I thought it was the part of an Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtorian to give an Account, as I could recover them, that it may appear upon what motives and grounds they proceeded.*

The Three chief Periods of Henry *the Eighth his Reign, in which Religion is concerned, are, Firſt, From the beginning of his Reign, till the Proceſs of his Divorce with Queen* Katharine *commenced. The Second is from that, till his total Breaking off from* Rome, *and ſetting up his Supremacy over all Cauſes and Perſons. The Third is from that, to his Death.*

When I firſt ſet about this Work, I intended to have carryed on the Hiſtory of the Reformation to the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, *in which it was finiſhed and fully ſetled; but I was forced to change that Reſolution. The chief reaſon, among many others, was, that I have not yet been able to diſcover ſuch full Informations of what paſſed under the Succeeding Reigns, as were neceſſary for a Hiſtory; and though I have ſearch't the publick Regiſters of that time, yet I am ſtill in the dark my ſelf in many particulars. This made me reſolve on publiſhing this Volume firſt, hoping that thoſe in whoſe hands any Manuſcripts or Papers of that time lie, will from what is now performed, be encouraged to Communicate them: or if any have made a conſiderable Progreſs in thoſe Collections, I ſhall be far from envying them the honour of ſuch a work, in which it had been inexcuſable Vanity in me to have medled, if the deſires of others, who have great Power over me, had not prevailed with me to ſet about it. And therefore, though I have made a good Advance in the following part of the Work, I ſhall moſt willingly reſign it up to any who will undertake it, and they ſhall have the free uſe of all my Papers. But if none will ſet about it, who yet can furniſh materials towards it, I hope their zeal for carrying on ſo deſired a Work, will engage them to give all the help to it that is in their Power.*

There is only one paſſage belonging to the next Volume, which I ſhall take notice of here, ſince from it I muſt plead my Excuſe for ſeveral defects, which may ſeem to be in this Work. In the Search I made of the Rolls and other Offices, I wondred much to miſs ſeveral Commiſſions, Patents, and other Writings, which by clear evidence I knew were Granted, and yet none of them appeared on record. This I could not impute to any thing but the omiſſion of the Clerks, who failed in the enrolling thoſe Commiſſions, though it was not likely that matters of ſo high Concernment ſhould have been neglected, eſpecially in ſuch a Critical time, and under ſo ſevere a King. But as I continued down my ſearch to the Fourth year of Queen Mary, *I found in the Twelvth Roll of that year, a Commiſſion, which cleared all my former doubts, and by which I ſaw what was become of the things I had ſo anxiouſly ſearched after. We have heard of the Expurgation of Books practiſed*

ſed in the Church of Rome, *but it might have been imagined, that publick Regiſters and Records would have been ſafe; yet leſt theſe ſhould have been afterwards Confeſſors, it was reſolved they ſhould then be Martyrs; for on the 29th of* December, *in the 4th year of her Reign, a Commiſſion was iſſued out under the great Seal to* Bonner *Biſhop of* London, Cole *Dean of St.* Pauls, *and* Martine *a Doctor of the Civil Law, which is of that importance, that I ſhall here inſert the material words of it:* Whereas it is come to our knowledg, that in the time of the late Schiſme diverſe Compts, Books, Scrolls, Inſtruments, and other writings were practiſed, deviſed, and made, concerning Profeſſions againſt the Popes Holineſs, and the See Apoſtolick; and alſo ſundry infamous Scrutinies taken in Abbeys and other Religious houſes, tending rather to ſubvert and overthrow all good Religion and Religious houſes, than for any truth contained therein: Which being in the Cuſtody of divers Regiſters, and we intending to have thoſe writings brought to knowledg, whereby they may be Conſidered and ordered according to our will and pleaſure; *thereupon, thoſe three or any two of them are empowered* to cite any perſons before them, and examine them upon the Premiſſes upon Oath, and to bring all ſuch Writings before them, and certifie their diligence about it to Cardinal *Pool*, that further order might be given about them.

When I ſaw this, I ſoon knew which way ſo many Writings had gone: and as I could not but wonder at their boldneſs, who thus preſumed to raze ſo many Records; ſo their ingenuity in leaving this Commiſſion in the Rolls, by which any who had the Curioſity to ſearch for it, might be ſatisfied how the other Commiſſions were deſtroyed, was much to be commended. Yet in the following Work, it will appear that ſome few Papers eſcaped their hands.

I know it is needleſs to make great Proteſtations of my ſincerity in this Work. Theſe are of courſe and are little conſidered, but I ſhall take a more effectual way to be believed, for I ſhall vouch my Warrants for what I ſay, and tell where they are to be found. And having copied out of Records and MSS. many Papers of great importance, I ſhall not only inſert the ſubſtance of them in the following Work, but at the end of it ſhall give a Collection of them at their full length, and in the Language in which they were originally written: from which as the Reader will receive full Evidence of the truth of this Hiſtory; ſo he will not be ill pleaſed, to obſerve the Genius and way of the Great men in that time, of which he will be better able to judge, by ſeeng their Letters and other Papers, than by any repreſentation made of them at ſecond hand. They are digeſted into that order, in which they are referred to in the Hiſtory.

It will ſurprize ſome to ſee a Book of this Bigneſs, written of the Hiſtory of our Reformation, under the Reign of King Henry *the Eighth: ſince the true beginnings of it, are to be reckoned from the Reign of King* Edward, *the 6. in which the Articles of our Church, and the Forms of our Worſhip, were firſt compiled and ſet forth by Authority. And indeed in King* Henry's *time the Reformation, was rather conceived than brought forth, and two Parties were in the laſt* 18 *years of his Reign ſtrugling in the Womb, having now and then advantages, on either ſide, as the unconſtant humour of that King changed, and as his Intereſts, and often as his paſſions ſwayed him.*

Cardinal Wolſey *had ſo diſſolved his mind into pleaſures, and puffed him up with Flattery and ſervile Compliances, that it was not an eaſie thing to ſerve him; for being boiſterous and impatient naturally, which was much heightned*

heightned by his moſt extravagant vanity, and high conceit of his own Learning and Viſdom, he was one of the moſt uncounſellable perſons in the World.

The Book which he wrote, had engaged him deep in theſe Controverſies, and by perpetual flatteries, he was brought to fancie it was written with ſome degrees of inſpiration. And Luther *in his anſwer had treated him ſo unmannerly, that it was only the neceſſity of his Affairs, that forced him into any correſpondence with that Party in* Germany.

And though Cranmer *and* Cromwel *improved every advantage, that either the Kings temper, or his Affairs offered them, as much as could be; yet they were to be pitied, having to do with a Prince, who upon the ſlighteſt pretences threw down thoſe whom he had moſt advanced; which* Cromwel *felt ſeverely, and* Cranmer *was ſometimes near it.*

The faults of this King being ſo conſpicuous, and the ſeverity of his proceedings ſo unjuſtifiable, particularly that heinous violation of the moſt ſacred Rules of Juſtice and Government, in condemning men without bringing them to make their Anſwers; moſt of our Writers have ſeparated the Concerns of this Church from his Reign: and imagining that all he did, was founded only on his Revenge upon the Court of Rome, *for denying his Divorce, have taken little care to examine how matters were tranſacted in his time.*

But if we conſider the great things that were done by him, we muſt acknowledge that there was a ſignal providence of God, in raiſing up a King of his temper, for clearing the way to that bleſſed Work that followed: and that could hardly have been done, but by a man of his humour; ſo that I may very fitly apply to him the witty Simile of an ingenious writer, who compares Luther *to a* Poſtilion *in his waxed Boots and oiled Coat, laſhing his horſes through thick and thin, and beſpattering all about him.*

This Character befits King Henry *better (ſaving the Reverence due to his Crown) who as the* Poſtilion of Reformation, *made way for it through a great deal of mire and filth. He aboliſhed the Popes Power, by which not only that Tyranny was deſtroyed, which had been long an heavie burthen on this oppreſſed Nation; but all the Opinions, Rites, and Conſtitutions, for which there was no better Authority than Papal Decrees, were to fall to the ground; The Foundation that ſupported them being thus ſapped. He ſuppreſſed all the Monaſteries; in which though there were ſome inexcuſable faults committed, yet he wanted not reaſon to do what he did. For the Foundation of thoſe Houſes being laid on the Superſtitious Conceit of Redeeming Souls out of Purgatory, by ſaying Maſſes for them; they whoſe Office that was, had by counterfeiting Relicks, by forging of Miracles, and other like Impoſtures, drawn together a vaſt wealth, to the enriching of their Saints, of whom ſome perhaps were damn'd Souls, and others were never in being. Theſe arts being detected, and withal their great Viciouſneſs in ſome places, and in all, their great abuſe of the Chriſtian Religion, made it ſeem unfit they ſhould be continued. But it was their dependence on the See of* Rome, *which, as the ſtate of things then was, made it neceſſary that they ſhould be ſuppreſt. New Foundations might have done well, and the ſcantneſs of thoſe, conſidering the number and wealth of thoſe which were ſuppreſſed, is one of the great blemiſhes of that Reign. But it was in vain to endeavour to amend the old ones. Their numbers were ſo great, their Riches and Intereſts in the Nation ſo conſiderable; that a Prince of Ordinary mettal would not have attempted ſuch a deſign, much leſs have compleated it in Five years time. With theſe fell the Superſtition of Images, Reliques, and the Redemption of Souls out of*

Purgatory.

Purgatory. And thoſe Extravagant Addreſſes to Saints that are in the Roman Offices were thrown out, only an Ora pro nobis *was kept up, and even that was left to the liberty of Prieſts, to leave it out of the Litanies as they ſaw cauſe. Theſe were great preparations for a Reformation. But it went further, and two things were done, upon which a greater Change was reaſonably to be expected. The Scriptures were Tranſlated into the* Engliſh *tongue, and ſet up in all Churches, and every one was admitted to read them, and they alone were declared the Rule of Faith. This could not but open the eyes of the Nation, who finding a profound ſilence in theſe writings about many things, and a direct oppoſition to other things that were ſtill retained, muſt needs conclude, even without deep Speculations or nice Diſputing, that many things that were ſtill in the Church had no ground in Scripture, and ſome of the reſt were directly contrary to it. This* Cranmer *knew well would have ſuch an operation, and therefore made it his chief buſineſs to ſet it forward, which in Concluſion he happily effected.*

Another thing was alſo eſtabliſhed, which opened the way to all that followed: That every National Church was a Compleat Body within it ſelf, ſo that the Church of England, *with the Authority and Concurrence of their Head, and King, might examine and Reform all Errors and Corruptions, whether in Doctrine or Worſhip. All the Provincial Councils in the ancient Church, were ſo many Precedents for this, who condemned Hereſies, and Reformed abuſes as the occaſion required. And yet theſe being all but parts of one Empire, there was leſs reaſon for their doing it, without ſtaying for a General Council, which depended upon the pleaſure of one man (the* Roman *Emperor) than could be pretended, when* Europe *was divided into ſo many Kingdoms: By which a common Concurrence of all theſe Churches was a thing ſcarce to be expected; and therefore this Church muſt be in a very ill Condition, if there could be no endeavours for a Reformation, till all the reſt were brought together.*

The Grounds of the new-Covenant between God and man in Chriſt, were alſo truly ſtated, and the terms on which Salvation was to be hoped for, were faithfully opened according to the New-Teſtament. And this being in the ſtrict notion of the word, the Goſpel, *and the glad tidings preached through our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour, it muſt be confeſſed that there was a great Progreſs made, when the Nation was well inſtructed about it; though there was ſtill an alloy of other Corruptions, embaſing the Purity of the Faith. And indeed in the whole progreſs of theſe changes, the Kings deſign ſeemed to have been to terrifie the Court of* Rome, *and cudgel the Pope into a Compliance with what he deſired: for in his heart he continued addicted to ſome of the moſt extravagant Opinions of that Church, ſuch as Tranſubſtantiation and the other Corruptions in the Maſs, ſo that he was to his lives end more Papiſt than Proteſtant.*

There are two Prejudices, which men have generally drunk in againſt that time. The one is, from the Kings great Enormities, both in his perſonal Deportment and Government, which make many think, no good could be done by ſo ill a man, and ſo cruel a Prince. I am not to defend him nor to leſſen his faults. The vaſtneſs and irregularity of his Expence procured many heavy Exactions, and twice extorted a publick Diſcharge of his debts, embaſed the Coin, with other Irregularities. His proud and impatient Spirit occaſioned many cruel proceedings. The taking ſo many lives, only for denying his Supremacy, particularly Fiſher's *and* More's, *the one being extreme old,*

and

and the other one of the Glories of his Nation, for Probity and Learning: The taking advantage from ſome Eruptions in the North, to break the Indempnity he had before proclaimed to thoſe in the Rebellion, even though they could not be proved Guilty of thoſe ſecond diſorders: His extreme Severity to all Cardinal Pool's *Family: his cruel uſing, firſt* Cromwel, *and afterwards the Duke of* Norfolk *and his Son, beſides his un-exampled Proceedings againſt ſome of his Wives; and that which was worſt of all, The laying a Precedent for the ſubverſion of Juſtice, and oppreſſing the cleareſt Innocence, by attainting men without hearing them: Theſe are ſuch remarkable blemiſhes, that as no man of ingenuity can go about the whitening them; ſo the poor Reformers drunk ſo deep of that bitter cup, that it very ill becomes any of their followers, to endeavour to give fair Colours to thoſe red and bloody Characters, with which ſo much of his Reign is ſtained.*

Yet after all this ſad enumeration, it was no new nor unuſual thing in the methods of Gods Providence, to employ Princes who had great mixtures of very groſs faults, to do ſignal things for his Service. Not to mention David *and* Solomon, *whoſe ſins were expiated with a ſevere Repentance; it was the bloody* Cyrus *that ſent back the Jews to their Land, and gave them leave to re-build their Temple.* Conſtantine *the Great is by ſome of his Enemies, charged with many blemiſhes both in his Life, and Government.* Clovis *of* France *under whom that Nation received the Chriſtian Faith, was a monſter of Cruelty and Perfidiouſneſs, as even* Gregory *of* Tours *repreſents him, who lived near his time, and nevertheleſs makes a Saint of him.* Charles *the Great; whom ſome alſo make a Saint, both put away his wife for a very ſlight cauſe, and is ſaid to have lived in moſt unnatural luſts with his own Daughter.* Irene *whom the Church of* Rome *magnifies, as the Reſtorer of their Religion in the Eaſt, did both contrary to the Impreſſions of Nature, and of her Sex, put out her own Sons eyes, of which he died ſoon after, with many other execrable things. And whatever Reproaches thoſe of the Church of* Rome *caſt on the Reformation, upon the account of this Kings faults, may be eaſily turned back on their Popes, who have never failed to court and extol Princes that ſerved their ends, how groſs and ſcandalous ſoever their other faults have been. As* Phocas, Brunichild, Irene, Mathildis, Edgar *of* England, *and many more. But our Church is not near ſo much concerned in the perſons of thoſe Princes, under whom the Reformation began, as theirs is in the perſons of their Popes, who are believed to have far higher Characters of a Divine Power and Spirit in them, than other Princes pretend to. And yet if the lives of thoſe Popes, who have made the greateſt advances in their Juriſdiction be examined, particularly* Gregory *the Seventh, and* Boniface *the Eighth, vices more eminent, than any can be charged on King* Henry, *will be found in them. And if a leud and wicked Pope may yet have the holy Ghoſt dwelling in him, and directing him infallibly; why may not an ill King do ſo good a Work as ſet a Reformation forward, And if it were proper to enter into a diſſection of Four of thoſe Popes, that ſate at* Rome *during this Reign,* Pope Julius *will be found beyond him in a vaſt Ambition, whoſe bloody Reign did not only embroil* Italy, *but a great part of Chriſtendome. Pope* Leo *the Tenth was as extravagant and prodigal in his expence, which put him on baſer Shifts, than ever this King uſed, to raiſe money; not by embaſing the Coin, or raiſing new and heavie taxes, but by embaſing the Chriſtian Religion, and proſtituting the pardon of ſin in that foul trade of Indulgences.* Clement *the*

Seventh

Seventh was falſe to the higheſt degree; a vice which cannot be charged on this King. And Paul *the 3d. was a vile and lewd Prieſt, who not only kept his whore, but gloried in it, and raiſed one of his Baſtards to an high Dignity, making him Prince of* Parma *and* Piacenza; *and himſelf is ſaid to have lived in Inceſt with others of them. And except the ſhort Reign of* Hadrian *the Sixth, there was no Pope at* Rome *all this while, whoſe example might make any other Prince bluſh for his faults; ſo that* Guicciardine, *when he calls Pope* Clement *a good Pope, adds,* I mean not Goodneſs Apoſtolical, for in thoſe days he was eſteemed a good Pope, that did not exceed the wickedneſs of the worſt of men.

In ſum, Gods ways are a great deep, who has often ſhewed his Power and Wiſdom, in raiſing up unlikely and unpromiſing inſtruments, to do great ſervices in the World; not always employing the beſt men in them, leſt good Inſtruments ſhould ſhare too deep in the Praiſes of that, which is only due to the Supreme Creator and Governour of the World. And therefore he will ſtain the pride of all Glory, *that* ſuch as Glory may only Glory in the Lord. Jehu *did an acceptable Service to God, in deſtroying the Idolatry of* Baal, *though neither the way of doing it be to be imitated, being groſly inſincere, nor was the Reformation compleat, ſince the Worſhipping the two Calves was ſtill kept up; and it is very like, his chief deſign in it, was to deſtroy all the Party that favoured* Ahab's *Family; yet the thing was good and was rewarded by God: So whatever this Kings other faults were, and how defective ſoever the Change he made was, and upon what ill motives ſoever it may ſeem to have proceeded; yet the things themſelves being good, we ought not to think the worſe of them becauſe of the Inſtrument, or manner by which they were wrought; but are to adore and admire the paths of the Divine Wiſdom, that brought about ſuch a Change, in a Church, which being ſubjected to the See of* Rome, *had been more than any other part of* Europe *moſt tame under its Oppreſſions, and was moſt deeply drenched in Superſtition: And this by the means of a Prince, who was the moſt devoted to the Intereſt of* Rome *of any in Chriſtendome, and ſeemed to be ſo upon knowledg, being very learned; and continued to the laſt much leavened with Superſtition, and was the only King in the World whom that See declared,* Defender of the Faith. *And that this ſhould have been carried on ſo far, with ſo little Oppoſition, ſome riſings though numerous and formidable being ſcattered and quieted without Blood; And that a mighty Prince, who was Victorious almoſt in all his undertakings,* Charles *the 5th. and was both provoked in point of Honour and Intereſt, yet could never find one ſpare ſeaſon to turn his Arms upon* England, *are great Demonſtrations of a particular Influence of Heaven in theſe Alterations, and of its watchful care of them.*

But the other prejudice touches the Reformation in a more vital and tender part; and it is, That Cranmer *and the other Biſhops, who promoted the Reformation in the Succeeding Reign, did in this comply too ſervilly with King* Henry's *humours, both in carrying on his frequent Divorces, and in retaining thoſe Corruptions in the worſhip, which by their throwing them off in the beginning of King* Edward's *Reign, we may conclude were then condemned by them; ſo that they ſeem to have prævaricated againſt their Conſciences in that Complyance.*

It were too faint a way of Anſwering ſo ſevere a Charge, to turn it back on the Church of Rome, *and to ſhew the baſe Compliances of ſome, even of the beſt of their Popes, as* Gregory *the Great, whoſe Congratulations to*

the Uſurper Phocas, *are a ſtrain of the meaneſt, and undeceneſt flattery that ever was put in writing. And his Compliements to* Brunichild, *who was one of the greateſt Monſters both for Luſt and Cruelty that ever her Sex produced, ſhow that there was no perſon ſo wicked that he was aſhamed to flatter: but the blemiſhing them will not (I confeſs) excuſe our Reformers, therefore other things are to be conſidered for their Vindication. They did not at once attain the full knowledg of divine Truth, ſo that in ſome particulars, as in that of the Corporal Preſence in the Sacrament, both* Cranmer *and* Ridley *were themſelves then in the dark.* Bertram's *Book firſt convinced* Ridley, *and he was the chief inſtrument in opening* Cranmer's *eyes; So if themſelves were not then enlightned, they could not inſtruct others. As for other things, ſuch as the giving the Cup to the Laity, the Worſhiping God in a known tongue, and ſeveral reformations about the Maſs, though they judged them neceſſary to be done as ſoon as was poſſible; yet they had not ſo full a perſwaſion of the neceſſity of theſe, as to think it a ſin not to do them. The Prophets words to* Naaman *the* Syrian, *might give them ſome colour for that miſtake, and the practice of the Apoſtles, who continued not only to worſhip at the Temple, but to Circumciſe and to offer Sacrifices (which muſt have been done by St.* Paul, *when he purified himſelf in the Temple) even after the Law was dead, by the appearing of the Goſpel, ſeemed to excuſe their Compliance. They had alſo obſerved, that as the Apoſtles were* all things to all men, that ſo they might gain ſome; *ſo the Primitive Chriſtians had brought in many rites of Heatheniſm into their worſhip: Upon which inducements they were wrought on to comply in ſome uneaſie things, in which if theſe excuſes do not wholly clear them, yet they very much leſſen their Guilt.*

And after all this, it muſt be Confeſſed they were men, and had mixtures of fear and human infirmities with their other excellent Qualities. And indeed Cranmer *was in all other points ſo extraordinary a perſon, that it was perhaps fit, there ſhould be ſome ingredients in his Temper, to leſſen the Veneration, which his great worth might have raiſed too high, if it had not been for theſe feebleneſſes, which upon ſome occaſions appeared in him. But if we examine the failings of ſome of the greateſt of the Primitive Fathers, as* Athanaſius, Cyril, *and others, who were the moſt zealous aſſerters of the Faith, we muſt conclude them to have been nothing inferiour to any that can be charged on* Cranmer; *whom if we conſider narrowly, we ſhall find as eminent vertues, and as few faults in him, as in any Prelate that has been in the Chriſtian Church for many Ages. And if he was prevailed on to deny his Maſter through fear, he did waſh off that ſtain by a ſincere Repentance and a patient Martyrdome, in which he expreſſed an eminent reſentment of his former frailty, with a pitch of Conſtancy of mind above the rate of modern Examples.*

But their vertues as well as their faults are ſet before us for our inſtruction; and how frail ſoever the veſſels were, they have conveyed to us a treaſure of great value, The pure Goſpel of our Lord and Saviour: *which if we follow, and govern our lives and hearts by it, we may hope in eaſier and plainer paths to attain that Bleſſedneſs, which they could not reach but through ſcorching flames: and if we do not improve the Advantages, which this light affords, we may either look for ſome of thoſe trials, which were ſent for the exerciſe of their Faith and Patience, and perhaps for the puniſhment of their former Compliance; or if we eſcape theſe, we have cauſe to fear worſe in the Concluſion.*

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

BOOK I.

A Summary View of King Henry *the Eighth's Reign, till the Proceſs of his Divorce was begun, in which the State of* England, *chiefly as it related to* Religion, *is opened.*

ENGLAND had for a whole Age felt the Miſeries of a long and cruel War between the Two Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter*; during which time as the Crown had loſt great Dominions beyond Sea, ſo the Nation was much impoveriſhed, many Noble Families extinguiſht, much Blood ſhed, great Animoſities every-where raiſed, with all the other Miſeries of a laſting Civil War: But they now ſaw all theſe happily compoſed, when the Two Families did unite in King *Henry* the Eighth. In his Fathers Reign they were rather cemented and joyned than united; whoſe great Partiality to the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, from which he was Deſcended, and Severity to the Branches of the Houſe of *York*, in which even his own Queen had a large ſhare, together with the Impoſtors that were ſet up to diſturb his Reign, kept theſe heats alive, which were now all buried in his grave: and this made the Succeſſion of his Son ſo univerſally acceptable to the whole Nation, who now hoped to revive their former pretenſions in *France*, and to have again a large ſhare in all the Affairs of *Europe*, from which their Domeſtick Broils had ſo long excluded them.

King *Henry's* Succeſſion to the Crown, *Apr.* 22. 1509.

There was another thing, which made his firſt coming to the Crown no leſs acceptable, which was, that the ſame day that his Father

He proceeds againſt *Dudley* and *Empſon.*

Father died, * he ordered *Dudley* and *Empſon* to be committed to the Tower: His Father, whether out of Policy, or Inclination, or both, was all his life much ſet on the gathering of Treaſure, ſo that thoſe Miniſters were moſt acceptable, who could fill his Coffers beſt: and though this occaſioned ſome Tumults, and diſpoſed the People to all thoſe Commotions, which fell out in his Reign; yet he being ſucceſsful in them all, continued in his courſe of heaping up Money.

* *Hall* ſays the ſame day. L. *Herbert* ſays the day following.

Towards the end of his Life, he found out thoſe Two Inſtruments, who out-did all that went before them, and what by vexatious Suits upon Penal but obſolete Laws, what by unjuſt Impriſonments, and other violent and illegal proceedings, raiſed a general *odium* upon the Government; and this grew upon him with his years, and was come to ſo great a height towards the end of his Life, that he died in good time for his own quiet: For as he uſed all poſſible endeavours to get Money, ſo what he got, he as carefully kept, and diſtributed very little of it among thoſe about him, ſo that he had many Enemies, and but few Friends. This being well conſidered by his Son, he began his Government with the diſgrace of thoſe Two Miniſters, againſt whom he proceeded according to Law; all the other inferiour Officers whom they had made uſe of were alſo Impriſoned.

When they had thus fallen, many and great Complaints came in from all parts againſt them; they alſo apprehending the danger they were like to be in upon their Maſters Death, had been practiſing with their Partners to gather about them all the Power they could bring together, whether to ſecure themſelves from popular Rage, or to make themſelves ſeem conſiderable, or formidable to the new King. This and other Crimes being brought in againſt them, they were found guilty of Treaſon in a legal Trial. But the King judged this was neither a ſufficient Reparation to his Oppreſſed People, nor Satisfaction to Juſtice: Therefore he went further, and both ordered Reſtitution to be made by his Fathers Executors of great Sums of Money, which had been unjuſtly extorted from his Subjects; and in his firſt Parliament which he Summoned to the Twenty firſt of *January* following, he not only delivered up *Empſon* and *Dudley* with their Complices to the Juſtice of the Two Houſes, who attainted them by Act of Parliament, and a little after gave order for *their Execution*; but did alſo give his Royal aſſent to thoſe other Laws by which the Subject was ſecured from the like Oppreſſions for the future: and that he might not at all be ſuſpected of any ſuch Inclinations as his Father had to amaſs Treaſure, he was the moſt magnificent in his Expence of any Prince in Chriſtendom, and very bountiful to all about him; and as one extreme commonly produces another, ſo his Fathers Covetouſneſs led him to be Prodigal, and the vaſt Wealth which was left him, being reckoned no leſs then 1800000 *l.* was in Three years diſſipated, as if the Son in his expence had vied Induſtry with his Father in all his Thrift.

Hall.

He holds a Parliament *Jan.* 21. 1510.

Aug. 18.

His great Expence.

Thomas Earl of *Surrey* (afterwards Duke of *Norfolk*) to ſhew how compliant he was to the Humours of the Princes whom he ſerved, as he had been Lord-Treaſurer to the Father the laſt Seven years of his Life; ſo being continued in the ſame Office by this King, did as dextrouſly comply with his Prodigality, as he had done formerly with his Fathers ſparingneſs.

But

But this in the beginning of the Princes Reign did much endear him both to the Court and Nation: there being a freer Circulation of Money by which Trade was encouraged; and the Courtiers tasted so liberally of the Kings bounty, that he was every-where much magnified, though his Expence proved afterwards heavier to the Subject, than ever his Father's Avarice had been.

His Affairs beyond Sea.

Another thing that raised the Credit of this King was, the great Esteem he was in beyond Sea, both for his Wisdom and Power; so that in all the Treaties of Peace and War he was always much considered; and he did so exactly pursue that great Maxime of Princes, of *Holding the Ballance*, that still as it grew heavier, whether in the Scale of *France*, or *Spain*, he governed Himself and Them as a wise *Arbiter*. His first Action was against *France*, which by the Accession of the Dutchy of *Britain*, through his Father's over-sight, was made greater and more formidable to the Neighbouring Princes; therefore the *French* Successes in *Italy* having United all the Princes there against them, *Spain* and *England* willingly joyned themselves in the Quarrel. The Kingdom of *Spain* being also then United, conquered *Navarre*, which set them at great ease, and weakned the King of *France* on that side. Whose Affairs also declining in *Italy*, this King finding him so much lessened, made Peace with him; having first managed his share of the War, with great Honour at Sea and Land: For, going over in Person, he did both defeat the *French* Army, and take *Terwin* and *Tourney*; the former he demolished, the latter he kept: and in these Exploits he had an unusual Honour done him, which though it was a slight thing, yet was very pleasant to him; *Maximilian* the Emperour taking pay in his Army, amounting to a Hundred Crowns a-day, and upon all publick Solemnities giving the King the precedence.

A War with *France*. *Aug.* 24. & *Octob.* 2. 1513.

The Peace between *England* and *France* was made firmer by *Lewis* the *French* Kings Marrying *Mary* the Kings Sister; but he dying soon after, new Counsels were to be taken. *Francis*, who succeeded, did in the beginning of his Reign, court this King with great Offers to renew the Peace with him, which was accordingly done. Afterward *Francis* falling in with all his force upon the Dutchy of *Milan*, all endeavours were used to engage King *Henry* into the War, both by the Pope and Emperour, this last feeding him long with hopes of resigning the Empire to him, which wrought much on him; insomuch that he did give them a great Supply in Money, but he could not be engaged to divert *Francis* by making War upon him: and *Francis* ending the War of *Italy* by a Peace, was so far from resenting what the King had done, that he courted him into a straiter League, and a Match was agreed between the *Dolphin* and the Lady *Mary* the Kings Daughter, and *Tourney* was delivered up to the *French* again.

Aug. 7. 1514. A Peace, and a Match with *France*. *Oct.* 9. *Lewis* dies *Jan.* 1. 1515.

Lady *Mary* Betrothed to the *Dolphin*, *Octob.* 8. 1518.

But now *Charles*, Arch-Duke of *Austria* by his Father, and Heir to the House of *Burgundy* by his Grand-mother, and to the Crown of *Spain* by his Mother, began to make a great Figure in the World; and his Grand-Father *Maximilian* dying, *Francis* and He were Corrivals for the Empire: but *Charles* being preferred in the Competition, there followed, what through personal Animosities, what through reason of State, and a desire of Conquest, lasting Wars between them; which though they were sometimes for a while closed up, yet were never

Emperour dies, *Jan.* 12. 1519. *Charles* Elected, *June* 28.

clearly ended. And thoſe two great Monarchs as they eclipſed moſt other Princes about them, ſo they raiſed this Kings glory higher, both courting him by turns, and that not only by earneſt and warm Addreſſes, but oft by unuſual Submiſſions; in which they, knowing how great an Ingredient Vanity was in his temper, were never deficient when their Affairs required it. All which tended to make him appear greater in
1520. the eyes of his own People. In the year 1520. there was an Interview agreed on between the *French* King and Him; but the Emperor, to prevent the effects he feared from it, reſolved to out doe the *French* King in the Complement, and without any Treaty or previous aſſurances
The Emperor comes to *England*, *May.* 26. came to *Dover*, and ſollicited the Kings friendſhip againſt *Francis*: and to advance his deſign gained Cardinal *Wolſey*, who then Governed all the Kings Counſels, by the promiſe of making him Pope; in which he judged he might, for a preſent Advantage, promiſe a thing that ſeemed to be at ſo great a diſtance, (Pope *Leo* the Tenth being then but a young man) and with rich preſents, which he made both to the King, the Cardinal and all the Court, wrought much on them. But that which prevailed moſt with the King was, that he ſaw, though *Charles* had great Dominions, yet they lay at ſuch a diſtance, that *France* alone was a ſufficient Counterpoiſe to him; but if *Francis* could keep *Milan*, recover *Naples*, *Burgundy*, and *Navarre*, to all which he was then preparing, he would be an uneaſie Neighbour to himſelf; and if he kept the footing he then had in *Italy*, he would lie ſo heavy on the Papacy, that the Popes could no longer carry equally in the affairs of Chriſtendome, upon which much depended, according to the Religion of that time. Therefore he reſolved to take part with the Emperor, till at leaſt *Francis* was driven out of *Italy*, and reduced to juſter terms: ſo
June. 7. that the following Interview between *Francis* and him, produced nothing but a vaſt Expence and high Complements: and from a ſecond
July. 10. Interview between the King and the Emperor, *Francis* was full of jealouſie, in which what followed juſtified his apprehenſions; for the
A ſecond War with *France*. War going on between the Emperor and *Francis*, the King entred in a League with the former, and made War upon *France*.

Leo. 10. dies *Dec.* 1. 1521. But the Pope dying ſooner than it ſeems the Emperor look't for, Cardinal *Wolſey* claimed his promiſe for the Papacy; but before the Meſſenger came to him, *Adrian* the Emperors Tutor was choſen Pope: yet to
Adrian choſen Pope *Jan.* 9. 1522. feed the Cardinal with freſh hopes, a new promiſe was made for the next vacancy, and in the mean while he was put in hope of the Arch-
He dyed *Septemb.* 14. 1523. Biſhoprick of *Toledo*. But two years after, That Pope dying, the Emperor again broke his word with him; yet though he was thereby totally alienated from him, he concealed his indignation, till the publick
Clement the 7th choſen *Novemb.* 19. Concerns ſhould give him a good opportunity to proſecute it upon a better colour; and by his Letters to *Rome*, diſſembled his reſentments ſo artificially, that in a Congratulation he wrote to Pope *Clement*, He 'proteſted his Election was matter of ſuch joy both to the King and 'himſelf, that nothing had ever befaln them which pleaſed them bet-'ter, and that he was the very perſon, whom they had wiſhed to ſee
1522. raiſed to that Greatneſs. But while the War went on, the Emperor did cajole the King with the higheſt Complements poſſible, which al-
Emperor Landed at *Dover*. *May.* 26. ways wrought much on him, and came in perſon into *England* to be inſtalled Knight of the *Garter*: where a new League was Concluded,

ded, by which, beſide mutual aſſiſtance, a Match was agreed on between the Emperor and the Lady *Mary*, the Kings only Child by his Queen, of whom he had no hopes of more Iſſue. This was ſworn to on both hands, and the Emperor was obliged, when She was of Age, to marry Her, *Per verba de præſenti*, under pain of Excommunication and the forfeiture of 100000 Pounds. The Emperor contracted to the Kings Daughter. *June* 19.

The War went on with great ſucceſs on the Emperors part, eſpecially after the Battel of *Pavia*, in which *Francis* his Army was totally defeated, and himſelf taken Priſoner and carried into *Spain*. After which the Emperor being much offended with the Pope for joyning with *Francis*, turned his Arms againſt him, which were ſo ſucceſsful that he beſieged and took *Rome*, and kept the Pope priſoner Six Months. *May* 6. 1527.

The Cardinal finding the publick Intereſts concur ſo happily with his private Diſtaſtes, engaged the King to take part with *France*, and afterwards with the Pope againſt the Emperor, his Greatneſs now becoming the Terror of Chriſtendome; for the Emperor lifted up with his ſucceſs, began to think of no leſs than an Univerſal Empire. And firſt, that he might unite all *Spain* together, he preferred a Match with *Portugal*, to that which he had before Contracted in *England*; and he thought it not enough to break off his ſworn Alliance with the King, but he did it with an heavy Imputation on the Lady *Mary*: for in his Council it was ſaid that ſhe was illegitimate, as being born in an unlawful Marriage, ſo that no Advantage could be expected from her Title to the Succeſſion, as will appear more particularly in the Second Book. And the Pope having diſpenſed with the Oath, he Married the *Infanta* of *Portugal*. Beſides, though the King of *England* had gone deep in the Charge, he would give him no ſhare in the Advantages of the War; much leſs give him that Aſſiſtance which he had promiſed him, to recover his Ancient Inheritance in *France*. The King being irritated with this manifold ill uſage, and led on by his own Intereſts, and by the offended Cardinal, joyned himſelf to the Intereſts of *France*. Upon which there followed not only a firm Alliance, but a perſonal Friendſhip, which appeared in all the moſt obliging expreſſions that could be deviſed. And upon the Kings threatning to make War on the Emperor, the *French* King was ſet at liberty, though on very hard terms, if any thing can be hard that ſets a King out of Priſon; but he ſtill acknowledged he owed his Liberty to King *Henry*. *Mar.* 18. 1526.

Then followed the famous *Clementine League* between the Pope and *Francis*, the *Venetians*, the *Florentines* and *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*, by which the Pope abſolved the *French* King from the Oath he had ſworn at *Madrid*, and they all united againſt the Emperor, and declared the King of *England Protector of the League*. This gave the Emperor great diſtaſte, who complained of the Pope as an ungrateful and perfidious perſon. The firſt beginning of the ſtorm fell heavy on the Pope; for the *French* King, who had a great mind to have his Children again into his own hands, that lay Hoſtages in *Spain*, went on but ſlowly in performing his part. And the King of *England* would not openly break with the Emperor, but ſeemed to reſerve himſelf to be Arbiter between the Princes. So that the *Colonna's* being of the Imperial Faction, with 3000 men entered *Rome*, and ſack't a part of it, forcing the Pope to fly into the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, and The *Clementine* League. *May.* 22. 1526. *September.* 20.

to make peace with the Emperor. But as ſoon as that fear was over, the Pope returning to his old arts, complained of the Cardinal of *Colonna*, and reſolved to deprive him of that Dignity, and with an Army entred the Kingdom of *Naples*, taking divers places that belonged to that Family. But the Confederates coming ſlowly to his Aſſiſtance, and he hearing of great forces that were coming from *Spain* againſt him, ſubmitted himſelf to the Emperor, and made a Ceſſation of Arms; but being again encouraged with ſome hopes from his Allies, and (by a
1527. Creation of 14 Cardinals for Money,) having raiſed 300000 Duckats he diſowned the Treaty, and gave the Kingdom of *Naples* to Count *Vaudemont*, whom he ſent with forces to ſubdue it. But the Duke of *Bourbon* prevented him, and went to *Rome*, and giving the Aſſault, in which himſelf received his mortal wound, the City was taken by Storm,
Rome taken and ſack't *May* 16. and plundered for ſeveral days, about 5000 being killed. The Pope with 17 Cardinals fled to the Caſtle St. *Angelo*, but was forced to render his perſon, and to pay 400000 Duckats to the Army.

This gave great offence to all the Princes of Chriſtendome, except the *Lutherans* of *Germany*; but none reſented it more loudly than this
July 11. King, who ſent over Cardinal *Wolſey* to make up a new Treaty with *Francis*, which was chiefly intended for ſetting the Pope at Liberty. Nor did the Emperor know well how to juſtifie an Action which ſeemed ſo inconſiſtent with his Devotion to the See of *Rome*; yet the Pope was for ſome months detained a Priſoner, till at length the Emperor having brought him to his own terms, ordered him to be ſet at liberty: but he being weary of his Guards eſcaped in a diſguiſe, and owned his Li-
Decemb. 9. berty to have flowed chiefly from the Kings endeavours to procure it. And thus ſtood the King as to forreign affairs: he had infinitely obliged both the Pope and the *French* King, and was firmly united to them, and engaged in a War againſt the Emperor, when he began firſt to move about his Divorce.

The Kings ſucceſs againſt *Scotland*. As for *Scotland*, the near Alliance between him and *James* the Fourth King of *Scotland*, did not take away the ſtanding Animoſities between the two Nations, nor interrupt the Alliance between *France* and *Scotland*. And therefore when he made the firſt War upon *France* in the Fourth year of his Reign, the King of *Scotland* came with a great Army into the North of *England*, but was totally defeated by the Earl
Sept. 9. 1513. of *Surrey* in *Floudon* field: The King himſelf was either killed in the Battel, or ſoon after; ſo that the Kingdom falling under Factions, during the Minority of the new King, the Government was but feeble, and ſcarce able to ſecure its own quiet. And the Duke of *Albany*, the chief Inſtrument of the *French* Faction, met with ſuch oppoſition from the Parties that were raiſed againſt him by King *Henry's* means, that he could give him no diſturbance. And when there came to be a laſting peace between *England* and *France*, then, as the King needed fear no trouble from that Warlike Nation, ſo he got a great Intereſt in the Government there. And at this time Money becoming a more effectual Engine than any the War had ever produced, and the diſcovery of the *Indies* having brought great wealth into *Europe*, Princes began to deal more in that trade than before: ſo that both *France* and *England* had their Inſtruments in *Scotland*, and gave conſiderable yearly Penſions to the chief heads of Parties and Families. In the ſearch I have made

made, I have found ſeveral Warrants for Sums of Money, to be ſent into *Scotland*, and divided there among the Favourers of the *Engliſh* Intereſt; and 'tis not to be doubted but *France* traded in the ſame manner, which continued till a happier way was found out for extinguiſhing theſe Quarrels, both the Crowns being ſet on one head.

His Counſels at home.

Having thus ſhewed the State of this Kings Government as to forreign Matters, I ſhall next give an account of the Adminiſtration of Affairs at home, both as to Civil and Spiritual Matters. The King upon his firſt coming to the Crown did chooſe a wiſe Council, partly out of thoſe whom his Father had truſted, partly out of thoſe that were recommended to him by his Grand-Mother, the Counteſs of *Richmond* and *Derby*, in whom was the Right of the Houſe of *Lancaſter*, though ſhe willingly devolved her pretenſions on her Son, claiming nothing to her ſelf, but the Satisfaction of being Mother to a King. She was a wiſe and Religious Woman, and died ſoon after her Grand-Son came to the Crown. There was a Faction in the Council between *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and the Lord Treaſurer, which could never be well made up, though they were oft reconciled: *Fox* always complaining of the Lord Treaſurer, for ſquandring away ſo ſoon that vaſt Maſs of Treaſure, left by the Kings Father in which the other juſtified himſelf, that what he did, was by the Kings Warrants which he could not diſobey: but *Fox* objected that he was too eaſie to anſwer, if not to procure theſe Warrants, and that he ought to have given the King better advice. In the Kings firſt Parliament things went as he deſired upon his delivering up *Empſon* and *Dudley*, in which his preventing the ſeverity of the Houſes, and proceeding againſt them at the Common Law, as it ſecured his Miniſters from an unwelcome Preſident, ſo the whole honour of it fell on the Kings juſtice.

1509.

Jan. 21. 1510.

His next Parliament was in the Third year of his Reign, and there was conſidered the *Brief* from Pope *Julius* the Second to the King, complaining of the Indignities and Injuries done to the Apoſtolick See and the Pope by the *French* King, and entreating the Kings aſſiſtance with ſuch cajoling words as are always to be expected from Popes on the like occaſions. It was firſt read by the Maſter of the Rolls in the Houſe of Lords, and then the Lord Chancellour (*Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*) and the Lord Treaſurer, with other Lords, went down to the Houſe of Commons and read it there. Upon this and other reaſons they gave the King ſubſidies towards the War with *France*. At this time *Fox*, to ſtrengthen his Party againſt the Lord Treaſurer, finding *Thomas Wolſey* to be a likely man to get into the Kings favour, uſed all his endeavours to raiſe him, who was at that time neither unknown nor inconſiderable, being Lord Almoner; he was at firſt made a Privy Counſellour, and frequently admitted to the Kings preſence, and waited on him over to *France*. The King liked him well, which he ſo managed that he quickly engroſſed the Kings favour to himſelf, and for 15 years together was the moſt abſolute Favourite that had ever been ſeen in *England*; all forreign Treaties and Places of Truſt at home were at his Ordering; he did what he pleaſed, and his Aſcendant over the King was ſuch, that there never appeared any Party againſt him all that while. The great Artifice by which he inſinuated himſelf ſo much on the King, is ſet down very plainly by one that knew him well, in

Feb. 4. 1512.

Cardinal *Wolſeys* riſing.

theſe

Cavendish life of *Wolsey* MSS. *in Biblioth. Nob.* D.G. Pierpoint.

these words. *In him the King conceived such a loving fancy, especially for that he was most earnest and readiest in all the Counsel to advance the Kings only will and pleasure, having no respect to the case; and whereas the Ancient Counsellors would according to the Office of good Counsellors, divers times perswade the King to have some time a recourse unto the Council, there to hear what was done in weighty Matters, the King was nothing at all pleased therewith; for he loved nothing worse than to be constrained to do any thing contrary to his pleasure, and that knew the* Almoner *very well, having secret Insinuations of the Kings Intentions; and so fast as the others Counselled the King to leave his pleasures, and to attend to his Affairs, so busily did the* Almoner *perswade him to the contrary, which delighted him much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the* Almoner. Having got into such Power, he observed the Kings Inclinations exactly, and followed his Interests closely: for though he made other Princes retain him with great Presents and Pensions, yet he never engaged the King into any Alliance, but what was for his Advantage. For affairs at home, after he was established in his Greatness, he affected to Govern without Parliaments, there being from the Seventh year of his Reign, after which he got the great Seal, but one Parliament in the 14th and 15th year, and no more till the One and Twentieth, when matters were turning about: But he raised great Sums of Money by Loans and Benevolences. And indeed if we look on him as a Minister of State, he was a very extraordinary Person; but as he was a Churchman, he was the disgrace of his Profession. He not only served the King in all his secret pleasures, but was lewd and vicious himself; so that his having the *French Pox* (which in those days was a matter of no small infamy) was so publick, that it was brought against him in Parliament when he fell in disgrace: he was a man of most extravagant vanity, as appears by the great State he lived in; and to feed that, his Ambition and Covetousness were proportionable.

Octob. 1513. He was first made Bishop of *Tourney*, when that Town was taken from the *French*; then he was made Bishop of [a] *Lincoln*, which was the first Bishoprick that fell void in this Kingdom; after that, upon Cardinal *Bembridge* his death, he parted with *Lincoln* and was made Arch-Bishop of [b] *York*; then *Hadrian*, that was a Cardinal and Bishop of *Bath* and *Wells*, being deprived, that [c] See was given to him; then the Abbey of [d] St *Albans* was given to him in *Comendam*; he next parted with *Bath* and *Wells*, and got the Bishoprick of [e] *Duresm*, which he afterwards exchanged for the Bishoprick of [f] *Winchester*. But besides all that he had in his own hands, the King granted him a full Power of disposing of all the Ecclesiastical benefices in *England* (which brought him in as much money as all the Places he held) for having so vast a Power committed to him both from the King and the Pope as to Church-preferments, it may be easily gathered what advantages a man of his temper would draw from it. *Warham* was Lord Chancellour the first seven years of the Kings Reign, but retired to give place to this aspiring favourite, who had a mind to the great Seal, that there might be no interfering between the Legantine and Chancery Courts. And perhaps it wrought somewhat on his vanity, that even after he was Cardinal, *Warham* as Lord Chancellour took place of him, as appears from the Entries made in the Journals of the House of Peers in the Parliament held

a Rest. temp. 4. *March.* 5 *Regni* 1 *part Rot pat.*

b Novemb. 6 *Regni*, 1. *part.* R. P.

c Aug. 28. 10. *Regni.* 1 *part.* R. P.

d Decemb. 7. 13. *Regni* 3 *part.* R. P.

e April 30. 15. *Reg.* 2 *part.* R. P.

f May 4. 20. *Reg.* 1. *part* R. P.

held the 7th year of the Kings Reign, and afterwards gave him place, as appears on many occaſions, particularly, in the Letter written to the Pope 1530 ſet down by the Lord *Herbert*, which the Cardinal ſubſcribed before *Warham*. We have nothing on record to ſhew what a Speaker he was, for all the Journals of Parliament from the 7th to the 25th year of this King are loſt, but it is like he ſpoke as his Predeceſſor in that Office *Warham* did, whoſe ſpeeches as they are entred in the Journals, are Sermons begun with a Text of Scripture; which he expounded and applyed to the buſineſs they were to go upon, ſtuffing them with the moſt fulſome flattery of the King that was poſſible.

The next in favour and Power was the Lord Treaſurer reſtored to his Fathers honour of Duke of *Norfolk*, to whom his Son ſucceeded in that Office as well as in his hereditary honours; and managed his Intereſt with the King ſo dexterouſly that he ſtood in all the Changes that followed, and continued Lord Treaſurer during the Reign of this King, till near the end of it, when he fell through Jealouſie rather than guilt; this ſhewed how dexterous a man he was, that could ſtand ſo long in that imployment under ſuch a King.

But the chief Favourite in the Kings pleaſures, was *Charles Brandon* a Gallant graceful Perſon, one of the ſtrongeſt men of the Age, and ſo a fit match for the King at his Juſts and Tiltings, which was the manly diverſion of that time, and the King taking much pleaſure in it, being of a robuſt Body, and ſingularly expert at it, he who was ſo able to ſecond him in theſe Courſes, grew mightily in his favour; ſo that he made him firſt Viſcount *Liſle*, and ſome Months after, Duke of *Suffolk*. *May* 15. 1ſt *Reg.* 1. *Part. Rot. pat.* Nor was he leſs in the Ladies favours, than the Kings; for his Siſter the Lady *Mary* liked him, and being but ſo long Married to King *Lewis* of *France*, as to make her Queen Dowager of *France*, ſhe reſolved to chooſe her ſecond Husband her ſelf, and caſt her eye on the Duke of *Suffolk*, who was then ſent over to the Court of *France*. Her Brother had deſigned the Marriage between them, yet would not openly give his Conſent to it; but ſhe by a ſtrange kind of Wooing, prefixed him the Term of four days to gain her Conſent, in which ſhe told him if he did not prevail, he ſhould for ever loſe all his hopes of having her, though after ſuch a Declaration he was like to meet with no great difficulty from her. So they were Married, and the King was eaſily *April* 1515. pacified and received them into favour; neither did his favour die with her, for it continued all his life: but he never medled much in buſineſs, Lady *Mary* died *Jun.* 23. 1533. and by all that appears was a better Courtier than States-Man. Little needs be ſaid of any other Perſon more than will afterwards occur.

The King loved to raiſe mean Perſons, and upon the leaſt diſtaſte to throw them down: and falling into diſgrace, he ſpared not to ſacrifice them to publick diſcontents. His Court was magnificent, and his Expence vaſt; he indulged himſelf in his pleaſures: and the hopes of Children (beſides the Lady *Mary*,) failing by the Queen, he, who of all things deſired iſſue moſt, kept one *Elizabeth Blunt* by whom he had *Henry Fitzroy*, whom in the 17th year of his Reign he created Earl *Jun.* 17. 18. of *Nottingham*, and the ſame day made him Duke of *Richmond* and *Reg. Rot. Pal.* *Sommerſet*, and intended afterwards to have put him in the Succeſſion Duke *Rich.* of the Crown after his other Children; but his death prevented it. died *Jun.* 22. 1536.

As for his Parliaments, he took great care to keep a good underſtanding

ſtanding with them, and chiefly with the Houſe of Commons, by which means he ſeldom failed to carry Matters as he pleaſed among them: only in the Parliament held in the 14th and 15th of his Reign, the Demand of the Subſidy towards the War with *France*, being ſo high as 800000 lib. the 5th of mens goods and lands to be paid in Four years, and the Cardinal being much hated, there was great Oppoſition made to it: for which the Cardinal blamed Sir *Thomas More* much, who was then Speaker of the Houſe of Commons; and finding that which was offered, was not above the half of what was asked, went himſelf to the Houſe of Commons, and deſired to hear the reaſons of thoſe who oppoſed his Demands, that he might anſwer them: but he was told the Order of their Houſe was to reaſon only among themſelves, and ſo went away much diſſatisfied. It was with great difficulty that they obtained a Subſidy of 3*s.* in the lib. to be paid in four years. This diſappointment it ſeems did ſo offend the Cardinal, that as no Parliament had been called for Seven years before, ſo there was none ſummoned for Seven years after. And thus ſtood the Civil Government of *England* in the 19th year of the Kings Reign, when the Matter of the Divorce was firſt moved. But I ſhall next open the State of Affairs in Reference to Religious and Spiritual Concerns.

He was bred a Scholar.

King *Henry* was bred with more care than had been uſually beſtowed on the Education of Princes for many Ages, who had been only trained up to thoſe Exerciſes that prepared them to War; and if they could read and write, more was not expected of them. But learning began now to flouriſh; and as the Houſe of *Medici* in *Florence* had great honour by the Protection it gave to learned men, ſo other Princes every-where cheriſhed the Muſes. King *Henry* the 7th, though illiterate himſelf, yet took care to have his Children inſtructed in good letters. And it generally paſſes current that he bred his ſecond Son a Scholar, having deſigned him to be Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, but that has no foundation; for the Writers of that time tell, that his Elder Brother Prince *Arthur* was alſo bred a Scholar. And all the Inſtruction King *Henry* had in Learning, muſt have been after his Brother was dead, when that Deſign had vaniſhed with his life. For he being born the 18th of *June* 1491. and Prince *Arthur* dying the Second of *April* 1502. he was not full eleven years of Age, when he became Prince of *Wales*; at which Age Princes have ſeldom made any great progreſs in Learning. But King *Henry* the 7th, judging either that it would make his Sons Greater Princes, and fitter for the Management of their Affairs, or being jealous of their looking too early into buſineſs, or their pretending to the Crown upon their Mothers Title, which might have been a dangerous competition to him; that was ſo little beloved by his Subjects, took this Method for amuſing them with other things: thence it was, that his Son was the moſt learned Prince that had been in the World for many Ages, and deſerved the Title *Beau-Clerke*, on a better account than his Predeceſſor that long before had carried it. The Learning then in credit, was either that of the Schools, about abſtruſe Queſtions of Divinity, which from the days of *Lombard* were debated and deſcanted on with much ſubtlety and nicety, and exerciſed all Speculative Divines; or the Study of the Canon-Law, which was the way to Buſineſs and Preferment. To the former of theſe the King

King was much addicted, and delighted to read often in *Thomas Aquinas*; and this made Cardinal *Wolsey* more acceptable to him, who was chiefly conversant in that sort of Learning. He loved the purity of the Latine tongue, which made him be so kind to *Erasmus* that was the great Restorer of it, and to *Polidore Virgil*; though neither of these made their Court dextrously with the Cardinal, which did much intercept the Kings favour to them; so that the one left *England*, and the other was but coarsly used in it, who has sufficiently revenged himself upon the Cardinal's Memory. The Philosophy then in fashion was so intermixed with their Divinity, that the King understood it too; and was also a good Musician, as appears by two whole Masses which he composed. He never wrote well, but scrawled so that his hand was scarce legible.

Being thus inclined to Learning, he was much courted by all hungry Scholars, who generally over *Europe* dedicated their Books to him, with such flattering Epistles, that it very much lessens him, to see how he delighted in such stuffe. For if he had not taken pleasure in it, and rewarded them, it is not likely that others should have been every year writing after such ill Copies. Of all things in the World Flattery wrought most on him; and no sort of Flattery pleased him better than to have his great Learning and Wisdom commended. And in this, his Parliaments, his Courtiers, his Chaplains, Forreigners and Natives, all seemed to vie who should exceed most, and came to speak to him in a Stile which was scarce fit to be used to any Creature. But he designed to entail these praises on his Memory, cherishing Church-men more than any King in *England* had ever done; he also Courted the Pope with a constant submission, and upon all occasions made the Popes Interests his own, and made War and Peace as they desired him. So that had he dyed any time before the 19th year of his Reign, he could scarce have scaped being Canonized, notwithstanding all his faults; for he abounded in those vertues, which had given Saintship to Kings for near 1000 years together, and had done more than they all did, by writing a Book for the *Roman* Faith.

England had for above 300 years been the tamest part of Christendome to the Papal Authority, and had been accordingly dealt with. But though the Parliaments and two or three high-spirited Kings, had given some interruption to the cruel exactions and other illegal proceedings of the Court of *Rome*, yet that Court always gained their designs in the end. But even in this Kings days, the Crown was not quite stript of all its Authority over Spiritual persons. The Investitures of Bishops and Abbots, which had been originally given by the delivery of the Pastoral Ring and Staffe, by the Kings of *England*, were after some opposition wrung out of their hands: yet I find they retained another thing, which upon the matter was the same. When any See was vacant, a Writ was issued out of the Chancery for seizing on all the Temporalties of the Bishoprick, and then the King recommended one to the Pope, upon which his Bulls were expeded at *Rome*, and so by a Warrant from the Pope he was consecrated, and invested in the Spiritualties of the See; but was to appear before the King either in Person or by Proxie, and renounce every clause in his Letters and Bulls, that were or might be prejudicial to the Prerogative of the Crown, or contrary to the Laws of the Land, and was to swear Fealty and

The Kings Prerogative in Ecclesiastical matters.

Custodia Temporalitatis

and Allegiance to the King. And after this a new Writ was iſſued out of the Chancery, bearing that this was done, and that thereupon the Temporalties ſhould be reſtored. Of this there are ſo many Precedents in the Records, that every one that has ſearched them muſt needs find them in every year; but when this began, I leave to the more Learned in the Law to diſcover. And for proof of it the Reader will find in the Collection the fulleſt Record which I met with concerning it in *Henry* the 7th his Reign, of Cardinal *Adrian's* being Inveſted in the Biſhoprick of *Bath* and *Wells*. So that upon the matter the Kings then diſpoſed of all Biſhopricks, keeping that ſtill in their own hands which made them moſt deſired in thoſe Ages; and ſo had the Biſhops much at their Dovotion.

Reſtitutio Temporalitatis.

Collect *Numb.* 15.

But King *Henry* in a great degree parted with this, by the abovementioned power granted to Cardinal *Wolſey*, who being Legate as well as Lord Chancellour, it was thought a great errour in Government, to lodge ſuch a truſt with him which might have paſt into a Precedent, for other Legates pretending to the ſame Power; ſince the Papal greatneſs had thus riſen, and oft upon weaker grounds, to the height it was then at. Yet the King had no mind to ſuffer the Laws made againſt the ſuing out of Bulls in the Court of *Rome* without his leave to be neglected; for I find ſeveral Licenſes granted to ſue Bulls in that Court, bearing for their Preamble the Statute of the 16 of *Richard* the Second againſt the Popes pretended Power in *England*.

Licenſe to the Prior of *Peterburg. Novemb.* 3. 1 *Part.* 5to *Reg. Rot. Pat.*

But the immunity of Eccleſiaſtical perſons was a thing that occaſioned great complaints. And good cauſe there was for them. For it was ordinary for perſons after the greateſt Crimes to get into Orders; and then not only what was paſt muſt be forgiven them, but they were not to be queſtioned for any Crime after holy Orders given, till they were firſt degraded; and till that was done they were the Biſhops Priſoners. Whereupon there roſe a great diſpute in the beginning of this Kings Reign, of which none of our Hiſtorians having taken any Notice, I ſhall give a full account of it.

A Conteſt about the Eccleſiaſtical Immunity. *Killways* Reports.

King *Henry* the Seventh in his Fourth Parliament did a little leſſen the Priviledges of the Clergy, enacting that Clerks convicted ſhould be burnt in the hand. But this not proving a ſufficient reſtraint, it was Enacted in Parliament in the Fourth year of this King, that all Murderers and Robbers ſhould be denyed the benefit of their Clergy. But though this ſeemed a very Juſt Law, yet to make it paſs through the Houſe of Lords, they added two Proviſo's to it, the one for excepting all ſuch as were within the Holy Orders of *Biſhop*, *Prieſt*, or *Deacon*; the other that the Act ſhould only be in force till the next Parliament. With theſe Proviſo's it was unanimouſly aſſented to by the Lords on the 26 *Jan.* 1513. and being agreed to by the Commons, the Royal Aſſent made it a Law: Purſuant to which many Murderers and Felons were denyed their Clergy, and the Law paſſed on them to the great Satisfaction of the whole Nation. But this gave great offence to the Clergy, who had no mind to ſuffer their Immunities to be touched or leſſened. And judging that if the laity made bold with Inferiour Orders, they would proceed further even againſt Sacred Orders; therefore as their Oppoſition was ſuch that the Act not being continued did determine at the next Parliament (that was in the 5th year

year of the King,) ſo they not ſatisfied with that, reſolved to fix a cenſure on that Act as contrary to the Franchiſes of the Holy Church. And the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* being more forward than the reſt, during the ſeſſion of Parliament in the 7 year of this King's Reign, in a Sermon at *Pauls* Croſs, ſaid openly, That that Act was *contrary to the Law of God, and to the Liberties of the Holy Church, and that all who aſſented to it, as well Spiritual as Temporal Perſons, had by ſo doing incur'd the Cenſures of the Church.* And for Confirmation of his Opinion, he publiſhed a Book to prove, That all Clerks, whether of the greater or lower Orders, were Sacred, and exempted from all Temporal Puniſhment by the Secular Judge, even in Criminal caſes. This made great noiſe, and all the Temporal Lords, with the concurrence of the Houſe of Commons, deſired the King to ſuppreſs the growing Inſolence of the Clergy. So there was a hearing of the Matter before the King, with all the Judges and the Kings Temporal Council. Doctor *Standiſh* Guardian of the Mendicant Friers in *London* (afterwards Biſhop of Saint *Aſaph*) the chief of the Kings Spiritual Council, argued, That by the Law, Clerks had been ſtill convened and judged in the Kings Court for Civil Crimes, and that there was nothing either in the Laws of God, or the Church, inconſiſtent with it; and that the publick good of the Society, which was chiefly driven at by all Laws, and ought to be preferred to all other things, required that Crimes ſhould be puniſhed. But the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* being Counſel for the Clergy, excepted to this and ſaid, *There was a Decree made by the Church expreſly to the contrary, to which all ought to pay Obedience under the pain of Mortal ſin; and that therefore the trying of Clerks in the Civil Courts was a ſin in it ſelf. Standiſh* upon this turned to the King and ſaid, *God forbid that all the Decrees of the Church ſhould bind. It ſeems the Biſhops think not ſo, for though there is a Decree that they ſhould reſide at their Cathedrals all the Feſtivals of the year, yet the greater part of them do it not*; Adding, That no Decree could have any force in *England*, till it was received there; and That this Decree was never received in *England*, but that as well ſince the making of it, as before, Clerks had been tryed for Crimes in the Civil Courts. To this the Abbot made no anſwer, but brought a place of Scripture to prove this Exemption to have come from our Saviours words, *Nolite tangere Chriſtos meos*, Touch not mine Anointed; and therefore Princes ordering Clerks to be arreſted and brought before their Courts, was contrary to Scripture, againſt which no cuſtome can take place. *Standiſh* replyed, theſe words were never ſaid by our Saviour, but were put by *David* in his *Pſalter* 1000 years before Chriſt; and he ſaid theſe words had no relation to the Civil Judicatories, but becauſe the greateſt part of the World was then wicked, and but a ſmall number believed the Law, they were a Charge to the Reſt of the World, not to do them harm. But though the Abbot had been very violent, and confident of his being able to confound all that held the contrary opinion, yet he made no anſwer to this. The Laity that were preſent being confirmed in their former opinion by hearing the Matter thus argued, moved the Biſhops to order the Abbot to renounce his former opinion, and recant his Sermon at *Pauls Croſs*. But they flatly refuſed to do it, and ſaid they were bound by the Laws of the Holy Church to maintain the Abbots opinion in

every point of it. Great heats followed upon this during the ſitting of the Parliament, of which there is a very partial Entry made in the Journal of the Lords Houſe; and no wonder, the Clerk of the Parliament Doctor *Tylor* Doctor of the Canon-Law being at the ſame time Speaker of the Lower Houſe of Convocation. The Entrie is in theſe words. *In this Parliament and Convocation there were moſt dangerous contentions between the Clergy and the Secular Power, about the Eccleſiaſtical liberties, one* Standiſh *a Minor Frier being the Inſtrument and Promoter of that miſchief.* But a paſſage fell out, that made this matter be more fully proſecuted in the *Michaelmas-Term.* One *Richard Hunne* a Merchant-Taylor in *London*, was queſtioned by a Clerk in *Middleſex* for a Mortuary, pretended to be due for a Child of his that died 5 weeks old. The Clerk claiming the *beering* ſheet, and *Hunne* refuſing to give it; upon that he was ſued, but his Counſel adviſed him to ſue the Clerk in a *Premunire*, for bringing the Kings Subjects before a forreign Court; the Spiritual Court ſitting by Authority from the Legate. This touched the Clergy ſo in the quick, that they uſed all the Arts they could to faſten Hereſie on him; and underſtanding that he had *Wickliff's* Bible, upon that he was attached of Hereſie, and put in the *Lollards* Tower at *Pauls*, and examined upon ſome Articles objected to him by *Fitz-James* then Biſhop of *London*. He denied them as they were charged againſt him, but acknowledged he had ſaid ſome words ſounding that way, for which he was ſorry, and asked Gods mercy, and ſubmitted himſelf to the Biſhops Correction; upon which he ought to have been enjoyned Penance and ſet at Liberty, but he perſiſting ſtill in his Sute in the Kings Courts, they uſed him moſt cruelly. On the Fourth of *December* he was found hanged in the Chamber where he was kept * Priſoner. And Doctor *Horſey* Chancellour to the Biſhop of *London*, with the other Officers who had the Charge of the Priſon, gave it out that he had hang'd himſelf. But the Coroner of *London* coming to hold an Inqueſt on the dead body, they found him hanging ſo looſe, and in a ſilk girdle, that they clearly perceived he was killed; they alſo found his Neck had been broken, as they judged, with an Iron chain, for the Skin was all fretted and cut; they ſaw ſome ſtreams of blood about his body, beſides ſeveral other evidences which made it clear he had not murdered himſelf; whereupon they did acquit the dead body, and laid the Murder on the Officers that had the charge of that Priſon: and by other proofs they found the Biſhops Sumner and the Bell-ringer guilty of it, and by the depoſition of the Sumner himſelf it did appear, that the Chancellour and he, and the Bell-ringer did Murder him, and then hang him up.

But as the Inqueſt proceeded in this Trial, the Biſhop began a new Proceſs againſt the dead body of *Richard Hunne*, for other points of Hereſie; and ſeveral Articles were gathered out of *Wickliff's* Preface to the Bible with which he was charged. And his having the Book in his Poſſeſſion being taken for good evidence, he was judged an Heretick, and his body delivered to the Secular Power. When judgment was given, the Biſhops of *Dureſme* and *Lincoln* with many Doctors both of Divinity and the Canon-Law ſate with the Biſhop of *London*; ſo that it was lookt on as an Act of the whole Clergy, and

Made Clerke *Octob.* 29. 1. *Reg. Rot. Pat. Part.* 1°.

Journal Procerum 7 *Hen.* 8. *Diſſolutum & finitum fuit hoc Parliamentum* 22 *Dece.* 1515. *Johanne Tylor Juris Pontificii Doct. Clerico Parliamentorum Domini Regis: & eodem tempore Prolocutore Convocationis Cleri quod raro accidit. In hoc Parliamento & Convocatione periculoſiſimæ ſeditiones exortæ ſunt inter Clerum & Secularem poteſtatem ſuper libertatibus Eccleſiaſticis, quodam Fratre Minore, nomine* Standiſh, *omnium malorum miniſtro ac ſtimulatore.*

Hall. and *Fox.*

* *Hunne* hanged in Priſon.

and done by common conſent. On the 20th of *December* his body was burnt at *Smithfield*. And his body burned *Dec.* 20. 1514.

But this produced an effect very different from what was expected, for it was hoped that he being found an Heretick no body ſhould appear for him any more: whereas on the contrary, it occaſioned a great outcry, the man having lived in very good reputation among his Neighbours; ſo that after that day the City of *London* was never well affected to the Popiſh Clergy, but inclined to follow any body who ſpoke againſt them, and every one lookt on it, as a Cauſe of common concern. All exclaimed againſt the Cruelty of their Clergy, that for a mans ſuing a Clerke according to law, he ſhould be long and hardly uſed in a ſevere impriſonment, and at laſt cruelly murdered, and all this laid on himſelf to defame him, and ruin his family. And then to burn that body which they had ſo handled, was thought ſuch a complication of Cruelties, as few Barbarians had ever been guilty of. The Biſhop finding that the Inqueſt went on, and the whole matter was diſcovered, uſed all poſſible endeavours to ſtop their proceedings; and they were often brought before the Kings Council, where it was pretended that all proceeded from Malice and Hereſie. The Cardinal laboured to procure an order to forbid their going any further, but the thing was both ſo foul and ſo evident that it could not be done: and that oppoſition made it more generally believed. In the Parliament there was a Bill ſent up to the Lords by the Commons for reſtoring *Hunne's* Children, which was paſſed, and had the Royal aſſent to it; but another Bill being brought in about this Murther, it occaſioned great heats among them. The Biſhop of *London* ſaid that *Hunne* had hanged himſelf, that the Inqueſt were falſe perjured Caitiffs, and if they proceeded further he could not keep his houſe for Hereticks; ſo that the Bill which was ſent up by the Commons was but once read in the Houſe of Lords, *April* 3. for the power of the Clergy was great there. But the Trial went on, and both the Biſhops Chancellour and the Summer were endicted as Principals in the Murder.

The Convocation that was then ſitting, finding ſo great a ſtir made, and that all their liberties were now ſtruck at, reſolved to call Doctor *Standiſh* to an Account for what he had ſaid and argued in that matter, ſo he being ſummoned before them, ſome Articles were objected to him by word of mouth, concerning the judging of Clerks in Civil Courts; and the day following they being put in writing, the Bill was delivered to him, and a day aſſigned for him to make anſwer. The Doctor perceiving their intention, and judging it would go hard with him if he were tryed before them, went and claimed the Kings Protection, from this trouble that he was now brought in, for diſcharging his duty as the Kings Spiritual Counſel. But the Clergy made their excuſe to the King, that they were not to queſtion him for any thing he had ſaid as the Kings Counſel; but for ſome Lectures he read at St *Pauls* and elſwhere, *contrary to the Law of God, and Liberties of the holy Church which they were bound to maintain*; and deſired the Kings Aſſiſtance according to his *Coronation Oath*, and as he would not incur the Cenſures of the holy Church. On the other hand the Temporal Lords and Judges, with the concurrence of the Houſe of Commons, addreſſed to the King, to maintain the Temporal Juriſdiction according to his *Coronation Oath*,

and

and to protect *Standiſh* from the Malice of his enemies.

This put the King in great perplexity, for he had no mind to loſe any part of his Temporal Juriſdiction, and on the other hand was no leſs apprehenſive of the dangerous effects that might follow on a breach with the Clergy. So he called for Doctor *Veyſey*, then Dean of his Chappel and afterwards Biſhop of *Exeter*, and charged him upon his Allegiance to declare the truth to him in that matter: which after ſome ſtudy he did, and ſaid, upon his *Faith*, *Conſcience*, and *Allegiance*, he did think that the convening of Clerks before the ſecular Judg, which had been always practiſed in *England*, might well conſiſt with the Law of God and the *true Liberties of the holy Church*. This gave the King great ſatisfaction; ſo he commanded all the Judges, and his Council both Spiritual and Temporal, and ſome of both Houſes, to meet at *Black-Friers*, and to hear the matter argued. The Bill againſt Doctor *Standiſh* was read, which conſiſted of Six Articles that were objected to him. Firſt, *That he had ſaid that the lower Orders were not ſacred*. Secondly, *That the Exemption of Clerks was not founded on a divine Right*. Thirdly, *That the Laity might coerce Clerks when the Prelates did not their duty*. Furthly, *That no poſitive Eccleſiaſtical Law binds any but thoſe who receive it*. Fifthly, *That the Study of the Canon-Law was needleſs*. Sixthly, *That of the whole Volume of the* Decretum, *ſo much as a man could hold in his fiſt, and no more, did oblige Chriſtians*. To theſe Doctor *Standiſh* anſwered, that for thoſe things expreſt in the Third, the Fifth, and the Sixth Articles he had never taught them; as for his aſſerting them at any time in diſcourſe, as he did not remember it, ſo he did not much care, whether he had done it or not. To the Firſt he ſaid, *Leſſer Orders in one ſenſe* are *ſacred*, and in another they are *not ſacred*. For the Second and Fourth, he confeſſed he had taught them, and was ready to juſtifie them. It was objected by the Clergy, that as by the Law of God, *no man could judge his Father*, it being contrary to that Commandment, *Honour thy Father*: So Church-men being *Spiritual Fathers*, they could not be judged by the Laity who were their *Children*. To which he anſwered, that as that only concluded in favour of *Prieſts*, thoſe in Inferiour Orders not being *Fathers*; ſo it was a miſtake to ſay a Judge might not ſit upon his Natural Father, for the Judge was by another Relation above his Natural Father: and though the Commandment is conceived in general words, yet there are ſome exceptions to be admitted; as though it be ſaid, *Thou ſhalt not kill*, yet in ſome caſes we may lawfully kill, ſo in the caſe of juſtice a Judge may lawfully ſit on his Father.

But Doctor *Veyſey*'s Argument was that which took moſt with all that were preſent. He ſaid, it was certain that the Laws of the Church *did not bind any but thoſe who received them*. To prove this, he ſaid, that in old times all ſecular Prieſts were Married; but in the days of St. *Auguſtine*, the Apoſtle of *England*, there was a Decree made to the contrary, which was received in *England* and in many other places, by vertue whereof the Secular Prieſts in *England* may not Marry; but this Law not being univerſally received, *the Greek Church never judged themſelves bound by it*, ſo that to this day the Prieſts in that Church have Wives as well as other ſecular men. If then the Churches of the *Eaſt* not having received the Law of the Celibate of the Clergy, have never

ver been condemned by the Church, for not obeying it; then the conveening Clerks having been always practiſed in *England*, was no ſin, notwithſtanding the Decree to the contrary which was never received here. Nor is this to be compared to thoſe priviledges that concern only a Private mans Intereſt, for the Common-Wealth of the whole Realm was chiefly to be lookt at, and to be preferred to all other things.

When the Matter was thus argued on both ſides, all the Judges delivered their Opinions, in theſe words: *That all thoſe of the Convocation who did award the Citation againſt* Standiſh, *were in the caſe of a Premunire facias*; and added ſomewhat about the Conſtitution of the Parliament, which being forreign to my buſineſs, and contrary to a received opinion, I need not mention, but refer the Reader to *Keilway* for his Information, if he deſires to know more of it: and thus the Court broke up. But ſoon after, all the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, with many of the Houſe of Commons, and all the Judges and the Kings Council, were called before the King to *Baynards* Caſtle; and in all their preſence the Cardinal kneeled down before the King, and in the name of the Clergy ſaid, *That none of them intended to do any thing that might derogate from his Prerogative, and leaſt of all himſelf, who owed his Advancement only to the Kings favour. But this matter of Conveening of Clerks, did ſeem to them all to be contrary to the Laws of God, and the Liberties of the Church, which they were bound by their Oaths to maintain according to their Power.* Therefore in their name he humbly begged, *That the King to avoid the Cenſures of the Church, would refer the Matter to the deciſion of the Pope and his Council, at the Court of* Rome. To which the King anſwered, *It ſeems to us that Doctor* Standiſh, *and others of our Spiritual Council, have anſwered you fully in all points.* The Biſhop of *Winchester* replyed, *Sir, I warrant you Doctor* Standiſh *will not abide by his Opinion at his peril.* But the Doctor ſaid, *what ſhould one poor Frier doe alone, againſt all the Biſhops and Clergy of* England? After a ſhort ſilence the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſaid, *That in former times divers holy Fathers of the Church had oppoſed the execution of that Law, and ſome of them ſuffered Martyrdome in the Quarrel.* To whom *Fineux* Lord Chief Juſtice ſaid, *That many holy Kings had maintained that Law, and many holy Fathers had given Obedience to it, which it is not to be preſumed they would have done, had they known it to be contrary to the Law of God*: and he deſired to know by what Law Biſhops could judge Clerks for Felony, it being a thing only determined by the Temporal Law; ſo that either it was not at all to be tryed, or it was only in the Temporal Court; ſo that either Clerks muſt do as they pleaſe, or be tryed in the Civil Courts. To this no Anſwer being made, the King ſaid theſe words: *By the Permiſſion and Ordinance of God we are King of* England, *and the Kings of* England *in times paſt had never any Superiour, but God only. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the Right of our Crown, and of our Temporal Juriſdiction as well in this, as in all other points, in as ample manner as any of our Progenitours have done before our time. And as for your Decrees we are well aſſured that you of the Spirituality go expreſly againſt the words of divers of them, as hath been ſhewed you by ſome of our Council; and you interpret your Decrees at your pleaſure, but we will not agree to them more than our Progenitors have done in former times.* But the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* made moſt humble Inſtance, that the

Matter

Matter might be ſo long reſpited, till they could get a Reſolution from the Court of *Rome*, which they ſhould procure at their own Charges; and if it did conſiſt with the Law of God, they ſhould conform themſelves to the Law of the Land. To this the King made no anſwer: but the Warrants being out againſt Doctor *Horſey* the Biſhop of *London's* Chancellour, he did abſcond in the Arch-Biſhops houſe; though it was pretended he was a Priſoner there, till afterwards a temper was found, that *Horſey* ſhould render himſelf a Priſoner in the Kings Bench and be tryed. But the Biſhop of *London* made earneſt Applications to the Cardinal that he would move the King to command the Attourney-General to confeſs the Inditement was not true, that it might not be referred to a Jury; ſince he ſaid the Citizens of *London* did ſo favour Hereſie, that if he were as Innocent as *Abel* they would find any Clerk guilty. The King not willing to irritate the Clergy too much, and judging he had maintained his Prerogative by bringing *Horſey* to the Bar, ordered the Attourney to do ſo. And accordingly when *Horſey* was brought to the Bar and Endited of Murder, he pleaded *Not guilty*; which the Attourney acknowledging, he was diſmiſſed, and went and lived at *Exeter*, and never again came back to *London*, either out of fear or ſhame. And for Doctor *Standiſh*, upon the Kings Command, he was alſo diſmiſſed out of the Court of Convocation.

It does not appear that the Pope thought fit to interpoſe in this Matter. For though upon leſs Provocations, Popes had proceeded to the higheſt Cenſures againſt Princes, yet this King was otherwiſe ſo neceſſary to the Pope at this time, that he was not to be offended. The Clergy ſuffered much in this buſineſs, beſides the loſs of their reputation with the people, who involved them all in the guilt of *Hunne's* Murder; for now their Exemption being well examined, was found to have no foundation at all, but in their own Decrees; and few were much convinced by that authority, ſince upon the matter it was but a judgment of their own, in their own favours: nor was the City of *London* at all ſatisfied with the Proceedings in the Kings Bench, ſince there was no juſtice done; and all thought the King ſeemed more careful to maintain his Prerogative than to do Juſtice.

This I have related the more fully, becauſe it ſeems to have had great Influence on peoples minds, and to have diſpoſed them much to the Changes that followed afterwards. How theſe things were entred in the Books of Convocation, cannot be now known. For among the other ſad loſſes ſuſtained in the late burning of *London*, this was one, that almoſt all the Regiſters of the Spiritual Courts were burnt, ſome few of the Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury* and Biſhops of *London's* Regiſters being only preſerved. But having compared *Fox* his Account of this and ſome other matters, and finding it exactly according to the Regiſters that are preſerved, I ſhall the more confidently build, on what he publiſhed from thoſe Records that are now loſt.

The King obliged the Popes highly, and was much courted by them.

This was the only thing in the firſt 18 years of the Kings Reign that ſeemed to leſſen the Greatneſs of the Clergy, but in all other matters he was a moſt faithful Son of the See of *Rome*. Pope *Julius* ſoon after his coming to the Crown, ſent him a Golden Roſe with a Letter

Letter to Arch-Biſhop *Warham* to deliver it, and though ſuch Preſents might ſeem fitter for young Children, than for men of diſcretion; yet the King was much delighted with it: and to ſhew his Gratitude, there was a Treaty concluded the year following between the King and *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, for the Defence of the Papacy againſt the *French* King. And when in oppoſition to the Council, that the *French* King and ſome other Princes and Cardinals had called, firſt to *Piſa* (which was afterwards tranſlated to *Milan*, and then to *Lions*, that ſummoned the Pope to appear before them, and ſuſpended his Authority) Pope *Julius* called another Council to be held in the *Lateran*; the King ſent the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Rocheſter*, the Prior of St. *Johns* and the Abbot of *Winchelcomb* to ſit in that Council, in which there was ſuch a Repreſentative of the Catholick Church as had been for ſeveral of the latter Ages in the *Weſtern* Church: in which a few Biſhops packt out of ſeveral Kingdoms, and many *Italian* Biſhops, with a vaſt number of Abbots, Priors, and other Inferiour Dignified Clergy-men, were brought to Confirm together whatever the Popes had a mind to Enact; which paſſing eaſily among them, was ſent over the world with a ſtamp of Sacred Authority, as the Decrees and Deciſions of the *Holy Univerſal Church aſſembled in a General Council.*

Collect. *Numb.* 2*d.*

Treaty-Rolls 3 *Reg.*

19 *April* 1512.

Nor was there a worſe underſtanding between this King and Pope *Leo* the 10*th.* that ſucceeded *Julius*, who did alſo complement him with thoſe Papal Preſents of Roſes, and at his deſire made *Wolſey* a Cardinal; and above all other things obliged him by conferring on him the Title of *Defender of the Faith*, (upon the preſenting to the Pope his Book againſt *Luther*) in a pompous Letter Signed by the Pope, and 27 Cardinals, in which the King took great pleaſure; affecting it always beyond all his other Titles, though ſeveral of the former Kings of *England* had carried the ſame Title, as *Spelman* informs us. So eaſie a thing it was for Popes to oblige Princes in thoſe days, when a Title or a Roſe was thought a ſufficient Recompence for the greateſt Services.

1521. *October* 11.

L. *Herbert.*

The Cardinal Governing all Temporal Affairs as he did, it is not to be doubted but his Authority was abſolute in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, which ſeemed naturally to lie within his Province; yet *Warham* made ſome oppoſition to him, and complained to the King of his encroaching too much in his Legantine Courts, upon his Juriſdiction; and the things being clearly made out, the King chid the Cardinal ſharply for it, who ever after that hated *Warham* in his heart, yet he proceeded more warily for the future.

A Bull for Reforming the Clergy.

But the Cardinal drew the hatred of the Clergy upon himſelf, chiefly by a Bull which he obtained from *Rome*, giving him Authority to viſit all Monaſteries, and all the Clergy of *England*, and to diſpence with all the Laws of the Church for one whole year after the date of the Bull. The power that was lodged in him by this Bull was not more invidious, than the words in which it was conceived were offenſive; for the Preamble of it was full of ſevere Reflections againſt the Manners and Ignorance of the Clergy, who are ſaid in it to have been delivered over *to a Reprobate mind.* This, as it was a publick Defaming them, ſo how true ſoever it might be, all thought it did not become the Cardinal, whoſe Vices were notorious and ſcandalous, to tax others whoſe faults were neither ſo great, nor ſo eminent as his were.

10 *June* 1519. L. *Herbert*, and Article 29. of his Impeachment.

The Cardinal's Pride. *Polydore Virgil* He did alſo affect a Magnificence and Greatneſs, not only in his Habit (being the firſt Clergy-man in *England* that wore Silks), but in his Family, his Train, and other pieces of State, equal to that of Kings. And even in performing Divine Offices, and ſaying Maſs, he did it with the ſame Ceremonies that the Popes uſe; who judg themſelves ſo nearly related to God, that thoſe humble acts of Adoration, which are Devotions in other perſons, would abaſe them too much. He had not only Biſhops and Abbots to ſerve him, but even Dukes and Earls to give him the Water and the Towel. He had certainly a vaſt mind; and he ſaw the corruptions of the Clergy gave ſo great Scandal, and their Ignorance was ſo profound, that unleſs ſome effectual ways were taken for correcting theſe, they muſt needs fall into great diſeſteem with the People: For though he took great liberties himſelf, and perhaps according to the Maxime of the Canoniſts, he judged Cardinals as Princes of the Church were not comprehended within ordinary Eccleſiaſtical Laws; yet he ſeemed to have deſigned the Reformation of the Inferiour Clergy by all the means he could think of, except the giving them a good Example: Therefore he intended to viſit all the Monaſteries of *England*, that ſo diſcovering their corruptions, he might the better juſtifie the deſign he had to ſuppreſs moſt of them, and convert them into Biſhopricks, Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches and Colledges: For which end he procured the Bull from *Rome*: but he was diverted from making any uſe of it; by ſome who adviſed him rather to ſuppreſs Monaſteries by the Popes Authority, than proceed in a Method which would raiſe great hatred againſt himſelf, caſt foul aſperſions on Religious Orders, and give the Enemies of the Church great advantages againſt it. Yet he had communicated his deſign to the King; and his Secretary *Cromwell* underſtanding it, was thereby inſtructed how to proceed afterwards when they went about the total ſuppreſſion of the Monaſteries.

He deſigns a Reformation

And a Suppreſſion of Monaſteries.

The Calling of Convocations. The Summoning of Convocations he aſſumed by vertue of his Legantine Power. Of theſe there were two ſorts, the firſt were called by the King; for with the Writs for a Parliament there went out always a Summons to the Two Arch-Biſhops for calling a Convocation of their Provinces, the Stile of which will be found in the Collection. It differs in nothing from what is now in uſe, but that the King did not prefix the day: requiring them only to be Summoned to meet with all convenient ſpeed; and the Arch-Biſhops, having the King's pleaſure ſignified to them, did in their Writs prefix the day. Other Convocations were called by the Arch-Biſhops in their ſeveral Provinces upon great Emergencies to meet and treat of things relating to the Church, and were Provincial Councils. Of this I find but one, and that called by *Warham* in the firſt year of this King, for reſtoring the Eccleſiaſtical Immunities that had been very much impaired, as will appear by the Writ of Summons. But the Cardinal did now, as Legate, iſſue out Writs for Convocations. In the year 1522. I find by the Regiſter there was a Writ iſſued from the King to *Warham* to call one, who upon that Summoned it to meet at St. *Pauls* the 20*th*. of *April*. But the Cardinal prevailed ſo far with the King, that on the 2*d*. of *May* after, he by his Legantine Authority diſſolved that Convocation; and iſſued out a Writ to *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *London* to bring the Clergy of *Canterbury* to St. *Peter*'s in *Weſtminſter*, there to meet and reform Abuſes in the Church; and con-

Collect. *Numb.* 3*d*.

Collect. *Numb.* 4*th*.

Regiſt. *Tonſt.* Fol. 33, 34.

conſider of other important Matters that ſhould be propoſed to them. What they did towards Reformation, I know not, the Records being loſt: But as to the Kings Supply, it was propoſed, That they ſhould give the King the half of the full value of their Livings for one year, to be paid in Five years. The Cardinal laid out to them how much the King had merited from the Church, both by ſuppreſſing the Schiſm that was like to have been in the Papacy in Pope *Julius* his time, and by Protecting the See of *Rome* from the *French* Tyrannie; but moſt of all, for that excellent Book written by him in Defence of the Faith againſt the Hereticks: and that therefore, ſince the *French* King was making War upon him, and had ſent over the Duke of *Albany* to *Scotland* to make War alſo on that ſide, it was fit that on ſo great an occaſion, it ſhould appear that his Clergy were ſenſible of their Happineſs in having ſuch a King; which they ought to expreſs in granting ſomewhat that was as much beyond all former Preſidents, as the King had merited more from them than all former Kings had ever done.

But the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Rocheſter* oppoſed this: For they both hated the Cardinal. The one thought him ungrateful to him who had raiſed him: The other being a man of a ſtrict Life hated him for his Vices. Both theſe ſpake againſt it as an unheard-of Tax, which would ſo oppreſs the Clergy, that it would not be poſſible for them to live and pay it; and that this would become a Precedent for after-times, which would make the condition of the Clergy moſt miſerable. But the Cardinal, who intended that the Convocation by a great Subſidy ſhould lead the way to the Parliament, took much pains for carrying it thorough; and got ſome to be abſent, and others were prevailed on to conſent to it: And for the fear of its being made a Precedent, a Clauſe was put in the Act, *That it ſhould be no Precedent for after-times.* Others laughed at this, and ſaid, It would be a Precedent for all that, if it once paſſed. But in the end it was granted, with a moſt glorious Preamble; and by it all the Natives of *England* that had any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice were to pay the full half of the true value of their Livings in Five years; and all Forreigners who were Beneficed in *England* were to pay a whole years Rent in the ſame time: out of which number were excepted the Biſhops of *Worceſter* and *Landaffe*, *Polidore Virgil*, *Peter* the *Carmelite*, *Eraſmus* of *Roterdam*, *Silveſter Darius*, and *Peter Vannes*, who were to pay only as Natives did. This encreaſed the hatred that the Clergy bore the Cardinal. But he deſpiſed them, and in particular was a great Enemy to the Monks, and looked on them as idle mouths that did neither the Church nor State any Service, but were through their ſcandalous Lives a reproach to the Church, and a burden to the State. Therefore he reſolved to ſuppreſs a great number of them, and to change them to another Inſtitution. Collect. *Numb.* 5th.

From the days of King *Edgar* the State of Monkery had been ſtill growing in *England*. For moſt of the Secular Clergy being then Married, and refuſing to put away their Wives, were by *Dunſtan* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Ethelwald* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and *Oſwald* Biſhop of *Worceſter*, who were all Monks, turned out of their Livings. There is in the Rolls an *Inſpeximus* of King *Edgars*, Erecting the Priory and Convent of *Worceſter*, which bears date *Anno* 964. *Edgari* 6to. on St. *Innocents*-day, Signed by the King, the Queen, Two Arch-Biſhops, Five Of the State of the Monaſteries. *Rot. Pat.* 11. *Hen.* 8. *Part.* 1.

Biſhops, Six Abbots, (but neither Biſhoprick nor Abbey are named) Six Dukes, and Five Knights, but there is no Seal to it. It bears, that the King, with the Council and Conſent of his Princes and Gentry, did Confirm and Eſtabliſh that Priory; and that he had Erected 47 Monaſteries, which he intended to encreaſe to 50. the number of Jubilee; and that the former Incumbents ſhould be for ever excluded from all pretenſions to their Benefices, becauſe they had rather choſen, with the danger of their Order, and the prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Benefice, to adhere to their Wives, than to ſerve God Chaſtly and Canonically.

The Monks being thus ſetled in moſt Cathedrals of *England*, gave themſelves up to Idleneſs and Pleaſure, which had been long complained of; but now that Learning began to be reſtored, they being everywhere poſſeſſed of the beſt Church-Benefices, were looked upon by all Learned-men with an evil eye, as having in their hands the chief encouragements of Learning, and yet doing nothing towards it; they on the contrary decrying and diſparaging it all they could, ſaying, It would bring in Hereſie, and a great deal of miſchief. And the Reſtorers of Learning, ſuch as *Eraſmus*, *Vives*, and others, did not ſpare them, but did expoſe their Ignorance and ill Manners to the world.

The Cardinal's Colledges

Now the King naturally loved Learning, and therefore the Cardinal, either to do a thing which he knew would be acceptable to the King, or that it was alſo agreeable to his own Inclinations, reſolved to ſet up ſome Colledges, in which there ſhould be both great Encouragements for eminent Scholars to proſecute their Studies, and good Schools for teaching and training up of Youth. This he knew would be a great honour to him, to be lookt upon as a Patron of Learning; and therefore he ſet his heart much on it, to have Two Colledges (the one at *Oxford*, the other at *Ipſwich*, the place of his Birth) well conſtituted, and nobly Endowed. But towards this, it was neceſſary to ſuppreſs ſome Monaſteries, which was thought every-whit as juſtifiable and lawful, as it had been many Ages before, to change Secular Prebends into Canons Regular; the endowed Goods being ſtill applied to a Religious uſe. And it was thought hard to ſay, That if the Pope had the abſolute Power of diſpenſing the Spiritual Treaſure of the Church, and to tranſlate the Merits of one man, and apply them to another; that he had not a much more abſolute Power over the Temporal Treaſure of the Church, to tranſlate Church-Lands from one uſe, and apply them to another. And indeed the Cardinal was then ſo much conſidered at *Rome*, as a Pope of another world; that whatever he deſired he eaſily obtained. Therefore on the 3*d*. of *April* 1524. Pope *Clement* by a Bull gave him Authority to ſuppreſs the Monaſtery of St. *Frediſwood* in *Oxford*, and in the Dioceſs of *Lincoln*, and to carry the Monks elſewhere, with a very full *non obſtante*. To this the King gave his aſſent the 19*th*. of *April* following. After this there followed many other Bulls for other Religious Houſes and Rectories that were Impropriated. Theſe Houſes being thus ſuppreſſed by the Law, they belonged to the King; who thereupon made them over to the Cardinal by new and ſpecial Grants, which are all Enrolled. And ſo he went on with theſe great Foundations, and brought them to Perfection: That at *Oxford* in the 18*th*. year, and that at *Ipſwich* in the 20*th*. year of the Kings Reign, as appears by the Dates of the Kings Patents for Founding them.

The Bull and Royal Aſſent, 14. *Reg.* 2. *Part. Rot. Pat.*

In

In the laſt Place I come to ſhew the new opinions in Religion, or thoſe that were accounted new then in *England*; and the State and Progreſs of them till the 19th year of the Kings Reign.

The Firſt beginning of Reformation in *England*.

From the days of *Wickliffe*, there were many that diſliked moſt of the received Doctrines, in ſeveral parts of the Nation. The Clergy were at that time very hateful to the people; for as the Pope did exact heavily on them, ſo they being oppreſſed took all means poſſible to make the people repay what the Popes wreſted from them. *Wickliffe* being much encouraged and ſupported by the Duke of *Lancaſter*, and the Lord *Piercy*, the Biſhops could not proceed againſt him till the Duke of *Lancaſter* was put from the King, and then he was condemned at *Oxford*. Many opinions are charged upon him, but whether he held them or not, we know not, but by the Teſtimonies of his Enemies, who write of him with ſo much paſſion, that it diſcredits all they ſay; yet he dyed in peace, though his body was afterwards burnt. He tranſlated the Bible out of Latine into *Engliſh*, with a long Preface before it, in which he reflected ſeverely on the corruptions of the Clergy, and condemned the Worſhipping of Saints and Images, and denyed the corporal Preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, and exhorted all people to the Study of the Scriptures. His Bible with this Preface was well received by a great many, who were led into theſe Opinions, rather by the Impreſſions which common ſenſe and plain Reaſon made on them, than by any deep Speculation or Study. For the followers of this Doctrine were illiterate and ignorant men: ſome few Clerks joyned to them, but they formed not themſelves into any body or aſſociation; and were ſcattered over the Kingdom, holding theſe Opinions in private without making any publick Profeſſion of them: Generally they were known by their diſparaging the ſuperſtitious Clergy, whoſe Corruptions were then ſo notorious, and their Cruelty ſo enraged, that no wonder the people were deeply prejudiced againſt them. Nor were the methods they uſed likely to prevail much upon them, being ſevere and cruel.

The Cruelties of the Church of *Rome*.

In the Primitive Church, though in their Councils they were not backward to paſs Anathematiſms on every thing that they judged Hereſie; yet all Capital proceedings againſt Hereticks were condemned; and when two Biſhops did proſecute *Priſcillian*, and his followers before the Emperor *Maximus*, upon which they were put to death, they were generally ſo blamed for it, that many refuſed to hold Communion with them. The *Roman* Emperors made many Laws againſt Hereticks, for the fining and baniſhing of them, and ſecluded them from the Priviledges of other Subjects; ſuch as *making Wills*, or *receiving Legacies*; only the *Manichees* (who were a ſtrange mixture between Heatheniſm and Chriſtianity) were to ſuffer death for their errors. Yet the Biſhops in thoſe days, particularly in *Africk*, doubted much, whether upon the Inſolencies of Hereticks, or Schiſmaticks, they might deſire the Emperor to execute thoſe Laws for Fining, Baniſhing, and other reſtraints. And St. *Auſtin* was not eaſily prevailed on to conſent to it. But at length the *Donatiſts* were ſo intolerable, that after ſeveral Conſultations about it, they were forced to conſent to thoſe inferiour penalties but ſtill condemned the taking away of their lives. And even in the Execution of the Imperial Laws in thoſe inferiour puniſhments, they

they were always interpoſing, to moderate the ſeverity of the Prefects and Governours. The firſt Inſtance of ſeverity on mens bodies that was not cenſured by the Church, was in the fifth Century under *Juſtine* the firſt, who Ordered the tongue of *Severus* (who had been Patriarch of *Antioch*, but did daily Anathematiſe the Council of *Chalcedon*) to be cut out. In the Eighth Century *Juſtinian* the 2d (called *Rhinotmetus* from his cropt noſe) burnt all the *Manichees* in *Armenia*: And in the end of the Eleventh Century the *Bogomili* were condemned to be burnt by the Patriarch and Council of *Conſtantinople*. But in the end of the 12, and in the beginning of the 13th Century, a Company of Simple and Innocent perſons in the Southern parts of *France*, being diſguſted with the Corruptions both of the Popiſh Clergy and of the publick Worſhip, ſeparated from their Aſſemblies; and then *Dominick* and his *brethren-Preachers*, who came among them to convince them, finding their Preaching did not prevail, betook themſelves to that way, that was ſure to ſilence them. They perſwaded the Civil Magiſtrates to burn all ſuch as were judged Obſtinate Hereticks. That they might do this by a Law, the Fourth Council of *Lateran* did Decree, that all Hereticks ſhould be delivered to the *Secular Power* to be *extirpated*; (they thought not fit to ſpeak out, but by the Practiſe it was known that *Burning* was that which they meant;) and if they did it not, they were to be Excommunicated; and after that, if they ſtill refuſed to do their duty, (which was upon the matter to be the Inquiſitors Hangmen) they were to deny it at their utmoſt Perils. For not only the Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, but Anathema's were thought too feeble a puniſhment for this Omiſſion. Therefore a Cenſure was found out, as ſevere upon the Prince, as Burning was to the poor Heretick. *He was to be depoſed by the Pope, his Subjects to be abſolved from their Oaths of Allegiance, and his Dominions to be given away, to any other faithful Son of the Church, ſuch as pleaſed the Pope beſt* and all this by the Authority of a Synod, that paſſed for a *Holy General Council.* This as it was fatal to the Counts of *Tholouſe*, who were great Princes in the South of *France*, and firſt fell under the Cenſures; ſo it was terrible to all other Princes, who thereupon, to ſave themſelves delivered up their Subjects to the Mercy of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

Fitz-Herbert, de Nat. Brevium.

Burning was the death they made choice of, becauſe Witches, Vizards, and Sodomites had been ſo executed. Therefore to make Hereſie appear a terrible thing, this was thought the moſt proper puniſhment of it. It had alſo a reſemblance of everlaſting Burning, to which they adjudged their Souls, as well as their bodies were condemned to the fire; but with this ſignal difference, that they could find no ſuch effectual way to oblige God to execute their ſentence, as they contrived againſt the Civil Magiſtrate. But however they confidently gave it out, that by vertue of that Promiſe of our Saviours, *Whoſe ſins ye bind on Earth, they are bound in Heaven*, their Decrees were ratified in Heaven. And it not being eaſie to diſprove what they ſaid, people believed the one, as they ſaw the other Sentence executed. So that whatever they condemned as Hereſie, was looked on as the worſt thing in in the world.

There was no occaſion for the execution of this Law in *England*, till

till the days of *Wickliffe*. And the favour he had from ſome great men ſtopt the Proceedings againſt him. But in the 5th year of King *Richard* the Second, a Bill paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, and was aſſented to by the King, and publiſhed for an Act of Parliament, though the Bill was never ſent to the Houſe of Commons. By this pretended Law it appears, *Wickliff's* followers were then very numerous; that they had a certain habit, and did Preach in many places, both in Churches, Church-yards and Markets, without Licence from the Ordinary; and did preach ſeveral Doctrines both againſt the Faith, and the Laws of the Land, as had been proved before the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the other Biſhops, Prelats, Doctors of Divinity, and of the Civil and Canon-Law, and others of the Clergy: That they would not ſubmit to the admonitions, nor Cenſures of the Church; but by their ſubtile ingenious words, did draw the people to follow them and defend them by ſtrong hand, and in great routs. Therefore it was Ordained, that upon the Biſhops certifying into the *Chancery* the names of ſuch Preachers and their Abettors, the Chancellour ſhould iſſue forth Commiſſions to the Sheriffs and others the Kings Miniſters, to hold them in Arreſt and ſtrong Priſon till they ſhould *juſtify them* according to the Law and reaſon of Holy Church. From the gentleneſs of which law it may appear, that *England* was not then ſo tame as to bear the ſeverity of thoſe cruel laws which were ſetled and put in execution in other Kingdoms.

The Laws of *England* againſt Hereticks.

Under *Rich.* the 2d.

The Cuſtome at that time was to engroſs Copies of all the Acts of Parliament, and to ſend them with a Writ under the great Seal to the Sheriffs, to make them be proclaimed within their juriſdictions. And *John Braibrook* Biſhop of *London*, then Lord Chancellour, ſent this with the other Acts of that Parliament to be proclaimed. The Writ bears date the 26th of *May*, 5to *Reg.* But in the next Parliament that was held in the 6th year of that Kings Reign, the Commons preferred a Bill reciting the former Act, and conſtantly affirmed that they had never aſſented to it, and therefore deſired it might be declared to be void; for they Proteſted it was never their intent to be *Juſtified, and to bind themſelves and their Succeſſors to the Prelats, more than their Anceſtors had done in times paſt.* To which the King gave the Royal Aſſent, as it is in the Records of Parliament. But in the Proclamation of the Acts of that Parliament this Act was ſuppreſſed; ſo that the former Act was ſtill looked on as a good law, and is Printed in the Book of Statutes. Such pious frauds were always practiſed by the Popiſh Clergy, and were indeed neceſſary for the ſupporting the Credit of that Church. When *Richard* the 2d was depoſed and the Crown uſurped by *Henry* the 4th, then he in gratitude to the Clergy that aſſiſted him in his coming to the Crown, granted them a law to their hearts content in the 2*d.* year of his Reign. The Preamble bears, *That ſome had a new Faith about the Sacraments of the Church, and the Authority of the ſame; and did Preach without Authority, gathered Conventicles, taught Schools, wrote Books againſt the Catholick Faith; with many other heinous aggravations. Upon which the Prelats and Clergy, and the Commons of the Realm prayed the King to provide a ſufficient remedy to ſo great an evil. Therefore the King by the aſſent of the States, and other diſcreet men of the Realm being in the ſaid Parliament, did Ordain, That none ſhould Preach*

Cook's Inſtitutes 3. part. chap. 5. of Hereſie.

6to *Rich.* 2. 1 *Part. Numb.* 52. *Rot. parl.*

Another Law under King *Henry* the 4th.

Preach without Licence, except perſons Priviledged; That none ſhould Preach any Doctrine contrary to the Catholick Faith, or the Determination of the Holy Church, and that none ſhould favour and abett them, nor keep their Books, but deliver them to the Dioceſan of the place within 40 *days after the Proclamation of that Statute. And that if any Perſons were defamed, or ſuſpected of doing againſt that Ordinance, then the Ordinary might Arreſt them, and keep them in his Priſon, till they were Canonically purged of the Articles laid againſt them, or did abjure them according to the Laws of the Church. Provided always that the proceedings againſt them were publickly and judicially done and ended, within three Months after they had been ſo Arreſted; and if they were Convict, the Dioceſan, or his Commiſſaries, might keep them in Priſon as long as to his diſcretion ſhall ſeem expedient, and might Fine them as ſhould ſeem competent to him, certifying the Fine into the Kings Exchequer; and if any being Convict did refuſe to abjure, or after Abjuration did fall into Relapſe, then he was to be left to the Secular Court according to the Holy Canons. And the Majors, Sheriffs, or Bayliffs were to be perſonally preſent at the paſſing the Sentence, when they ſhould be required by the Dioceſan, or his Commiſſaries, and after the Sentence they were to receive them, and them before the People in a high place [illegible] to be B[illegible].* By this Statute the Sheriffs, or other Officers, were immediatly to proceed to the Burning of Hereticks without any Writ, or Warrant from the King. But it ſeems the Kings Learned Council adviſed him to iſſue out a Writ, *De Hæretico comburendo*, upon what grounds of Law I cannot tell. For in the ſame year when *William Sartre* (who was the firſt that was put to death upon the account of Hereſie) was judged Relapſe by *Thomas Arundel*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, in a Convocation of his Province, and thereupon was degraded from Prieſthood, and left to Secular Power; a Writ was iſſued out to Burn him, which in the Writ is called, *The Cuſtomary Puniſhment* (relating it as like to the Cuſtoms that were beyond Sea.) But this Writ was not neceſſary by the Law, and therefore it ſeems theſe Writs were not Enrolled. For in the whole Reign of King *Henry* the 8*th*. I have not been able to find any of theſe Writs in the Rolls. But by *Warham*'s Regiſter I ſee the Common courſe of the Law, was to certifie into the Chancery the Conviction of an Heretick, upon which the Writ was iſſued out, if the King did not ſend a Pardon. Thus it went on all the Reign of *Henry* the 4*th*. But in the beginning of his Sons Reign, there was a Conſpiracy (as was pretended) by Sir *John Oldcaſtle*, and ſome others againſt the King and the Clergy; upon which many were put in Priſon, and 29 were both attainted of *Treaſon*, and condemned of *Hereſie*, ſo they were both Hanged and Burnt. But as a Writer that lived in the following Age, ſays, *Certain affirmed that theſe were but feigned cauſes, ſurmiſed of the Spiritualty more of diſpleaſure than truth.* That Conſpiracy, whether real or pretended, produced a ſevere Act againſt thoſe Hereticks, who were then beſt known by the name of *Lollards*. By which Act all Officers of State, Judges, Juſtices of the Peace, Majors, Sheriffs and Bayliffs, were to be Sworn when they took their Imployments, to uſe their whole Power and Diligence to deſtroy all Hereſies and Errors, called *Lollardies*, and to aſſiſt the Ordinaries and their Commiſſaries in their proceedings againſt them; and that the *Lollards* ſhould forfeit all the Lands they held in *Fee-Simple*, and their Goods and Chattels to the King.

Fitz Herbert's Natura Brevium.

Hall.

The

The Clergy, according to the Genius of that Religion, having their Authority fortified with ſuch ſevere Laws, were now more cruel and inſolent than ever. And if any man denied them any part of that reſpect, or of thoſe advantages to which they pretended, he was preſently brought under the ſuſpition of Hereſie, and vexed with Impriſonments, and Articles were brought againſt him.

Upon which great complaints followed. And the Judges to correct this, granted *Habeas Corpus* upon their Impriſonments, and examined the Warrants, and either Bailed, or Diſcharged the Priſoners as they ſaw cauſe: For though the Decrees of the Church had made many things Hereſie, ſo that the Clergy had much matter to work upon; yet when Offenders againſt them in other things could not be charged with any formal Hereſie, then by conſequences they ſtudied to faſten it on them, but were ſometimes over-ruled by the Judges. Thus, when one *Keyſer* (who was Excommunicated by *Thomas Bourchier*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, at the Suit of another) ſaid openly, that *That Sentence was not to be feared*; for though the Arch-Biſhop, or his Commiſſary had Excommunicated him, *yet he was not Excommunicated before God*; he was upon this Committed by the Arch-Biſhop's Warrant, as one juſtly ſuſpected of Hereſie: but the Judges upon his moving for an *Habeas Corpus*, granted it; and the Priſoner being brought to the Bar, with the Warrant for his Impriſonment, they found the matter contained in it was not within the Statute, and firſt Bailed him, and after that they Diſcharged him. One *Warner* of *London*, having ſaid, *That he was not bound to pay Tithes to his Curate*, was alſo impriſoned by *Edward Vaughan*, at the command of the Biſhop of *London*; but he eſcaped out of Priſon, and brought his Action of falſe Impriſonment againſt *Vaughan*. Whereupon *Vaughan* pleading the Statute of *Henry* the 4*th*. and that his Opinion was an Hereſie againſt the Determination of the Catholick Faith; the Court of the Common-Pleas judged, That the words were not within the Statute, and *that his Opinion was an Error, but no Hereſie*. So that the Judges looking on themſelves as the Interpreters of the Law, thought, That even in the caſe of Hereſie, they had Authority to declare, what was Hereſie by the Law, and what not: But what oppoſition the Clergy made to this, I do not know. 5th. year of *Edw.* 4th.

I hope the Reader will eaſily excuſe this Digreſſion, it being ſo material to the Hiſtory that is to follow. I ſhall next ſet down what I find in the Records about the proceedings againſt Hereticks in the beginning of this Reign.

On the 2*d*. of *May* in the year, 1511. Six Men and Four Women, moſt of them being of *Tenterden*, appeared before Arch-Biſhop *Warham*, in his Mannor of *Knall*, and abjured the following Errors. 1*ſt*. That in the Sacrament of the Altar is not the Body of Chriſt, but Material Bread. 2*dly*. That the Sacraments of Baptiſm, and Confirmation, are not neceſſary, nor profitable for mens Souls. 3*dly*. That Confeſſion of Sins ought not to be made to a Prieſt. 4*thly*. That there is no more Power given by God to a Prieſt than to a Layman. 5*thly*. That the Solemnization of Matrimony is not profitable, nor neceſſary for the well of mans Soul. 6*thly*. That the Sacrament of Extreme Unction is not profitable, nor neceſſary for mans Soul. 7*thly*. That Pilgrimages to holy and devout Places be not profitable, neither Meritorious for mans Soul. *Warham*'s Proceedings againſt Hereticks. Regiſt. *Warham*, Fol. 164.

8*thly*. That Images of Saints be not to be worſhipped. 9*thly*. That a man ſhould pray to no Saint, but only to God. 10*thly*. That holy water and holy bread be not the better after the Benediction made by the Prieſt, than before. And as they abjured theſe Opinions, ſo they were made to Swear, That they ſhould diſcover all whom they knew to hold theſe Errors, or who were ſuſpected of them, or that did keep any private Conventicles, or were Fautors, or Comforters of them that publiſhed ſuch Doctrins. Two other men of *Tenterden* did that day in the Afternoon abjure moſt of theſe Opinions. The Court ſate again the 5*th*. of *May*, and the Arch-Biſhop enjoyned them Penance, to wear the Badg of a Fagot in Flames on their Cloaths during their lives, or till they were diſpenſed with for it; and that in the Proceſſion both at the Cathedral of *Canterbury*, and at their own Pariſh Churches they ſhould carry a Fagot on their ſhoulders: which was looked on as a publick Confeſſion that they deſerved Burning.

That ſame day another of *Tenterdon* abjured the ſame Doctrines. On the 15*th*. of *May* the Court ſate at *Lambeth*, where 4 Men and one Woman abjured. On the 19*th*. Four Men more abjured. On the 3*d*. of *June* a Man and a Woman abjured. Another Woman the 26*th*. of *July*: Another Man the 29*th*. of *July*: Two Women on the 2*d*. of *Auguſt*: A Man on the 3*d*. and a Woman on the 8*th*. of *Auguſt*: Three Men on the 16*th*. of *Auguſt*: And three Men and a Woman on the 3*d*. of *Sept*. In theſe Abjurations ſome were put to abjure more, ſome fewer of the former Doctrines; and in ſome of their Abjurations Two Articles more were added, 1*ſt*. That the Images of the Crucifix, of our Lady and other Saints, ought not to be worſhipped, becauſe they were made with mens hands, and were but Stocks and Stones. 2*dly*. That Money and Labour ſpent in Pilgrimages was all in vain. All theſe Perſons (whether they were unjuſtly accuſed, or were overcome with fear, or had but crude conceptions of thoſe Opinions, and ſo were eaſily frighted out of them) abjured and performed the Penance that was enjoyned them. Others met with harder meaſure, for on the 29*th*. of *April*, in the ſame year, 1511. one *William Carder* of *Tenterdon*, being Endited on the former Articles, he denied them all but one, *That he had ſaid it was enough to pray to Almighty God alone, and therefore we needed not to pray to Saints for any mediation.* Upon which Witneſſes were brought againſt him, who were all ſuch as were then Priſoners, but intended to abjure, and were now made uſe of to Convict others. They Swore that he had taught them theſe Opinions. When their Depoſitions were publiſhed, he ſaid, he did repent if he had ſaid any thing againſt the Faith and the Sacraments; but he did not remember that he had ever ſaid any ſuch thing. Sentence was given upon him as an obſtinate Heretick, and he was delivered up to the Secular Power. On the ſame day a Woman, *Agnes Grevill*, was Endited upon the ſame Articles: She pleaded *not Guilty*, but by a ſtrange kind of proceeding, her Husband and her Two Sons were brought in Witneſſes againſt her. Her Husband depoſed, that in the end of the Reign of King *Edward* the 4*th*. one *John Ive*, had perſwaded her into theſe Opinions, in which ſhe had perſiſted ever ſince: Her Sons alſo depoſed, that ſhe had been ſtill infuſing theſe Doctrines into them. One *Robert Harriſon* was alſo Endited, and pleading *not Guilty*, Witneſſes did prove the Articles againſt him. And on the 2*d*. of

May

May Sentence was given againſt theſe Two as obſtinate Hereticks. And the ſame day the Arch-Biſhop Signed the Writs for certifying theſe Sentences into the Chancery, which conclude in theſe words: *Our holy Mother the Church having nothing further that ſhe can do in this matter, we leave the forementioned Hereticks, and every one of them to your Royal Highneſs, and to your Secular Council.* And on the 8*th.* of *May*, *John Brown* and *Edward Walker*, being alſo Endited of Hereſie on the former Points, they both pleaded *not Guilty*. But the Witneſſes depoſing againſt them, they were judged obſtinate Hereticks, and the former a Relapſe, for he had abjured before Cardinal *Morton*. And on the 19*th.* of *May* Sentence was given. When, or how the Sentences were Executed, I cannot find. Sure I am, there are no Pardons upon Record for any of them, and it was the courſe of the Law, either to ſend a Pardon, or to iſſue out the Writ for Burning them.

Fox mentions none of theſe proceedings, only he tells that *John Brown* was taken for ſome words ſaid in Diſcourſe with a Prieſt, about the ſaying of Maſſes for Redeeming Souls out of Purgatory. Upon which he was committed for ſuſpition of Hereſie: But *Fox* ſeems to have been miſinformed about the time of his Burning, which he ſays was, *Anno* 1517. for they would not have kept a condemned Heretick Six years out of the Fire. I never find them guilty of any ſuch clemency. Theſe ſevere Sentences made the reſt ſo apprehenſive of their danger, that all the others who were Endited, abjured. And in the year, 1512. on the 5*th.* of *June*, Two men and two women abjured that Article, That in the Sacrament of the Altar, there was only Material Bread, and not the Body of Chriſt. And on the 4*th.* and 13*th.* of *September*, Two other women abjured the former Articles; and this is all that is in *Warham's* Regiſter about Hereticks.

In what remains of *Fitz-James*, Biſhop of *London*'s Regiſter, There are but Three Abjurations. In the year 1509. one *Elizabeth Sampſon*, of *Aldermanbury*, was Endited for having ſpoken reproachfully of the Images of our Lady, of *Willſden*, *Crom*, and *Walſingham*, condemning Pilgrimages to them, and ſaying, It was better to give Alms at home to poor people, than to go on Pilgrimages; and that Images were but Stocks and Stones, and denying the vertue of the Sacrament of the Altar, when the Prieſt was not in clean life, and ſaying, It was but Bread, and that Chriſt could not be both in Heaven and Earth; and for denying Chriſt's Aſcenſion to Heaven, and ſaying, That more ſhould not go to Heaven than were already in it. But ſhe, to be free of further trouble, confeſſed her ſelf Guilty, and abjured all thoſe Opinions. It is generally obſerved, That in the proceedings againſt *Lollards*, the Clergy always mixed ſome Capital Errors, which all Chriſtians rejected, with thoſe for which they accuſed them; and ſome particulars being proved, they gave it out that they were Guilty of them all, to repreſent them the more odious. And in this caſe the thing is plain, for this woman is charged for denying Chriſt's Aſcenſion; and yet another of the Articles was, That ſhe ſaid Chriſt's Body could not be in the Sacrament, becauſe it could not be both in Heaven and on Earth. Which two Opinions are inconſiſtent. In the year 1511. *William Potier* was Endited for ſaying, There were Three Gods, and that he knew not for what Chriſt's Paſſion, or Baptiſm availed; and did abjure. Whether

Fitz-James Biſhop of *London*, his proceeding againſt Hereticks, *Fol.* 4.

ther he only ſpoke theſe things Impiouſly, or whether he held them in Opinion, is not clear. But certainly he was no *Lollard*. One *Joan Baker* was alſo made to abjure ſome words ſhe had ſaid, That Images were but Idols, and not to be worſhipped; and that they were ſet up by the Prieſt out of Covetouſneſs, that they might grow rich by them; and that Pilgrimages were not to be made. More is not in that Regiſter. But *Fox* gives an account of Six others, who were Burnt in *Fitz-James* his time. On this I have been the longer, that it may appear, what were the Opinions of the *Lollards* at that time before *Luther* had publiſhed any thing againſt the Indulgences. For theſe Opinions did very much diſpoſe people to receive the Writings which came afterwards out of *Germany*.

The Progreſs of *Luther*'s Doctrin.

The Firſt beginnings and progreſs of *Luther*'s Doctrine are ſo well known, that I need not tell how upon the publiſhing of Indulgences in *Germany*, in ſo groſs a manner, that for a little Money any man might both preſerve himſelf, and deliver his Friends out of Purgatory, many were offended at this merchandiſe, againſt which *Luther* wrote. But it concerning the See of *Rome* in ſo main a Point of their Prerogative, which would alſo have cut off a great Branch of their Revenue, he was proceeded againſt with extreme ſeverity: So ſmall a ſpark as that Colliſion made, could never have raiſed ſo great a fire, if the world had not been ſtrongly diſpoſed to it, by the juſt prejudices they had conceived againſt the Popiſh Clergy, whoſe Ignorance and lewd Lives had laid them ſo open to contempt and hatred, that any one that would ſet himſelf againſt them, could not but be kindly looked on by the people. They had engroſſed the greateſt part both of the Riches and Power of Chriſtendom, and lived at their eaſe and in much Wealth. And the corruptions of their Worſhip and Doctrine were ſuch, that a very ſmall proportion of common ſenſe, with but an overly looking on the New Teſtament, diſcovered them. Nor had they any other varniſh to colour them by, but the Authority and Traditions of the Church. But when ſome ſtudious men began to read the Ancient Fathers, and Councils (though there was then a great mixture of Sophiſticated ſtuff that went under the Ancient names, and was joyned to their true works, which Criticks have ſince diſcovered to be ſpurious) they found a vaſt difference between the firſt Five Ages of the Chriſtian Church, in which Piety and Learning prevailed, and the laſt Ten Ages in which Ignorance had buried all their former Learning, only a little miſguided Devotion was retained for Six of theſe Ages; and in the laſt Four, the reſtleſs Ambition and Uſurpation of the Popes was ſupported by the ſeeming holineſs of the begging Friers, and the falſe Counterfeits of Learning, which were among the Canoniſts, School-men and Caſuiſts. So that it was incredible to ſee, how men, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition the Princes every-where made to the progreſs of theſe reputed new Opinions, and the great advantages by which the Church of *Rome* both held and drew many into their Intereſts, were generally inclined to theſe Doctrines. Thoſe of the Clergy, who at firſt Preached them, were of the begging Orders of Friers, who having fewer engagements on them from their Intereſts, were freer to diſcover and follow the truth. And the auſtere Diſcipline they had been trained under, did prepare them to encounter thoſe difficulties that lay in their way. And the Laity that had long

lookt

lookt on their Paſtors with an evil eye, did receive theſe Opinions very eaſily; which did both diſcover the Impoſtures with which the world had been abuſed, and ſhewed a plain and ſimple way to the Kingdom of Heaven, by putting the Scriptures into their hands, and ſuch other Inſtructions about Religion, as were ſincere and genuine. The Clergy who at firſt deſpiſed theſe new Preachers, were at length much Allarmed when they ſaw all people running after them, and receiving their Doctrines.

As theſe things did ſpread much in *Germany*, *Switzerland*, and the *Netherlands*, ſo their Books came over into *England*, where there was much matter already prepared to be wrought on, not only by the prejudices they had conceived againſt the corrupt Clergy, but by the Opinions of the *Lollards* which had been now in *England* ſince the days of *Wickliff*, for about 150 years. Between which Opinions, and the Doctrines of the Reformers, there was great Affinity; and therefore, to give the better vent to the Books that came out of *Germany*, many of them were tranſlated into the *Engliſh*-Tongue, and were very much read and applauded. This quickned the proceedings againſt the *Lollards*, and the enquiry became ſo ſevere, that great numbers were brought into the Toils of the Biſhops and their Commiſſaries. If a man had ſpoken but a light word againſt any of the Conſtitutions of the Church, he was ſeized on by the Biſhop's Officers; and if any taught their Children the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Apoſtle's Creed in the Vulgar Tongue, that was crime enough to bring them to the Stake: As it did Six men and a woman at *Coventry*, in the *Paſſion-week*, 1519. being the 4*th*. of *April*. *Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln* was very cruel to all that were ſuſpected of Hereſie in his Dioceſs; ſeveral of them abjured, and ſome were Burnt. *Fox.*

But all that did not produce what they deſigned by it. The Clergy did not correct their own faults, and their cruelty was looked on as an evidence of Guilt, and of a weak Cauſe; ſo that the method they took, wrought only on peoples fears, and made them more cautious and reſerved, but did not at all remove the Cauſe, nor work either on their reaſons or affections.

The King writes againſt *Luther*. 1522.

Upon all this, the King to get himſelf a name, and to have a laſting Intereſt with the Clergy, thought it not enough to aſſiſt them with his Authority, but would needs turn their Champion, and write againſt *Luther* in defence of the Seven Sacraments. This Book was magnified by the Clergy as the moſt Learned Work that ever the Sun ſaw; and he was compared to King *Solomon*, and to all the Chriſtian Emperours that had ever been: And it was the chief ſubject of flattery for many years, beſides the glorious Title of *Defender of the Faith*, which the Pope beſtowed on him for it. And it muſt be acknowledged, that conſidering the Age, and that it was the Work of a King, it did deſerve ſome Commendation. But *Luther* was not at all daunted at it, but rather valued himſelf upon it, that ſo great a King had entred the liſts with him, and anſwered his Book. And he replied, not without a large mixture of Acrimony, for which he was generally blamed, as forgetting that great reſpect, that is due to the Perſons of Soveraign Princes.

But all would not do. Theſe Opinions ſtill gained more footing, and *William Tindal* made a Tranſlation of the New Teſtament in *Engliſh*, to

October 23. *Reg. Tonſtall*, Fol 45. with which that in *Fox* agrees exactly.

to which he added ſome ſhort Gloſſes. This was printed in *Antwerp*, and ſent over into *England* in the year 1526. Againſt which there was a Prohibition publiſhed by every Biſhop in his Dioceſs. Bearing that ſome of *Luthers* followers had erroneouſly Tranſlated the New Teſtament, and had corrupted the Word of God, both by a falſe Tranſlation, and by Heretical Gloſſes: Therefore they required all Incumbents to charge all within their Pariſhes, that had any of theſe, to bring them in to the Vicar-General within 30 days after that premonition, under the pains of Excommunication and incurring the ſuſpition of Hereſie. There were alſo many other Books Prohibited at that time, moſt of them written by *Tindal*. And Sir *Thomas More*, who was a man celebrated for Vertue and Learning, undertook the anſwering of ſome of thoſe; but before he went about it, he would needs have the Biſhops Licence for keeping and reading them. He wrote according to the way of the Age with much bitterneſs: and though he had been no Friend to the Monks, and a great declaimer againſt the Ignorance of the Clergy, and had been ill uſed by the Cardinal; yet he was one of the bittereſt Enemies of the new Preachers, not without great cruelty when he came into Power, though he was otherwiſe a very good-natured man. So violently did the *Roman* Clergy hurry all their Friends into thoſe exceſſes of Fire and Sword.

Collect. numb. 6th.

When the Party became ſo conſiderable, that it was known there were Societies of them, not only in *London*, but in both the Univerſities, then the Cardinal was conſtrained to act. His contempt of the Clergy was looked on as that which gave encouragement to the Hereticks. When reports were brought to Court of a company that were in *Cambridge*, *Bilney*, *Latimer*, and others that read and propagated *Luther*'s Book and Opinions; ſome Biſhops moved, in the year 1523. that there might be a Viſitation appointed to go to *Cambridge*, for trying who were the Fautors of Hereſie there. But he, as *Legate*, did inhibite it (upon what grounds I cannot imagine.) Which was brought againſt him afterwards in Parliament (Art. 43. of his Impeachment.) Yet when theſe Doctrines were ſpread every-where, he called a meeting of all the Biſhops and Divines, and Canoniſts about *London*; where *Thomas Bilney* and *Thomas Arthur* were brought before them, and Articles were brought in againſt them. The whole proceſs is ſet down at length by *Fox* in all Points according to *Tonſtall's* Regiſter, except one fault in the Tranſlation. When the Cardinal asked *Bilney* whether he had not taken an Oath before, not to preach, or defend any of *Luthers* Doctrines; he confeſſed he had done it, but not *judicially*, (*judicialiter* in the Regiſter) This *Fox* Tranſlates, *not lawfully*. In all the other particulars there is an exact agreement between the Regiſter and his Acts. The ſum of the proceedings of the Court, was, That after examination of Witneſſes, and ſeveral other ſteps in the Proceſs, which the Cardinal left to the Biſhop of *London*, and the other Biſhops to manage; *Bilney* ſtood out long, and ſeemed reſolved to ſuffer for a good Conſcience. In the end, what through human infirmity, what through the great importunity of the Biſhop of *London*, who ſet all his Friends on him, he did abjure on the *7th.* of *December*, as *Arthur* had done on the *2d.* of that Month. And though *Bilney* was relapſt, and ſo was to expect no mercy by the Law, yet the Biſhop of *London* enjoyned him Penance, and let him go. For *Tonſtall* being

being a man both of good Learning and an unblemiſht life, theſe Vertues produced one of their ordinary effects in him, *great moderation*, that was ſo eminent in him, that at no time did he dip his hands in Blood. *Geoffrey Loni*, and *Thomas Gerard*, alſo abjured for having had *Luther's* Books, and defending his Opinions.

Theſe were the proceedings againſt Hereticks, in the firſt half of this Reign. And thus far I have opened the State of Affairs, both as to Religious and Civil concerns for the firſt 18 years of this Kings time, with what Obſervations I could gather of the diſpoſitions and tempers of the Nation at that time, which prepared them for the Changes that followed afterwards.

The End of the Firſt Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

BOOK II.

Of the Proceſs of Divorce between King Henry *and Queen* Katharine, *and of what paſſed from the Nineteenth to the Twenty fifth year of his Reign, in which he was declared Supreme Head of the Church of* England.

The beginning of the Suit of Divorce.

KING *Henry* hitherto lived at eaſe, and enjoyed his pleaſures; he made War with much honour, and that always produced a juſt and advantageous Peace. He had no trouble upon him in all his affairs, except about the getting of Money, and even in that, the Cardinal eaſed him. But now a Domeſtick trouble aroſe, which perplexed all the reſt of his Government, and drew after it Conſequences of a high nature.

The Marriage of Prince *Arthur* to the *Infanta* of *Spain.*

Henry the *7th.* upon wiſe and good conſiderations, reſolved to link himſelf in a cloſe Confederacy with *Ferdinand* and *Iſabella*, Kings of *Caſtile* and *Arragon*, and with the Houſe of *Burgundy* againſt *France*, which was looked on as the laſting and dangerous Enemy of *England.* And therefore a Match was agreed on between his Son, Prince *Arthur*, and *Katharine* the *Infanta* of *Spain*, whoſe eldeſt Siſter *Joan* was Married to *Philip*, that was then Duke of *Burgundy*, and Earl of *Flanders*; out of which aroſe a triple Alliance between *England*, *Spain*, and *Burgundy*, againſt the King of *France*, who was then become formidable to all about him. There was given with her 200000 Duckats, the greateſt Portion that had been given for many Ages with any Princeſs, which made it not the leſs acceptable to King *Henry* the Seventh.

The

H. Holben Pinxit

R. White Sculp.

1486. Nata.

1501. Nov. 14. Arthuro nupsit.

1509. Iun. 3. Henrico Regi nupsit.

1526. toro exclusa.

1533. Maÿ. 23 incesti damnata.

1536. Ian. 8. obiyt.

Printed for Rich: Chiswell at the Rose & Crown in St Pauls Church-yard

The *Infanta* was brought into *England*, and on the 14th of *Nov.* was Married at St. *Pauls* to the Prince of *Wales*. They lived together as man and wife, till the 2d of *April* following; and not only had their Bed ſolemnly bleſt when they were put in it, on the night of their Marriage, but alſo were ſeen publickly in Bed for ſeveral days after, and went down to live at *Ludlow-Caſtle* in *Wales*, where they ſtill Bedded together. But Prince *Arthur*, though a ſtrong and healthful youth when he Married her, yet died ſoon after, which ſome thought was haſtened by his too early Marriage. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador had by his Maſters order taken proofs of the Conſummation of the Marriage, and ſent them into Spain; the young Prince alſo himſelf had by many expreſſions given his Servants cauſe to believe that his Marriage was conſummated the firſt night, which in a youth of Sixteen years of Age, that was vigorous and healthful, was not at all judged ſtrange. It was ſo conſtantly believed that when he dyed, his younger Brother *Henry* Duke of *York* was not called Prince of *Wales*, for ſome conſiderable time. Some ſay for one Month, ſome for 6 Months. And he was not created Prince of *Wales* till 10 Months were elapſed, *viz.* in the *February* following, when it was apparent that his Brothers wife was not with Child by him. Theſe things were afterwards looked on as a full Demonſtration (being as much as the thing was capable of) that the Princeſs was not a Virgin after Prince *Arthur's* Death.

1501.

See the Depoſitions of Witneſſes in L. *Herbert.*

Prince *Arth.* his Death. *Apr.* 2. 1502.

Bacons Henry the 7th.

But the reaſon of State ſtill ſtanding for keeping up the Alliance againſt *France*, and King *Henry* the 7th having no mind to let ſo great a Revenue as ſhe had in Jointure be carried out of the Kingdom, it was propoſed That ſhe ſhould be married to the younger Brother *Henry* now Prince of *Wales*. The two Prelats that were then in greateſt eſteem with King *Henry* the 7th, were *Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. The former delivered his opinion againſt it, and told the King that he thought it was neither honourable nor well-pleaſing to God. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* perſwaded it, and for the Objections that were againſt it, and the Murmuring of the people who did not like a Marriage that was diſputable, leſt out of it new Wars ſhould afterwards ariſe about the Right of the Crown, the Popes Diſpenſation was thought ſufficient to anſwer all; and his Authority was then ſo undiſputed that it did it effectually. So a Bull was obtained on the 26 of *Decemb.* 1503 to this effect, *that the Pope according to the greatneſs of his Authority, having received a Petition from Prince* Henry *and the Princeſs* Katharine, *Bearing, That whereas the Princeſs was Lawfully Married to Prince* Arthur *(which was perhaps conſummated by the* Carnalis Copula*) who was dead without any iſſue, but they being deſirous to Marry for preſerving the Peace between the Crowns of* England *and* Spain, *did Petition his Holineſs for his Diſpenſation; therefore the Pope, out of his care to maintain peace among all Catholick Kings, did abſolve them from all Cenſures under which they might be, and Diſpenſed with the Impediment of their Affinity, notwithſtanding any Apoſtolical Conſtitutions or Ordinances to the contrary, and gave them leave to Marry, or if they were already Married, he Confirming it, required their Confeſſor to enjoyn them ſome healthful penance for their having Married before the Diſpenſation was obtained.*

Conſultations about a ſecond Marriage of the *Infanta* to his Brother.

Warham's Depoſition in L. *Herbert.*

It is allowed by the Pope Collections *Numb.* firſt.

Upon political reaſons. L. *Herbert.*

It was not much to be wondred at, that the Pope did readily grant this, for though very many both Cardinals and Divines did then oppoſe it, yet the Intereſt of the Papacy, which was preferred to all other Conſiderations, required it. For as that Pope being a great Enemy to *Lewis* the 12th the *French* King, would have done any thing to make an Alliance againſt him firmer; ſo he was a War-like Pope who conſidered Religion very little, and therefore might be eaſily perſwaded to Confirm a thing that muſt needs oblige the ſucceeding Kings of *England* to maintain the Papal Authority, ſince from it they derived their Title to the Crown; little thinking that by a ſecret Direction of an over-ruling Providence, that Deed of his would occaſion the extirpation of the Papal Power in *England*. So ſtrangely doth God make the Devices of Men become of no effect, and turn them to a contrary end to that which is intended.

Upon this Bull they were Married, the Prince of *Wales* being yet under Age. But *Warham* had ſo poſſeſſed the King with an averſion to this Marriage, that on the ſame day that the Prince was of Age, he by his Fathers command, laid on him in the preſence of many of the Nobility and others, made a Proteſtation in the hands of *Fox* Biſhop of *Wincheſter* before a publick Notary, and read it himſelf, by which he Declared, That whereas he being under Age was Married to the "Princeſs *Katharine*, yet now coming to be of Age, he did not con- "firm that Marriage but retracted and Annulled it, and would not pro- "ceed in it, but intended in full form of Law to void it and break it "off; which he declared he did freely and of his own accord.

Henry Proteſts againſt it. *Jun.*27.1505. Collect. *Num.* 2d *Moriſon.*

Thus it ſtood during his Fathers life, who continued to the laſt to be againſt it; and when he was juſt dying, he charged his Son to break it off, though it is poſſible that no conſideration of Religion might work ſo much on him, as the apprehenſion he had of the troubles that might follow on a controverted Title to the Crown; of which the Wars between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* had given a freſh and ſad Demonſtration. The King being dead, one of the firſt things that came under Conſultation, was, that the young King muſt either break his Marriage totally, or conclude it. Arguments were brought on both hands. but thoſe for it prevailed moſt with the King: So ſix weeks after he came to the Crown, he was Married again publickly, and ſoon after they were both Crowned. On the firſt day of the year ſhe made him a very acceptable new-years gift of a Son, but he dyed in the *Februvry* thereafter: She miſcarried often, and an other Son dyed ſoon after he was born; only the Lady *Mary* lived to a perfect Age.

His Father alſo diſſwaded it.

*Apr.*22.1509 K. *Henry* VII. dies.

Henry being come to the Crown Marries her. *Jun.*3 They are Crowned *June* 24. Son born *Jan.* 1. 1511. dies *Feb.* 22. another born and dies *Nov.* 1514. Lady *Mary* born *Feb.* 19. 1516.

In this ſtate was the Kings Family when the Queen left bearing more Children, and contracted ſome diſeaſes, that made her perſon unacceptable to him; but was, as to her other Qualities, a vertuous and grave Princeſs, much eſteemed and beloved both of the King and the whole Nation. The King being out of hopes of more Children declared his Daughter Princeſs of *Wales*, and ſent her to *Ludlow* to hold her Court there, and projected divers Matches for her. The firſt was with the *Dolphin*, which was agreed to between the King of *France* and him the 9th of *Novemb.*1518. as appears by the Treaty yet extant. But this was broken afterwards upon the Kings Confederating with

with the Emperor againſt *France*, and a new Match agreed and ſworn to between the Emperor and the King at *Windſor* the 22 of *June* 1522. the Emperor being preſent in perſon. This being afterwards neglected and broken by the Emperor, by the advice of his *Cortes* and States, as was formerly related, there followed ſome Overtures of a Marriage with *Scotland*. But thoſe alſo vaniſhed, and there was a ſecond Treaty begun with *France*, the King offering his Daughter to *Francis* himſelf, which he gladly accepting, a Match was Treated: and on the laſt of *April*, it was agreed that the Lady *Mary* ſhould be given in Marriage either to *Francis* himſelf, or to his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleance*; and that Alternative was to be determined by the two Kings, at an Enterview that was to be between them, ſoon after at *Calais*, with forfeitures on both ſides if the Match went not on.

1527.

1518. *Treaty Rolls* 10. Rec. His Daughter *Mary* Contracted to the *Dolphin*, *October* 11.

Afterwards to the Emperor. *Jun.* 22. 1522.

Offer'd to *Scotland*. *Sept.* 1524.

again to *France*. *April* 30. 1527.

For K. *Francis* himſelf, or for his Son the Duke of *Orleance*.

But while this was in agitation the Biſhop of *Tarbe* the *French* Ambaſſador made a a great demur about the Princeſs *Mary's* being illegitimate, as begotten in a Marriage that was contracted againſt a Divine precept, with which no humane Authority could Diſpenſe. How far this was ſecretly concerted between the *French* Court and ours, or between the Cardinal and the Ambaſſador, is not known. It is ſurmiſed that the King or the Cardinal ſet on the *French* to make this exception publickly, that ſo the King might have a better Colour to juſtifie his ſuit of Divorce, ſince other Princes were already queſtioning it. For if upon a Marriage propoſed of ſuch infinite advantage to *France*, as that would be with the Heir of the Crown of *England*, they nevertheleſs made Exceptions and proceeded but coldly in it, it was very reaſonable to expect that after the Kings Death, other Pretenders would have diſputed her Title in another manner.

The Kings Marriage queſtioned by Forreigners

To ſome it ſeemed ſtrange that the King did offer his Daughter to ſuch great Princes as the Emperor and the King of *France*, to whom if *England* had fallen in her Right, it muſt have been a Province: for though in the laſt Treaty with *France*, ſhe was offered either to the King, or his ſecond Son; by which either the Children which the King might have by her, or the Children of the Duke of *Orleance*, ſhould have been Heirs to the Crown of *England*, and thereby it would ſtill have continued divided from *France*; yet this was full of hazard, for if the Duke of *Orleance* by his Brothers Death ſhould become King of *France*, as it afterwards fell out, or if the King of *France* had been once poſſeſſed of *England*, then according to the maxime of the *French* Government, that whatever their King acquires he holds it in the Right of his Crown, *England* was ſtill to be a Province to *France*, unleſs they freed themſelves by Arms. Others judged that the King intended to Marry her to *France*, the more effectually to ſeclude her from the Succeſſion, conſidering the averſion his Subjects had to a *French* Government, that ſo he might more eaſily ſettle his Baſtard Son the Duke of *Richmond* in the Succeſſion of the Crown.

The King himſelf Scruples it. *Sanderus de Schiſm. Angl.*

While this Treaty went on, the Kings ſcruples about his Marriage began to take vent. It is ſaid that the Cardinal did firſt infuſe them into him, and made *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, that was the Kings Confeſſor, poſſeſs the Kings mind with them in Confeſſion. If it was ſo, the King had, according to the Religion of that time, very juſt

1527. cauſe of ſcruple, when his Confeſſor judged his Marriage ſinful, and the Popes Legate was of the ſame mind. It is alſo ſaid that the Cardinal being alienated from the Emperor, that he might irreparably embroil the King and him, and unite the King to the *French* Intereſts, deſigned this out of Spite; and that he was alſo diſſatisfied toward the Queen, who hated him for his lewd and diſſolute Life, and had oft admoniſhed and check't him for it: And that he therefore, deſigning to engage the King to Marry the *French* Kings Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Alençon*, did (to make way for that) ſet this Matter on foot: but as I ſee no good Authority for all this, except the Queens ſuſpitions, who did afterwards charge the Cardinal as the cauſe of all her trouble; ſo I am inclined to think the Kings Scruples were much ancienter, for the King declared to *Simon Grineus* four years after this, that for ſeven years he had abſtained from the Queen upon theſe Scruples, ſo that by that it ſeems they had been received into the Kings mind three years before this time.

In his Letter to *Bucer*, Sept. 10. 1531. in MSS. R. *Smith.*

The grounds of his Scruples.

What were the Kings ſecret motives and the true grounds of his Averſion to the Queen, is only known to God, and till the diſcovery of all Secrets at the day of Judgment, muſt lye hid. But the reaſons which he always owned, of which all Humane Judicatories muſt only take notice, ſhall be now fully opened. He found by the Law of *Moſes*, *if a man took his Brothers Wife they ſhould die childleſs*: This made him reflect on the death of his Children, which he now looked on as a Curſe from God for that unlawful Marriage. Upon this he ſet himſelf to Study the caſe, and called for the judgments of the beſt Divines and Canoniſts. For his own Enquiry, *Thomas Aquinas* being the Writer in whoſe works he took moſt pleaſure, and to whoſe judgment he ſubmitted moſt, did decide it clearly againſt him. For he both Concluded, that the Laws in *Leviticus* about the forbidden degrees of Marriage were Moral and Eternal, ſuch as obliged all Chriſtians; and that the Pope could only Diſpenſe with the Laws of the Church, but could not Diſpenſe with the Laws of God. Upon this reaſon, that no Law can be Diſpenced with, by any Authority, but that which is equal to the Authority that enacted it. Therefore he infers that the Pope can indeed Diſpence with all the Laws of the Church, but not with the Laws of God, to whoſe Authority he could not pretend to be equal. But as the King found this from his own private Study, ſo having commanded the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to require the Opinions of the Biſhops of *England*, they all in a Writing under their hands and Seals, declared they judged it an unlawful Marriage. Only the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* refuſed to ſet his hand to it, and though the Arch-Biſhop preſſed him moſt earneſtly to it, yet he perſiſted in his refuſal, ſaying, that it was againſt his Conſcience. Upon which the Arch-Biſhop made another write down his Name, and ſet his Seal to the Reſolution of the reſt of the Biſhops. But this being afterwards queſtioned, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* denied it was his hand, and the Arch-Biſhop pretended that he had leave given him by the Biſhop to put his hand to it, which the other denied. Nor was it likely that *Fiſher* who ſcrupled in Conſcience to Subſcribe it himſelf, would have conſented to ſuch a weak Artifice. But all the other Biſhops did declare againſt the Marriage, and as the

All his Biſhops, except *Fiſher*, declare it unlawful.

Cavendiſh his life of *Wolſey*.

King

King himſelf ſaid afterwards in the *Legantine* Court, neither the Cardinal nor the Biſhop of *Lincoln* did firſt ſuggeſt theſe ſcruples, but the King being poſſeſſed with them, did in Confeſſion propoſe them to that Biſhop: and added that the Cardinal was ſo far from cheriſhing them, that he did all he could to ſtifle them. 1527.

The King was now convinced that his Marriage was unlawful, both by his own ſtudy, and the reſolution of his Divines. And as the point of Conſcience wrought on him, ſo the Intereſt of the Kingdom required, that there ſhould be no doubting about the Succeſſion to the Crown: leſt as the long Civil-War between the Houſes of *York* and *Lancaſter* had been buried with his Father, ſo a new one ſhould riſe up at his death. The King of *Scotland* was the next Heir to the Crown after his Daughter. And if he Married his Daughter to any out of *France*, then he had reaſon to judge, that the *French* upon their Ancient Alliance with *Scotland*, and that they might divide and diſtract *England*, would be ready to aſſiſt the King of *Scotland* in his pretenſions: Or if he Married her in *France*, then all thoſe in *England* to whom the *French* Government was hateful, and the Emperour and other Princes to whom the *French* Power grew formidable, would have been as ready to ſupport the pretenſions of *Scotland*. Or if he ſhould either ſet up his Barſtard Son, or the Children which his Siſter bore to *Charles Brandon*, there was ſtill cauſe to fear a Bloody deciſion of a Title that was ſo doubtful. And though this may ſeem a conſideration too Politick and Forreign to a matter of that nature; yet the obligation that lies on a Prince to provide for the happineſs and quiet of his Subjects, was ſo weighty a thing, that it might well come in among other Motives, to incline the King much to have this matter determined. At this time the Cardinal went over into *France* under colour to conclude a League between the Two Crowns, and to Treat about the means of ſetting the Pope at liberty, who was then the Emperours Priſoner at *Rome*; and alſo for a project of Peace between *Francis*, and the Emperour. But his chief buſineſs was to require *Francis* to declare his Reſolutions concerning that alternative about the Lady *Mary*. To which it was anſwered, That the Duke of *Orleance* as a fitter Match in years, was the *French* King's Choice; but this matter fell to the ground upon the Proceſs that followed ſoon after.

The dangers that were like to follow from it.

Wolſey went into *France* 1527. *July* 11.

The King did much apprehend the oppoſition the Emperour was like to make to his deſigns; either out of a principle of nature and honour to protect his Aunt, or out of a Maxime of State, to raiſe his Enemy all the trouble he could at home. But on the other hand he had ſome cauſe to hope well even in that particular. For the Queſtion of the unlawfulneſs of the Match had been firſt debated in the *Cortes*, or Aſſembly of the States at *Madrid*; and the Emperour had then ſhewed himſelf ſo favourable to it, that he broke the Match, (to which he had bound himſelf) with the Princeſs. Therefore the King had reaſon to think that this at leaſt would mitigate his oppoſition. The Emperour had alſo uſed the Pope ſo hardly, that it could not be doubted that the Pope hated him. And it was believed that he would find the protection of the King of *England* moſt neceſſary to ſecure him, either from the greatneſs of *France* or *Spain*, who were Fighting for the beſt part of *Italy*, which muſt needs fall into one of their hands. Therefore the King did not doubt but the Pope would be compliant to his deſires. And in this he

The Kings fears & hopes about it.

1527. he was much confirmed by the hopes, or rather aſſurance, which the Cardinal gave him of the Popes favour; who either calculating what was to be expected from that Court on the account of their own Intereſt, or upon ſome promiſes made him, had undertaken to the King to bring that matter about to his hearts content. It is certain that the L. *Herbert.* Cardinal had carried over with him out of the Kings Treaſure 240000 *l.* to be employed about the Popes Liberty. But whether he had made a bargain for the Divorce, or had fancied that nothing could be denied him at *Rome*, it does not appear. It is clear by many of his Letters that he had undertaken to the King, that the buſineſs ſhould be done; and it is not like that a man of his wiſdom would have adventured to do that without ſome good warrant.

The Arguments againſt the Bull. But now that the Suit was to be moved in the Court of *Rome*, they were to deviſe ſuch Arguments as were like to be well heard there. It would have been unacceptable to have inſiſted on the nullity of the Bull on this account, becauſe the matter of it was unlawful, and fell not within the Popes Power. For Popes, like others Princes, do not love to hear the extent of their Prerogative diſputed, or defined. And to condemn the Bull of a former Pope as unlawful, was a dangerous Precedent at a time when the Popes Authority was rejected by ſo many in *Germany*. Therefore the Canoniſts as well as Divines, were conſulted to find ſuch Nullities in the Bull of Diſpenſation, as according to the Canon-Law, and the proceedings of the *Rota*, might ſerve to invalidate it without any diminution of the Papal Power. Which being once done, the Marriage that followed upon it, muſt needs be annulled. When the Canoniſts examined the Bull, they found much matter to proceed upon. It is a Maxime in Law, that if the Pope be ſurprized in any thing, and Bulls be procured upon falſe ſuggeſtions and untrue premiſes, they may be annulled afterwards. Upon which foundation moſt of all the Proceſſes againſt Popes Bulls were grounded. Now they found by the preamble of this Bull that it was ſaid, The King had deſired that he might be diſpenſed with to Marry the Princeſs. This was falſe; for the King had made no ſuch deſire, being of an Age that was below ſuch conſiderations, but Twelve years old. Then it appeared by the preamble that this Bull was deſired by the King to preſerve the Peace between the King of *England*, and *Ferdinand*, and *Iſabella* (called *Elizabetha* in the Bull) the Kings of *Spain*. To which they excepted, That it was plain this was falſe, ſince the King being then but Twelve years old, could not be ſuppoſed to have ſuch deep ſpeculations, and ſo large a proſpect as to deſire a Match upon a politick account. Then it being alſo in the Bull, that the Popes Diſpenſation was granted to keep Peace between the Crowns, if there was no hazard of any Breach or War between them; this was a falſe ſuggeſtion, by which the Pope had been made believe, That this Match was neceſſary for averting ſome great miſchief. And it was known that there was no danger at all of that, and ſo this Bull was obtained by a ſurpriſe. Beſides, both King *Henry* of *England*, and *Iſabella* of *Spain* were dead before the King Married his Queen; ſo the Marriage could not be valid by vertue of a Bull that was granted to maintain Amity between Princes that were dead before the Marriage was conſummated: And they alſo judged that the Proteſtation which the King made, when he came of Age, did retract any ſuch pretended deſire, that might have been preferred to the Pope

in

in his name; and that from that time forward, the Bull could have no further operation, ſince the ground upon which it was granted, which was the King's deſire, did then ceaſe, any pretended deſire before he was of Age being clearly annulled and determined by that Proteſtation after he was of Age, ſo that a ſubſequent Marriage founded upon the Bull muſt needs be void. 1527.

Theſe were the grounds upon which the Canoniſts adviſed the Proceſs at *Rome* to be carried on. But firſt to amuſe or over-reach the *Spaniard*, the King ſent word to his Ambaſſadour in *Spain* to ſilence the noiſe that was made about it in that Court. Whether the King had then reſolved on the Perſon that ſhould Succeed the Queen, when he had obtained what he deſired, or not, is much queſtioned. Some ſuggeſt that from the beginning he was taken with the charmes of *Anne Boleyn*, and that all this Proceſs was moved by the unſeen ſpring of that ſecret affection. Others will have this Amour to have been later in the King's thoughts. How early it came there, at this diſtance it is not eaſie to determine. But before I ſay more of it, ſhe being ſo conſiderable a Perſon in the following Relation, I ſhall give ſome account of her. "*Sanders* has aſſured "the world, That the King had a liking to her Mother, who was Daugh- "ter to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and to the end that he might enjoy her "with the leſs diſturbance, he ſent her Husband Sir *Thomas Boleyn* to "be Ambaſſadour in *France*: And that after Two years abſence his Wife "being with Child, he came over, and ſued a Divorce againſt her in the "Arch-Biſhop of *Canterburies* Court, but the King ſent the Marques of "*Dorcheſter* to let him know, that ſhe was with Child by him, and that "therefore the King deſired he would paſs the matter over, and be re- "conciled to his Wife: to which he conſented. And ſo *Anne Boleyn*, "though ſhe went under the name of his Daughter, yet was of the King's "begetting. As he deſcribes her, ſhe was ill-ſhaped and ugly, had Six "Fingers, a Gag-tooth, and a Tumor under her Chin, with many other "unſeemly things in her Perſon. At the 15*th*. year of her Age, he ſays, "both her Father's Butler and Chaplain lay with her: Afterwards ſhe "was ſent to *France*, where ſhe was at firſt kept privatly in the houſe of "a Perſon of Quality, then ſhe went to the *French* Court, where ſhe "led ſuch a diſſolute life, that ſhe was called, *the Engliſh Hackney*. That "the *French* King liked her, and from the freedoms he took with her, "ſhe was called, *the King's Mule*. But returning to *England*, ſhe was "admitted to the Court, where ſhe quickly perceived how weary the "King was of the Queen, and what the Cardinal was deſigning; and "having gained the King's affection, ſhe governed it ſo, that by all inno- "cent freedoms ſhe drew him into her Toiles, and by the appearances "of a ſevere virtue, with which ſhe diſguiſed her ſelf, ſo encreaſed "his affection and eſteem, that he reſolved to put her in his Queens "*place as ſoon as the Divorce was granted.* The ſame Author adds, *That* "*the King had likewiſe enjoyed her Siſter*, with a great deal more, to the "diſgrace of this Lady and her Family.

Wolſey's advice to the King, 1527. *Aug.* 1.

Sanders his ſtory about *Anne Boleyn* examined.

For this he cites *Raſtal's* life of Sir *Tho. Moor*, a Book that was never ſeen by any body elſe.

I know it is not the work of an Hiſtorian to refute the Lies of others, but rather to deliver ſuch a plain account as will be a more effectual confutation, than any thing can be that is ſaid by way of Argument, which belongs to other Writers. And at the end of this King's Reign, I intend to ſet down a Collection of the moſt Notorious Falſe-hoods of that Writer:

ter, together with the evidences of their being ſo. But all this of *Anne Boleyn* is ſo palpable a lie, or rather a complicated heap of lies, and ſo much depends on it, that I preſume it will not offend the Reader to be detained a few minutes in the refutation of it. For if it were true, very much might be drawn from it, both to diſparage King *Henry*, who pretended Conſcience to annul his Marriage for the nearneſs of Affinity, and yet would after that Marry his own Daughter. It leaves alſo a foul and laſting ſtain both on the Memory of *Anne Boleyn*, and of her incomparable Daughter Queen *Elizabeth*. It alſo derogates ſo much from the firſt Reformers, who had ſome kind of dependence on Queen *Anne Boleyn*, that it ſeems to be of great importance for directing the Reader in the judgment he is to make of perſons and things, to lay open the falſhood of this account. It were ſufficient for blaſting it, that there is no proof pretended to be brought for any part of it, but a Book of one *Raſtall* a Judg, that was never ſeen by any other perſon than that Writer. The Title of the Book is The Life of Sir *Thomas More*: there is great reaſon to think that *Raſtall* never writ any ſuch Book, for it is moſt common for the Lives of great Authors to be prefixed to their Works. Now this *Raſtall* publiſhed all *More's* Works in Queens *Maries* Reign, to which if he had written his Life, it is likely he would have prefixt it. No evidence therefore being given for his Relation, either from Record, Letters, or the Teſtimony of any perſon who was privy to the matter, the whole is to be looked upon as a black Forgery, deviſed on purpoſe to defame Queen *Elizabeth*. For upon her Mothers death, who can doubt but that ſome, either to flatter the King, or to defame her, would have publiſhed theſe things, which if they had been true, could be no ſecrets? For a Lady of her Mothers condition to bear a Child, two years after her Husband was ſent out of *England* on ſuch a publick Employment, and a Proceſs thereupon to be entred in the Arch-Biſhops Courts, are things that are not ſo ſoon to be forgotten. And that ſhe her ſelf was under ſo ill a Reputation, both in her Father's Family, and in *France*, for common lewdneſs, and for being the Kings Concubin, are things that could not lie hid. And yet when the Books of the Arch-Biſhops Courts (which are now burnt) were extant, it was publiſhed to the world, and ſatisfaction offered to every one that would take the pains to inform themſelves, that there was no ſuch thing on Record. Nor did any of the Writers of that time, either of the Imperial or Papal ſide, once mention theſe things, notwithſtanding their great occaſion to do it. But 80 years after, this Fable was invented, or at leaſt it was then firſt publiſhed, when it was ſafer to lie, becauſe none who had lived in the time could diſprove it.

Anti-Sanderus.

But it has not only no foundation, but *Sanders* through the vulgar errors of Liars, has ſtrained his wit to make ſo ill a ſtory of the Lady, that ſome things in his own relation, make it plainly appear to be impoſſible. For to paſs by thoſe many improbable things that he relates, as namely, That both the King of *England* and the *French* King, could be ſo taken with ſo ugly and monſtrous a Woman, of ſo notorious and lewd manners; and that this King, for the ſpace of Seven years, that is, during the Suit of the Divorce, ſhould continue enamoured of her, and never diſcover this, or having diſcovered it, ſhould yet reſolve at all hazards to make her his Wife; which are things that would require no common teſtimony to make them ſeem credible; There is beſide in that ſtory, an

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heap of things ſo inconſiſtent with one another, that none but ſuch an one as *Sanders* could have had either blindneſs or brow enough to have made or publiſht it. For firſt, if the King, that he might the more freely enjoy Sir *Thomas Boleyn's* Lady, ſent him over into *France*, as *Sanders* ſays, I ſhall allow it as ſoon as may be, that it was in the very beginning of his Reign 1509. Then the time when *Anne Boleyn* was born, being according to *Sanders* his account two years after, that muſt be *Anno* 1511. and being, as he ſays, deflowred when ſhe was 15. that muſt be *Anno* 1526. Then ſome time muſt be allowed for her going to *France*, for her living privately there for ſome time, and afterwards for her coming to Court, and meriting thoſe Characters that he ſays went upon her; and after all that, for her return into *England*, and inſinuating her ſelf into the Kings favour: yet by *Sanders* his own Relation theſe things muſt have happened in the ſame year 1526. for in that year he makes the King think of putting away his Wife in order to Marry *Anne Boleyn*, when according to his account ſhe could be but 15. years old, though this King had ſent Sir *Thomas Boleyn* into *France* the firſt day of his coming to the Crown. But that he was not ſent ſo early appears by ſeveral Grants, that I have ſeen in the Rolls, which were made to him in the firſt 4 years of the Kings Reign: They ſufficiently ſhew that he was all that while about the Kings perſon, and mention no ſervices beyond Sea, but about the Kings perſon, as the ground upon which they were made. Beſides, I find in the *Treaty-Rolls* no mention of his being Ambaſſador the firſt 8 years of the Kings Reign. In the firſt year the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Dureſme*, and the Earl of *Surrey*, are named in the Treaty between the two Crowns, as the Kings Ambaſſadors in *France*. After this, none could be Ambaſſadors there for two years together, for before two years elapſed there was a War proclaimed againſt *France*, and when overtures were made for a Peace, it appears by the *Treaty-Rolls* that the Earl of *Worceſter* was ſent over Ambaſſador. And when the Kings ſiſter was ſent over to *Lewis* the *French* King, though Sir *Thomas Boleyn* went over with her, he was not then ſo much conſidered as to be made an Ambaſſador. For in the Commiſſion that was given to many perſons of Quality, to deliver her to her Husband King *Lewis* the 12, Sir *Thomas Boleyn* is not named. The perſons in the Commiſſion are the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Marqueſs of *Dorcheſter*, the Biſhop of *Dureſm*, the Earls of *Surrey* and *Worceſter*, the Prior of St. *Johns*, and Doctor *Weſt* Dean of *Windſor*. A year after that, Sir *Thomas Boleyn* was made Ambaſſador; but then it was too late for *Anne Boleyn* to be yet unborn, much leſs could it be, as *Sanders* ſays, that ſhe was born two years after it.

1501.

March. 10. 1509.

Feb. 12. 1511 1514.

Septemb. 23. 6to *Regn.*

1515.

But the Learned *Camden*, whoſe Study and Profeſſion led him to a more particular knowledg of theſe things, gives us another account of her birth. He ſays that ſhe was born in the year 1507. which was two years before the King came to the Crown. And if it be ſuggeſted, that then the Prince, to enjoy her Mother, prevailed with his Father to ſend her Husband beyond Sea, that muſt be done when the Prince himſelf was not 14 years of Age: ſo they muſt make him to have corrupted other mens wives at that Age, when yet they will not allow his Brother (no not when he was 2 years older) to have known his own wife.

Cambd. In apparatu ad Hiſt. Eliz. Reg.

1528. But now I leave this foul Fiction, and go to deliver certain Truths. *Anne Boleyn's* Mother was Daughter to the Duke of *Norfolk*, and Sifter to the Duke that was at the time of the Divorce Lord Treaſurer. Her Fathers Mother was one of the Daughters and heirs to the Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond*, and her great Grand-Father Sir *Geofry Boleyn*, who had been Lord Major of *London*, Married one of the Daughters and Heirs of the Lord *Haſtings*; and their Family as they had mixed with ſo much great Blood, ſo had Married their Daughters to very Noble Families. She being but ſeven years old was carried over to *France* with the Kings Siſter, which ſhews ſhe could have none of thoſe deformities in her perſon, ſince ſuch are not brought into the Courts and Families of Queens. And though upon the *French* Kings Death the Queen Dowager came ſoon back to *England*, yet ſhe was ſo liked in the *French* Court, that the next King *Francis* his Queen kept her about her ſelf for ſome years: and after her death the Kings Siſter the Dutcheſs of *Alenſon*, kept her in her Court all the while ſhe was in *France*; which as it ſhews there was ſomewhat extraordinary in her perſon, ſo thoſe Princeſſes being much celebrated for their vertues, it is not to be imagined that any perſon ſo notoriouſly defamed as *Sanders* would repreſent her, was entertained in their Courts.

His Birth.

1514.

and Breeding.

Her coming to *England*. L. *Herbert*. Title and Duplex. *Cavendiſh* ſays ſhe was very young. *Camden*.

When ſhe came into *England* is not ſo clear: it is ſaid that in the year 1522. when War was made on *France*, her Father who was then Ambaſſador was recalled, and brought her over with him, which is not improbable; but if ſhe came then, ſhe did not ſtay long in *England*, for *Camden* ſays, that ſhe ſerved Queen *Claudia* of *France* till her death (which was in *July* 1524) and after that ſhe was taken into ſervice by K *Francis'* his Siſter. How long ſhe continued in that ſervice I do not find, but it is probable that ſhe returned out of *France* with her Father from his Embaſſy in the year 1527. when, as *Stow* ſays, he brought with him the Picture of her Miſtreſs, who was offered in Marriage to this King. If ſhe came out of *France* before, as thoſe Authors before-mentioned ſay, it appears that the King had no deſign upon her then, becauſe he ſuffered her to return, and when one Miſtreſs died to take another in *France*; but if ſhe ſtayed there all this while, then it is probable he had not ſeen her till now at laſt, when ſhe came out of the Princeſs of *Alenſon's* ſervice: but whenſoever it was that ſhe came to the Court of *England*, it is certain that ſhe was much conſidered in it. And though the Queen, who had taken her to be one of her Maids of Honour, had afterwards juſt cauſe to be diſpleaſed with her as her Rival; yet ſhe carried her ſelf ſo, that in the whole Progreſs of the Sute, I never find the Queen her ſelf, or any of her Agents, fix the leaſt ill Character on her, which would moſt certainly have been done had there been any juſt cauſe or good colour for it.

She is contracted to the Lord *Piercy*.

Cavendiſh Life of *Wolſey*.

And ſo far was this Lady at leaſt for ſome time from any thoughts of Marrying the King, that ſhe had conſented to Marry the Lord *Piercy* the Earl of *Northumberland's* eldeſt Son, whom his Father, by a ſtrange compliance with the Cardinals vanity, had placed in his Court and made him one of his ſervants. The thing is conſiderable, and clears many things that belong to this Hiſtory; and the Relator of it was an Ear-witneſs of the Diſcourſe upon it as himſelf informs us. The Cardinal hearing that the Lord *Piercy* was making addreſſes

to

to *Anne Boleyn*, one day as he came from the Court called for him before his ſervants (*before us all* ſays the Relator *including himſelf*) and "chid him for it, pretending at firſt that it was unworthy of him to "match ſo meanly; but he juſtified his choice, and reckoned up her "birth and Quality, which he ſaid was not inferior to his own. And "the Cardinal inſiſting fiercely, to make him lay down his pretenſions, "he told him, he would willingly ſubmit to the King and him; but "that he had gone ſo far before many witneſſes, that he could not "forſake it, and knew not how to diſcharge his conſcience: and there- "fore he entreated the Cardinal would procure him the Kings favour "in it. Upon that the Cardinal in great rage ſaid, why? thinkeſt "thou that the King and I know not what we have to do in ſo weigh- "ty a matter? yes I warrant you, but I can ſee in thee no ſubmiſ- "ſion at all to the purpoſe: and ſaid, you have matched your ſelf with "ſuch a one, as neither the King, nor yet your Father will agree to "it; and therefore I will ſend for thy Father, who at his coming ſhall "either make thee break this unadviſed bargain, or diſinherit thee for "ever. To which the Lord *Piercy* replyed, That he would ſubmit "himſelf to him, if his Conſcience were diſcharged of the weighty "burden that lay upon it, and ſoon after, his Father coming to Court "he was diverted another way. 1527.

Had that Writer told us in what year this was done, it had given a great light to direct us, but by this relation we ſee that ſhe was ſo far from thinking of the King at that time, that ſhe had engaged her ſelf another way; but how far this went on her ſide, or whether it was afterwards made uſe of, when ſhe was divorced from the King, ſhall be conſidered in its proper place. It alſo appears that there was a Deſign about her then formed between the King and the Cardinal, yet how far that went, whether to make her Queen, or only to Corrupt her, is not evident. It is ſaid, that upon this ſhe ever after hated the Cardinal, and that he never deſigned the Divorce after he ſaw on whom the King had fixed his thoughts: but all that is a miſtake, as will afterwards appear. L. *Herbert.*

And now having made way through theſe things that were previous to the firſt motion of the Divorce, my narration leads me next to the Motion it ſelf. The King reſolving to put the matter home to the Pope, ſent Doctor *Knight* Secretary of State to *Rome*, with ſome Inſtructions to prepare the Pope for it, and to obſerve what might be the beſt Method, and who the fitteſt tools to work by. At that time the Family of the *Caſſali* being three Brothers, were entertained by the King as his Agents in *Italy*, both in *Rome*, *Venice*, and other places. Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, was then his ordinary Ambaſſador at *Rome*: To him was the firſt full diſpatch about this buſineſs directed by the Cardinal, the Original whereof is yet extant dated the 5th of *Decemb.* 1527. which the Reader will find in the Collection: but here I ſhall give the Heads of it. 1527. The King moved for his Divorce at *Rome.*

"After great and high Complements, and Aſſurances of Rewards "to engage him to follow the Buſineſs very vigorouſly, and with great "Diligence, he writes that he had before opened the Kings caſe to "him, and that partly by his own ſtudy, partly by the opinion of "many Divines, and other Learned men of all ſorts, he found that The firſt diſpatch about it. Collect. *Numb.* 3*d.*

1527. "he could no longer with a good Conſcience continue in that Mar-
"riage with the Queen: having God and the Quiet and Salvation of
"his Soul chiefly before his eyes. And that he had conſulted both
"the moſt Learned Divines and Canoniſts, as well in his own Domi-
"nions as elſewhere, to know whether the Popes Diſpenſation could
"make it good, and that many of them thought the Pope could not
"Diſpence in this caſe of the firſt degree of Affinity, which they
"eſteemed forbidden by a Divine, Moral, and Natural Law; and all
"the reſt concluded, that the Pope could not do it, but upon very
"weighty reaſons: and they found not any ſuch in the Bull. Then
"he lays out the reaſons for Annulling the Bull which were touched
"before, upon which they all concluded the Diſpenſation to be of
"no force; that the King looked on the death of his Sons as a
"Curſe from God: and to avoid further Judgments, he now deſired
"help of the Apoſtolick See, to conſider his caſe, to reflect on what
"he had merited by theſe Services he had done the Papacy, and to
"find a way that he being divorced from his Queen may Marry ano-
"ther Wife, of whom by the bleſſing of God he might hope for iſ-
"ſue Male. Therefore the Ambaſſador was to uſe all means poſſi-
"ble to be admitted to ſpeak to the Pope in Private, and then to
"deliver him theſe Letters of Credence, in which there was a moſt
"earneſt Clauſe added with the Kings own hand. He was alſo to
"make a Condoleance of the Miſeries the Pope and Cardinals were
"in, both in the Kings name and the Cardinals, and to aſſure the
"Pope they would uſe all the moſt effectual means that were poſſi-
"ble for ſetting him at Liberty, in which the Cardinal would Em-
"ploy as much Induſtry, as if there were no other way to come to
"the Kingdom of Heaven but by doing it. Then he was to open
"the Kings buſineſs to the Pope, the Scruples of his Conſcience, the
"great danger of cruel Wars upon ſo diſputable a Succeſſion, the En-
"treaties of all the Nobility and the whole Kingdom, with many
"other urgent reaſons, to obtain what was deſired. He was alſo to
"lay before the Pope the preſent condition of Chriſtendome and of
"*Italy*, that he might conſider of what Importance it was to his own
"affairs, and to the Apoſtolick See, to engage the King ſo firmly to
"his Intereſts as this would certainly do. And to move that the Pope
"without communicating the Matter to any perſon, would freely
"grant it, and Sign the Commiſſion which was therewith ſent en-
"groſſed in due form, and ready to be Signed, by which the Cardi-
"nal was Authorized with the Aſſiſtance of ſuch as he ſhould chooſe,
"to proceed in the Matter, according to ſome Inſtructions which
"were alſo ſent fairly written out for the Pope to Sign. A Diſpen-
"ſation was alſo ſent in due form: and if theſe were expeded, he
"might aſſure the Pope that as the King had ſent over a vaſt ſum
"to the *French* King, for paying his Army in *Italy*, ſo he would
"ſpare no Travel nor Treaſure, but make War upon the Emperor in
"*Flanders*, with his whole ſtrength, till he forced him to ſet the
"Pope at Liberty, and reſtore the State of the Church to its former
"Power and Dignity. And if the Pope were already at Liberty, and
"had made an Agreement with the Emperor, he was to repreſent to
"him how little cauſe he had to truſt much to the Emperor, who

had

"had ſo oft broke his faith, and deſigned to do all he could towards "the Depreſſing the Eccleſiaſtical State. And the Pope was to be re- "membred, that he had diſpenced with the Emperors Oath, for Mar- "rying the Kings Daughter without communicating the Matter to "the King. And if he had done ſo much for one that had been his "Enemy, how much more might the King expect the like favour, "who had always payed him a moſt filial Duty? Or if the Pope would "not grant the Commiſſion to the Cardinal to try the Matter, as a "Perſon that being the Kings chief Miniſter, was not indifferent e- "nough to judge in any of the Kings Concerns; he was by all means "to overcome that, and aſſure the Pope that he would proceed in it "as a Judge ought to do. But if the Pope ſtood upon it, and would "by no means be perſwaded to ſign the Commiſſion for the Cardi- "nal, then he was to propoſe *Staphileus*, Dean of the *Rota*, who was "then in *England*; and was to except againſt all other Forreigners, "if the Pope chanced to propoſe any other. He was alſo to repre- "ſent to the Pope, that the King would look upon a delay as a De- "nial, and if the Pope inclined to conſult with any of the Cardinals "about it, he was to divert him from it all that was poſſible: but if "the Pope would needs do it, then he was to Addreſs himſelf to them, "and partly by informing them of the reaſons of the Kings Cauſe, "partly by rewarding the good Offices they ſhould do, he was to "engage them for the King. And with this Diſpatch Letters were "ſent to Cardinal *Puccy*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and the other Cardinals, "to be made uſe of as there ſhould be occaſion for it. And becauſe "Money was like to be the moſt powerful Argument, eſpecially to "men impoveriſhed by a Captivity, 10000 Ducats were remitted "to *Venice*, to be diſtributed as the Kings Affairs required; and he was "empowered to make farther promiſes, as he ſaw cauſe for it, which "the King would faithfully make good; and in particular, they were "to be wanting in nothing, that might abſolutely engage the Cardi- "nal Datary to favour the Kings Buſineſs. 1527.

The ſame things had been committed to the Secretary's care, and they were both to proceed by concert, each of them doing all that was poſſible to promote the buſineſs. But before this reached *Rome*, Secretary *Knight* was come thither, and finding it impoſſible to be admitted to the Popes preſence, he had by corrupting ſome of his Guards ſent him the Sum of the Kings Demands. Upon which the Pope ſent him word, that the Diſpenſation ſhould be ſent fully exped- ed. So gracious was a Pope in Captivity. But at that time the Ge- neral of the *Obſervants in Spain* being at *Rome*, required a Promiſe of the Pope not to grant any thing that might prejudice the Queens Cauſe till it were firſt communicated to the *Imperialiſts* there. But when the Pope made his Eſcape, the Secretary and the Ambaſſador went to him to *Orvieto* about the end of *December*, and firſt did in the Kings and Cardinals name congratulate his freedom. Then the Se- cretary diſcourſed the Buſineſs. The Pope owned that he had receiv- ed the Meſſage which he had ſent to him at *Rome*, but in reſpect of his Promiſe, and that yet in a manner he was in Captivity, he beg- ed the King would have a little Patience, and he ſhould before long have not only that Diſpenſation, but any thing elſe that lay in his Power,

The Pope grants it when he was in Priſon. Collect. *Numb.* 4th.

Pope eſcaped *Decemb.* 9.

1527. Power. But the Secretary not being ſatisfied with that excuſe, the Pope in the end ſaid, he ſhould have it; but with this condition, That he would beſeech the King not to proceed upon it, till the Pope were fully at Liberty, and the *Germans* and *Spaniards* were driven out of *Italy*. And upon the Kings promiſing this, the Diſpenſation was to be put in his hands. So the Secretary, who had a great mind once to have the Bull in his poſſeſſion, made no ſcruple to engage his promiſe for that. The Pope alſo told them he was not expert in thoſe things, but he eaſily apprehended the danger that might ariſe from any Diſpute about the Succeſſion to the Crown, and that therefore he would communicate the buſineſs to the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*; upon which they reſolved to prevent that Cardinals being with the Pope, and went and delivered the Letters they had for him, and promiſed him a good reward if he were favourable to their Requeſts in the Kings behalf. Then they ſhewed him the Commiſſions that were ſent from *England*; but he upon the peruſal of them, ſaid, They could not paſs without a perpetual diſhonour on the Pope and the King too, and excepted to ſeveral Clauſes that were in them. So they deſired him to draw one that might both be ſufficient for the Kings purpoſe, and ſuch as the Pope might with honour grant. Which being done, the Pope told them, That though he apprehended great danger to himſelf, if the Emperour ſhould know what he had done; yet he would rather expoſe himſelf to utter ruine, than give the King, or the Cardinal cauſe to think him Ingrate; but with many ſighs and tears, he begged that the King would not precipitate things, or expoſe him to be undone, by beginning any Proceſs upon the Bull. And ſo he delivered the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation Signed to *Knight*. But the means that the Pope propoſed for his publiſhing and owning what he now granted, was, That *Lautrech* with the *French* Army ſhould march, and coming where the Pope was, ſhould require him to grant the Commiſſion: So that the Pope ſhould excuſe himſelf to the Emperour, that he had refuſed to grant it upon the deſire of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadour, but that he could not deny the General of the *French* Army, to do an act of publick juſtice: And by this means he would ſave his honour, and not ſeem guilty of breach of promiſe; and then he would diſpatch the Commiſſion about the time of *Lautrech*'s being near him, and therefore he entreated the King to accept of what was then granted for the preſent. The Commiſſion and Diſpenſation was given to the Secretary: and they promiſed to ſend the Bull after him, of the ſame form that was deſired from *England*, and the Pope engaged to reform it as ſhould be found needful. And it ſeems by theſe Letters, that a Diſpenſation and Commiſſion had been Signed by the Pope when he was a Priſoner; but they thought not fit to make any uſe of them, leſt they ſhould be thought null, as being granted when the Pope was in Captivity.

And being at liberty, gives a Bull for it.

The Pope's craft & policy

Thus the Pope expreſſed all the readineſs that could be expected from him, in the circumſtances he was then in; being over-aw'd by the *Imperialiſts*, who were haraſſing the Country, and taking Caſtles very near the place where he was. *Lautrech* with the *French* Army lay ſtill faſt about *Bononia*, and as the ſeaſon of the year was not favourable, ſo he did not expreſs any inclinations to enter into action. The Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* got 4000 Crowns as the reward of his pains, and in earneſt

And the meaſures that governed them.

earneſt of what he was to expect when the matter ſhould be brought to a final concluſion. In this whole matter the Pope carried himſelf as a wiſe and politick Prince, that conſidered his Intereſt, and provided againſt dangers with great fore-ſight. But as for Apoſtolical wiſdom, and the Simplicity of the Goſpel, that was not to be expected from him. For now, though the high-ſounding names of *Chriſts Vicar*, and St. *Peters Succeſſor*, were ſtill retained to keep up the Popes Dignity and Authority, yet they had for many Ages governed themſelves as Secular Princes; ſo that the Maximes of that Court were no more to keep a good Conſcience, and to proceed according to the Rules of the Goſpel, and the Practice of the Primitive Church, committing the event to God, and ſubmitting to his Will in all things: but the keeping a ballance, the maintaining their Intereſt in the Courts of Princes, the ſecuring their Dominions, and the raiſing their Families, being that which they chiefly looked at, It is not to be wondered at, that the Pope governed himſelf by theſe meaſures, though Religion was to be made uſe of to help him out of ſtraits. All this I ſet down the more particularly, both becauſe I take my information from Original Letters, and that it may chiefly appear how matters went at that time in the Court of *Rome*. 1528.

Secretary *Knight* being Infirme, could not travel with that haſte that was required in this buſineſs, and therefore he ſent the Proto-Notary *Gambara* with the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation to *England*, and followed in eaſie journies. The Cardinals that had been conſulted with, did all expreſs great readineſs in granting the Kings deſire. The Cardinal *Datary* had forſaken the Court, and betaken himſelf to ſerve God and his Cure; and other Cardinals were Hoſtages, ſo that now there were but Five about the Pope, *Monte*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, *Ridolphi*, *Ravennate* and *Peruſino*. But a motion being made of ſending over a Legate, the Pope would by no means hearken to it, for that would draw new troubles on him from the Emperor. That had been deſired from *England* by a diſpatch of the 27th. of *December*, which preſſed a ſpeedy concluſion of the buſineſs; upon which the Pope on the 12th. of *January*, did communicate the matter under the Seal of Confeſſion to the Cardinals *Sanctorum Quatuor* and *Simoneta*, (who was then come to the Court) and upon conference with them, he propoſed to Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, that he thought the ſafer way was, "That either by vertue of the Commiſſion "that the Secretary had obtained, or by the Legantine Power that was "lodged with the Cardinal of *York*, he ſhould proceed in the buſineſs. "And if the King found the matter clear in his own Conſcience, (in "which the Pope ſaid, No doctor in the whole world could reſolve the "matter beter than the King himſelf) he ſhould without more noiſe, "make judgment be given; and preſently Marry another Wife, and "then ſend for a Legate to Confirm the matter. And it would be eaſier "to ratifie all when it was once done, than to go on in a Proceſs from "*Rome*. For the Queen would proteſt, that both the Place and the "Judges were ſuſpected and not free, upon which, in the courſe of Law, "the Pope muſt grant an Inhibition for the Kings not Marrying another "while the Suit depended, and muſt avocate the buſineſs to be heard in "the Court of *Rome*; which, with other prejudices, were unavoidable "in a publick Proceſs by Bulls from *Rome*. But if the thing went on in "*England*,

Collect. *Numb.* 5th.

The method propoſed by the Pope. Collect. *Numb.* 6th.

1528. "*England*, and the King had once Married another Wife, the Pope then "would find very good reaſons to juſtifie the confirming a thing that was "gone ſo far, and promiſed to ſend any Cardinal whom they ſhould name. This the Pope deſired the Ambaſſadour would ſignifie to the King, as the advice of the two Cardinals, and take no notice of him in it. But the diſpatch ſhews he was a more faithful Miniſter than to do ſo.

The Ambaſſadour found all the earneſtneſs in the Pope that was poſſible, to comply with the King; and that he was jealous both of the Emperour and *Francis*, and depended wholly on the King; ſo that he found if the terror of the *Imperial* Forces were over, the Court of *England* would diſpoſe of the Apoſtolical See as they pleaſed. And indeed this advice, how little ſoever it had of the Simplicity of the Goſpel, was certainly prudent and ſubtile, and that which of all things the *Spaniards* apprehended moſt. And therefore the *General of the Obſervants* moved Cardinal *Campegius*, then at *Rome*, for an Inhibition, leſt the Proceſs ſhould be carried on and determined in *England*. But that being ſignified to the Pope, he ſaid, It could not be granted, ſince there was no Suit depending, in which caſe only an Inhibition can be granted.

Staphileus ſent from *England*.

But now I muſt look over again to *England*, to open the Counſels there. At that time *Staphileus* Dean of the *Rota* was there; and he either to make his Court the better, or that he was ſo perſwaded in opinion, ſeemed fully ſatisfied about the Juſtice of the King's Cauſe. So they ſent him to *Rome* with Inſtructions both publick and ſecret. The publick Inſtructions related to the Popes Affairs, in which all poſſible Aſſiſtance was promiſed by the King. But one Propoſition in them flowed from the Cardinals Ambition, "That the Kings of *England* and *France*

His Inſtructions.

"thought it would advance the Popes Intereſts, if he ſhould command the "Cardinals that were under no reſtraint, to meet in ſome ſecure place, "to conſider of the Affairs of the Church, that they might ſuffer no "prejudice by the Popes Captivity: And for that end, and to conſerve "the Dignity of the Apoſtolick See, that they ſhould chooſe ſuch a Vi-"car or Preſident, as partly by his Prudence and Courage, partly by the "aſſiſtance of the two Kings, upon whom depended all their hopes, "might do ſuch Services to the Apoſtolick See, as were moſt neceſſary "in that diſtracted time, by which the Popes Liberty would be haſt-"ned.

Cotton. Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10. *Jan.* 8.

Duplicates corrected by the Cardinal's Hand.

It cannot be imagined but the Pope would be offended with this Propoſition, and apprehend that the Cardinal of *York* was not ſatisfied to be intriguing for the Popedom after his death, but was aſpiring to it while he was alive. For as it was plain, he was the Perſon that muſt be choſen for that truſt; ſo if the Pope were uſed hardly by the Emperour, and forced to ill conditions, the Vicar ſo choſen and his Cardinals would diſown thoſe Conditions, which might end in a Schiſm or his Depoſition. But *Staphileus* his ſecret Inſtructions, related wholly to the Kings buſineſs, which were theſe: "That the King had opened to him the error of his "Marriage, and that the ſaid Biſhop out of his great Learning, did now "clearly perceive how invalid and inſufficient it was: Therefore the "King recommended it to his care, that he would convince the Pope and "the Cardinals, with the Arguments that had been laid before him, and "of which a Breviate was given him. He was alſo to repreſent the great "miſchiefs that might follow, if Princes got not juſtice and eaſe from

"the

"the Apoſtolick See. Therefore if the Pope were yet in Captivity 1528.
"he was to propoſe a meeting of the Cardinals, for chooſing the Car-
"dinal of *York* to be their head, during the Popes Impriſonment, or
"that a full Commiſſion might be ſent to him for the Kings matter. And
"in particular he was to take care that the Buſineſs might be tryed in
"*England*. And for his pains in promoting the Kings Concerns, the
"King promiſed to procure a Biſhoprick for him in *France*; and to
"help him to a Cardinals hat. By him the King wrote to the Pope.
The rude draught of it remains under the Cardinals hand, earneſtly
deſiring a ſpeedy and favourable diſpatch of his buſineſs with a Cre-
dence to the Bearer.

The Cardinal alſo wrote to the Pope by him; and after a long Congratulating his Liberty with many ſharp reflections on the Emperor, he preſſed a Diſpatch of the Kings Buſineſs, in which he would not uſe many words: this only I will add, *ſays he*, That that which is "deſired is holy and juſt, and very much for the ſafety and quiet of "this Kingdom, which is moſt devoted to the Apoſtolical See. He "alſo wrote by the ſame hand to the Ambaſſador, that the King would "have things ſo carryed, that all occaſion of diſcontent or cavilling, "whether at home or abroad, might be removed; and therefore deſi-"red that another Cardinal might be ſent Legate to *England*, and "joyned in Commiſſion with himſelf for judging the Matter. He "named either *Campegius*, *Tranus*, or *Farneſe*: Or if that could not be "obtained, that a fuller Commiſſion might be ſent to himſelf, with "all poſſible haſte, ſince delays might produce great inconveniences. If "a Legate were named, then care muſt be taken that he ſhould be "one who were Learned, Indifferent, and *Tractable*; and if *Campegius* "could be the man, he was the fitteſt perſon. And when one was "named he ſhould make him a decent preſent, and aſſure him that the "King would moſt liberally recompence all his labour and expence. "He alſo required him to preſs his ſpeedy Diſpatch, and that the "Commiſſion ſhould be full to try and determine, without any re-"ſervation of the Sentence to be given by the Pope. This Diſpatch is interlined, and amended with the Cardinals own hand.

The Cardinals Letters by him.

But upon the Arrival of the Meſſenger whom the Secretary had ſent, with the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation, and the other Packets before mentioned; It was debated in the Kings Council, whether he ſhould go on in his Proceſs, or continue to ſolicite new Bulls from *Rome*. On the one hand, they ſaw how tedious, dangerous and expenſive a Proceſs at *Rome* was like to prove: and therefore it ſeemed the eaſieſt and moſt expedite way to proceed before the Cardinal in his Legantine Court, who ſhould *ex officio*, and in the Summary way of their Court, bring it to a ſpeedy Concluſion. But on the other hand, if the Cardinal gave Sentence, and the King ſhould Marry, then they were not ſure, but before that time the Pope might either change his mind, or his Intereſt might turn him another way. And the Popes Power was ſo abſolute by the Canon Law, that no general Clauſes in Commiſſions to Legates, could bind him to confirm their Sentences: and if upon the Kings Marrying another Wife, the Pope ſhould refuſe to confirm it, then the King would be in a worſe caſe than he was now in, and his Marriage and Iſſue by it ſhould be ſtill

A Larger Bull deſired by the King.

1528. diſputable: Therefore they thought this was by no means to be adventured on, but they ſhould make new Addreſſes to the Court of *Rome*. In the debate, ſome ſharp words fell either from the King, or ſome of his Secular Counſellors; Intimating that if the Pope continued under ſuch fears, the King muſt find ſome other way to ſet him at eaſe. So it was reſolved that *Stephen Gardiner*, commonly called Doctor *Stevens*, the Cardinals chief Secretary, and *Edward Fox* the Kings Almoner, ſhould be ſent to *Rome*; the one being eſteemed the ableſt Canoniſt in *England*, the other one of the beſt Divines, they were Diſpatched the 10th of *February*. "By them the King wrote to the Pope thanking him, that he had expreſſed ſuch forward and earneſt willingneſs "to give him eaſe: and had ſo kindly promiſed to gratifie his deſires, "of which he expected now to ſee the effects. He wrote alſo to the "Cardinals, his thanks for the chearfulneſs with which they had in "Conſiſtory promiſed to promote his Sute; for which he aſſured them "they ſhould never have cauſe to Repent. But the Cardinal wrote in "a ſtrain, that ſhews he was in ſome fear that if he could not bring about the Kings deſires, he was like to loſe his favour. "He beſought "the Pope as lying at his feet, that if he thought him a Chriſtian, "a good Cardinal, and not unworthy of that Dignity, an uſeful mem- "ber of the Apoſtolick See, a Promoter of Juſtice and Equity, or "thought him his faithful Creature, or that he deſired his own eter- "nal Salvation, that he would now ſo far conſider his Interceſſion, as "to grant kindly and ſpeedily that which the King earneſtly deſired; "which if he did not know to be Holy, Right, and Juſt, he would "undergo any hazard or puniſhment whatſoever, rather than pro- "mote it; but he did aprehend if the King found that the Pope was "ſo overawed by the Emperor, as not to grant that which all Chriſten- "dom judged was grounded both on the Divine and Human Laws, "both he and other Chriſtian Princes would from thence take occaſi- "on to provide themſelves of other Remedies, and leſſen and deſpiſe "the Authority of the Apoſtolick See. In his Letters to *Caſſali* he expreſſed a great ſenſe of the Services which the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* had done the King; and bid him enquire what were the things in which he delighted moſt, whether Furniture, Gold plate, or Horſes, that they might make him acceptable preſents; and aſſure him that the King would contribute largely towards the carrying on the building of St. *Peters* in the *Vatican*.

Gardiner and *Fox* ſent to *Rome*.

With Letters from the King,

Collect. *Numb.* 7th.

and the Cardinal.

Collect. *Numb.* 8th.

Collect. *Numb.* 9th.

The moſt Important thing about which they were employed, was to procure the expediting of a Bull which was formed in *England*, with all the ſtrongeſt Clauſes that could be imagined. In the Preamble of which all the Reaſons againſt the validity of the Bull of *P. Julius* the 2d, were recited: and it was alſo hinted *that it was againſt "the Law of God*; but to leſſen that, it was added, *at leaſt where there "was not a ſufficient Diſpenſation obtained*: therefore the Pope, to re- "ward the great Services by which the King had obliged the Apoſto- "lick See, and having regard to the Diſtractions that might follow "on a Diſputable Title; upon a full Conſultation with the Cardi- "nals, having alſo heard the Opinions of Divines and Canoniſts, "Deputed—for his Legate, to concur with the Cardinal of *York*, either together, or (the one being hindred, or unwilling) ſeverally.

The ſubſtance of the Bull deſired by them.

Collect. *Numb.* 10th.

And

"And if they found thoſe things that were ſuggeſted againſt the Bull "of *P. Julius*, or any of them, well or ſufficiently proved, then to "declare it void and null, as ſurreptitiouſly procured, upon falſe "grounds; and thereupon to Annul the Marriage that had followed "upon it: And to give both Parties full leave to Marry again, not- "withſtanding any Appellation or Proteſtation, the Pope making "them his Vicars, with full and abſolute Power and Authority: "empowering them alſo to declare the Iſſue begotten in the former "Marriage good and legitimate, if they ſaw cauſe for it. The Pope "binding himſelf to confirm whatever they ſhould do in that proceſs, "and never to revoke or repeal what they ſhould Pronounce. De- "claring alſo that this Bull ſhould remain in force till the Proceſs "were ended, and that by no Revocation or Inhibition it ſhould be "recalled; and if any ſuch were obtained, theſe are all declared void "and null, and the Legats were to proceed notwithſtanding: and all "ended with a full *Non obſtante.* 1527.

This was judged the uttermoſt force that could be in a Bull: Though the Civilians would ſcarce allow any validity at all in theſe extravagant Clauſes: but the moſt material thing in this Bull, is, that it ſeems the King was not fully reſolved to declare his Daughter illegitimate. Whether he pretended this, to mitigate the Queens, or the Emperors oppoſition, or did really intend it, is not clear. But what he did afterwards in Parliament, ſhews, he had this deep in his thoughts, though the Queens Carriage did ſoon after provoke him to purſue his reſentments againſt her Daughter. The French King did alſo joyn a moſt earneſt Letter of his to the Pope, which they were alſo to deliver. They had likewiſe a ſecret Inſtruction by all means to endeavour that Cardinal *Campegio* ſhould be the Legate, he had the reputation of a Learned Canoniſt, and they knew he was a *tractable man*: and beſides that, he was Biſhop of *Salisbury*, the King had obliged him by the grant of a Palace, which the King was building in *Burgo* at *Rome* for his Ambaſſadors, which before it was finiſhed, he had by a Patent given to him and his heirs: ſo they had better hopes of him than of any other.

Rot. Pat. 2da Pars. Regn. 10.

By theſe Ambaſſadors the Cardinal wrote a long and moſt earneſt Letter to *John Caſſali* the Proto-Notarie, that was the Ambaſſadors Brother. In which all the Arguments that a moſt anxious mind could invent or dictate, are laid together to perſwade the Pope to grant the Kings deſires. Among other things he tells him, "How he had "engaged to the King, that the Pope would not deny it; That the King "both out of ſcruple of Conſcience, and becauſe of ſome Diſeaſes in "the Queen, that were incurable, had reſolved never to come near "her more; and that if the Pope continued, out of his partial reſpects "to the Emperor, to be inexorable, the King would proceed another "way. He offers to take all the blame of it upon his own Soul, if it were amiſs; with many other particulars in which he is ſo preſſing, that I cannot imagine what moved the Lord *Herbert*, who ſaw thoſe Letters, to think that the Cardinal did not really intend the Divorce. He (it ſeems) ſaw another Paper of their Inſtructions, by which they were ordered to ſay to the Pope, that the Cardinal was not the Author of the Counſel. But all that was intended by that, was only to

The Cardinals Earneſtneſs in this matter. Collect. *Numb.* 11th.

1527. to excuſe him ſo far, that he might not be thought too partial, and an incompetent Judge. For as he was far from diſowning the juſtice of the Kings Sute, ſo he would not have truſted a Secret of that Importance to paper, which when it ſhould be known to the King, would have loſt him his favour. But undoubtedly it was concerted between the King and him to remove an Exception, which otherwiſe the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction would have made, to his being the Judg in that matter.

Collect. *Numb.* 12. With thoſe Letters and Inſtructions were *Gardiner* and *Fox* ſent to *Rome*, where both the *Caſſalies* and *Staphileus* were promoting the Kings buſineſs all they could. And being ſtrengthned with the Acceſſion of thoſe other two they made a greater progreſs; ſo that in *April* the Pope did in Conſiſtory, Declare Cardinal *Campegio* Legate to go to *England*, that he with the Cardinal of *York* might try the validity of the Kings Marriage: But that Cardinal made great excuſes, he was then Legate at *Rome*, in which he had ſuch advantages, that he had no mind to enter in a buſineſs which muſt for ever engage either the Emperor or the King againſt him. He alſo pretended an Inability to travel ſo great a journey, being much ſubject to the Gout. But when this was known in *England*, the Cardinal wrote him a moſt earneſt Letter, to haſten over, and bring with him all ſuch things as were neceſſary for making their Sentence firm and irreverſible, ſo that it might never again be Queſtioned.

Campegio declared Legate.

Collect. *Numb.* 10.

Wolſey writes to him to haſte over. *May* 7.

But here I ſhall add a Remark, which though it is of no great importance, yet will be diverting to the Reader. The draught of the Letter is in *Wolſey's* Secretaries hand, amended in ſome places by his own; and concluded thus, *I hope all things ſhall be done according to the Will of God, the deſire of the King, the Quiet of the Kingdom, and to our honour with a good Conſcience.* But the Cardinal daſht out this laſt word *with a good Conſcience*. Perhaps judging that was a thing fit for meaner perſons, but that it was below the Dignity of two Cardinals to conſider it much. He wrote alſo to *Caſſali* high complements for his diligence in the Step that was made, but deſired him with all poſſible means to get the Bull granted and truſted to his keeping, with the deepeſt Proteſtations, that no uſe ſhould be made of it, but that the King only ſhould ſee it; by which his mind would be at eaſe, and he being put in good hopes, would employ his Power in the ſervice of the Pope and Apoſtolick See: but the Pope was not a man to be cozen'd ſo eaſily.

May 23. When the Cardinal heard by the next Diſpatch what excuſes and delays *Campegio* made, he wrote to him again, and preſſed his coming over in haſte. "For his being Legate of *Rome* he deſired him to name "a Vice-Legate. For his want of Money and Horſes, *Gardiner* would "furniſh him as he deſired, and he ſhould find an equipage ready for "him in *France*; and he might certainly expect great rewards from "the King. But if he did not make more haſte, the King would in- "cline to believe an advertiſement that was ſent him, of his turning "over to the Emperors Party. Therefore if he either valued the "Kings kindneſs, or were grateful for the favours he had received "from him; if he valued the Cardinals Friendſhip or ſafety, or if he "would hinder the diminution of the Authority of the Roman Church, "all excuſes ſet aſide, he muſt make what haſte in his Journey was poſ-

ſible.

sible. Yet the Legate made no great haste, for till *October* following he came not into *England*. The Bull that was desired could not be obtained, but another was granted, which perhaps was of more force because it had not those extraordinary Clauses in it. There is the Copy of a Bull to this purpose in the *Cottonian* Library, which has been printed more than once by some that have taken it for a Copy of the same Bull that was sent by *Campegio*: but I take it to be rather, a Copy of that Bull which the Pope Signed at *Rome* while he was there a Prisoner, and probably afterward at *Orvieto* he might give it the date that it bears 1527. *Decemb.* 17. But that there was a Decretal Bull sent by *Campegio* will appear evidently in the sequel of this Relation. About this time I meet with the first evidence of the progress of the Kings love to *Anne Boleyn*, in two Original Letters of hers to the Cardinal, from which it appears, not only that the King had then resolved to Marry her, but that the Cardinal was privy to it. They bear no date, but the matter of them shews they were written after the end of *May*, when the Sweating-sickness began, and about the time that the Legate was expected. They give such a light to the History, that I shall not cast them over to the Collection at the end, but set them down here.

1527

The Pope grants a Decretal Bull *Anti-Sanderus*. L. *Herbert*.

Two Letters of *Anne Boleyn's* to *Wolsey*.

MY Lord, in my most humblest wise that my heart can think, I desire you to pardon me that I *am so bold to trouble you with my simple and rude writing, esteeming it to proceed from her, that is much desirous to know that your Grace does well, as I perceive by this Bearer that you do. The which I pray God long to continue, as I am most bound to pray; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me both day and night, is never like to be recompenced on my part, but alonly in loving you next, unto the Kings Grace, above all creatures living. And I do not doubt but the daily proofs of my deeds, shall manifestly declare and affirm my writing to be true, and I do trust you do think the same. My Lord, I do assure you I do long to hear from you news of the Legate: for I do hope and they come from you they shall be very good, and I am sure you desire it as much as I, and more, and it were possible, as I know it is not: and thus remaining in a stedfast hope, I make an end of my Letter written with the hand of her that is most bound to be.*

A Postscript of the Kings to him.

THe writer of this Letter would not cease till she had caused me likewise to set to my hand; desiring you, though it be short to take it in good part. I ensure you there is neither of us, but that greatly desireth to see you, and much more joyous to hear that you have scaped this Plague so well, trusting the fury thereof to be passed, specially with them that keepeth good diet as I trust you do. The not hearing of the Legates Arrival in France, *causeth us somewhat to muse; notwithstanding we trust by your diligence and vigilancy (with the assistance of Almighty God) shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time; but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity as the Writer would.*

By Your
Loving Soveraign and Friend
Henry K.
Your Humble Servant
Anne Boleyn.

My

1528. *MY Lord, In my moſt humbleſt wiſe that my poor heart can think, I do thank your Grace for your kind Letter, and for your rich and goodly Preſent, the which I ſhall never be able to deſerve without your help: of the which I have hitherto had ſo great plenty, that all the days of my life I am moſt bound of all Creatures, next the King's Grace, to love and ſerve your Grace: of the which I beſeech you never to doubt, that ever I ſhall vary from this thought as long as any breath is in my body. And as touching your Graces trouble with the ſweat, I thank our Lord, that them that I deſired and prayed for, are ſcaped, and that is the King and you; not doubting but that God has preſerved you both for great cauſes known alonly of his high wiſdom. And as for the coming of the Legate, I deſire that much, and if it be God's pleaſure, I pray him to ſend this matter ſhortly to a good end, and then I truſt, My Lord, to recompence part of your great pains. In the which I muſt require you in the mean time to accept my good-will in the ſtead of the power, the which muſt proceed partly from you, as our Lord knoweth; to whom I beſeech to ſend you long life, with continuance in honour. Written with the hand of her that is moſt bound to be,*

Your Humble and

Obedient Servant,

Anne Boleyn.

Collect. *Numb.* 14th. The Cardinal hearing that *Campegius* had the Decretal Bull committed to his Truſt, to be ſhewed only to the King and himſelf, wrote to the Ambaſſador that it was neceſſary it ſhould be alſo ſhewed to ſome of the Kings Council; not to make any uſe of it, but that thereby they might underſtand how to manage the Proceſs better by it. This he begged might be truſted to his care and fidelity, and he undertook to manage it ſo, that no kind of danger could ariſe out of it.

The Cardinal's Colledges finiſhed. At this time the Cardinal having Finiſhed his Foundations at *Oxford* and *Ipſwich*, and finding they were very acceptable, both to the King and to the Clergy, reſolved to go on, and ſuppreſs more Monaſteries, and erect new Biſhopricks, turning ſome Abbies to Cathedrals. This was propoſed in the Conſiſtory, and granted, as appears by a diſpatch of *Caſſali's*. *Octob.* 30. He alſo ſpoke to the Pope about a general Viſitation of all Monaſteries. And on the 4th of *November*, the Bull for ſuppreſſing ſome was expected, a Copy whereof is yet extant, but written in ſuch a hand, that I could not read three words together in any place of it; and though I tried others that were good at reading all hands, yet they could not do it. But I find by the diſpatch that the Pope did it with ſome averſion: and when *Gardiner* told him plainly, *it was neceſſary and it muſt be done*, he pauſed a little, and ſeemed unwilling to give any further offence to Religious Orders: But ſince he found it ſo uneaſie to gratifie the King in ſo great a Point, as the matter of his Divorce, he judged it the more neceſſary to mollifie him by a compliance in all other things. So there was a power given to the Two Legates to examine the ſtate of the Monaſteries, and to ſuppreſs ſuch as they thought fit, and convert them into Biſhopricks and Cathedrals.

More Monaſteries were to be ſuppreſſed.

While

While matters went thus between *Rome* and *England*, the Queen was as active as ſhe could be, to engage her Two Nephews, the Emperor, and his Brother, to appear for her. She complained to them much of the King, but more of the Cardinal: She alſo gave them notice of all the Exceptions that were made to the Bull, and deſired both their advice and aſſiſtance: They having a mind to perplex the Kings Affairs, adviſed her by no means to yield, nor to be induced to enter into a Religious life; and gave her aſſurance, that by their Intereſt at *Rome*, they would ſupport her, and maintain her Daughters Title, if it went to extremities. And as they employed all their agents at *Rome* to ſerve her concerns, ſo they conſulted with the Canoniſts about the force of the Exceptions to the Bull. The iſſue of which was, that a *Breve* was found out, or forged, that ſupplied ſome of the moſt material defects in the Bull. For whereas in the Bull, the Preamble bore, that the King and Queen had deſired the Popes Diſpenſation to Marry, that the Peace might continue between the Two Crowns without any other cauſe given: In the preamble of this *Breve*, mention is made of their deſire to Marry, "becauſe otherwiſe it was not likely that the Peace would be "continued between the Two Crowns. And for that, and divers other "reaſons they asked the Diſpenſation. Which in the body of the *Breve* is granted, bearing date the 26th of *December*, 1503. Upon this they pretended that the Diſpenſation was granted upon good Reaſons; ſince by this Petition it appeared, that there were fears of a Breach between the Crowns: And that there were alſo other reaſons made uſe of, though they were not named. But there was one Fatal thing in it. In the Bull it is only ſaid, That the Queens Petition bore, *That perhaps ſhe had Conſummated her Marriage with Prince* Arthur, *by the Carnalis Copula*. But in this *perhaps* is left out, and 'tis plainly ſaid, *That they had Conſummated their Marriage*. This the King's Council, who ſuſpected that the *Breve* was forged, made great uſe of when the Queſtion was argued, whether Prince *Arthur* knew her or not? Though at this time 'twas ſaid, the *Spaniards* did put it in on deſign, knowing it was like to be proved, that the former Marriage was Conſummated: which they intended to throw out of the debate, ſince by this it appeared that the Pope did certainly know that, and yet granted the *Breve*; and that therefore there was to be no more enquiry to be made into that, which was already confeſſed: ſo that all that was now to be debated, was the Popes power of granting ſuch a Diſpenſation, in which they had good reaſon to expect a favourable Deciſion at *Rome*.

1528. The Emperor oppoſes the King's Suit

A *Breve* found out in *Spain*. Collect. *Numb.* 15th.

But there appeared great grounds to reject this *Breve* as a forged writing. It was neither in the Records of *England*, nor *Spain*, but ſaid to be found among the Papers of *D. de Puebla*, that had been the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador in *England* at the time of concluding the Match. So that if he only had it, it muſt have been caſſated, otherwiſe the Parties concerned would have got it into their hands: Or elſe it was forged ſince. Many of the names were written falſe, which was a preſumption that it was lately made by ſome *Spaniards*, who knew not how to write the names true. For *Sigiſmund*, who was Secretary, when it was pretended to have been Signed, was an exact man, and no ſuch errors were found in *Breves* at that time. But that which ſhewed it a manifeſt Forgery, was, that it bore date the 26th of *December*, *Anno* 1503. on the ſame day that the

Preſumptions of its being forged.

Bull

1528. Bull was granted. It was not to be imagined that in the ſame day a *Bull*, and a *Breve*, ſhould have been expedited in the ſame buſineſs, with ſuch material differences in them. And the ſtile of the Court of *Rome* had this ſingularity in it; That in all their *Breves*, they reckon the beginning of the year from *Chriſtmas*-day, which being the Nativity of our Lord, they count the year to begin then. But in their Bulls they reckon the year to begin at the Feaſt of the *Annunciation*. So that a *Breve* dated the 26th. of *December*, 1503. was in the vulgar account in the year, 1502. therefore it muſt be falſe; for neither was *Julius* the 2d. who granted it, then Pope, nor was the Treaty of the Marriage ſo far advanced at that time, as to admit of a *Breve* ſo ſoon. But allowing the *Breve* to be true, they had many of the ſame Exceptions to it, that they had to the *Bull*, ſince it bore that the King deſired the Marriage, to avoid a Breach between the Crowns, which was falſe. It likewiſe bore that the Marriage had been Conſummated between the Queen and Prince *Arthur*, which the Queen denied was ever done; ſo that the ſuggeſtion in her name being as ſhe ſaid, falſe, it could have no force, though it were granted to be a true *Breve*: And they ſaid, it was plain, the *Imperialiſts* were convinced the *Bull* was of no force, ſince they betook themſelves to ſuch arts to fortifie their Cauſe.

Campegio comes into *England.*

When Cardinal *Campegio* came to *England*, he was received with the publick Solemnities ordinary in ſuch a caſe, and in his ſpeech at his firſt Audience, he called the King *the Deliverer of the Pope, and of the City of Rome*, with the higheſt complements that the occaſion did require. But when he was admitted to a private Conference with the King, and the Cardinal, he uſed many arguments to diſwade the King from proſecuting the matter any further. This the King took very ill, as if his errand had been rather to confirm than annul his Marriage; and complained that the Pope had broken his word to him. But the Legate ſtudied to qualifie him, and ſhewed the Decretal Bull, by which he might ſee, that though the Pope wiſhed rather that the buſineſs might come to a more friendly concluſion; yet if the King could not be brought to that, he was empowered to grant him all that he deſired. But he could not be brought to part with the Decretal Bull out of his hands, or to leave it for a minute, either with the King or the Cardinal: ſaying, That it was demanded on theſe terms, that no other perſon ſhould ſee it; and that *Gardiner* and the Ambaſſador had only moved to have it expedited, and ſent by the Legate, to let the King ſee how well the Pope was affected to him. With all this the King was much diſſatisfied; but to encourage him again, the Legate told him, he was to ſpeak to the Queen in the Popes name, to induce her to enter into a Religious life, and to make the Vows. But when he propoſed that to her, ſhe anſwered him modeſtly, that ſhe could not diſpoſe of her ſelf, but by the advice of her Nephews.

And ſhowes the King the Bull,

But refuſes to let it be ſeen to the Council.

Wolſey's endeavour at *Rome* that it might be ſhowed.

Of all this the Cardinal of *York* advertiſed the *Caſſalies*, and * ordered them to uſe all poſſible endeavours, that the Bull might be ſhowen to ſome of the Kings Council. Upon that (Sir *Gregory* being then out of *Rome*) the Proto-Notary went to the Pope, and complained that *Campegio* had diſſwaded the Divorce. The Pope juſtified him in it, and ſaid, He did as he had ordered him. He next complained that the Legate would not proceed to execute the Legantine Commiſſion. The Pope denied that

* Collect. *Numb.* 16th. Collect. *Numb.* 17th.

he

he had any order from him to delay his proceedings, but that by vertue of his Commiſſion they might go on and paſs Sentence. Then the Proto-Notary preſſed him for leave to ſhew the Bull to ſome of the Kings Council, complaining of *Campegio's* ſtiffneſs in refuſing it, and that he would not truſt it to the Cardinal of *York*, who was his equal in the Commiſſion. To this the Pope anſwered in paſſion, That he could ſhew the Cardinals Letter, in which he aſſures him, that the Bull ſhould only be ſhewed to the King and himſelf; and that if it were not granted he was ruined, therefore to preſerve him he had ſent it, but had ordered it to be burnt when it was once ſhewed. He wiſhed he had never ſent it, ſaying, he would gladly loſe a Finger to recover it again, and expreſſed great grief for granting it: and ſaid, They had got him to ſend it, and now would have it ſhowed, to which he would never conſent, for then he was undone for ever. Upon this, the Proto-Notary laid before him the danger of loſing the King, and the Kingdom of *England*; of ruining the Cardinal of *York*, and of the undoing of their Family, whoſe hopes depended on the Cardinal; and that by theſe means Hereſie would prevail in *England*, which if it once had great footing there, would not be ſo eaſily rooted out: That all perſons judged the Kings Cauſe right; but though it were not ſo, ſome things that were not good, muſt be born with to avoid greater evils. And at laſt he fell down at his feet, and in moſt paſſionate expreſſions begged him to be more compliant to the Kings deſires, and at leaſt not to deny that ſmall favour of ſhowing the Decretal to ſome few Counſellors, upon the aſſurance of abſolute ſecrecy: But the Pope interrupted him, and with great ſigns of an unuſual grief, told him, theſe ſad effects could not be charged on him, he had kept his word, and done what he had promiſed, but upon no conſideration would he do any thing that might wound his Conſcience, or blemiſh his Integrity. Therefore let them proceed as they would in *England*, he ſhould be free of all blame, but ſhould confirm their Sentence: And he proteſted he had given *Campegio* no commands to make any delays, but only to give him notice of their proceedings. If the King, who had maintained the Apoſtolick See, had written for the Faith, and was the Defender of it, would over-turn it, it would end in his own diſgrace. But at laſt the ſecret came out, for the Pope confeſſed there was a League in Treaty between the Emperor and himſelf; but denied that he had bound himſelf up by it, as to the Kings buſineſs. 1528. But all in vain.

The Pope conſulted with the Cardinals, *Sanctorum Quatuor* and *Simonetta*, (not mentioning the *Decretal* to them, which he had granted without communicating it to any body, or entring it in any Regiſter) and they were of opinion that the Proceſs ſhould be carried on in *England*, without demanding any thing further from *Rome*. But the Imperial Cardinals ſpake againſt it, and were moving preſently for an Inhibition, and an Avocation of the Cauſe, to be tried at the Court of *Rome*. The Pope alſo took notice, that the Interceſſion of *England* and *France* had not prevailed with the *Venetians* to reſtore *Cervia* and *Ravenna*, which they had taken from him; and that he could not think that Republick durſt do ſo, if theſe Kings were in earneſt. It had been promiſed that they ſhould be reſtored as ſoon as his Legate was ſent to *England*, but it was not yet done. The Proto-Notary told him it ſhould moſt certainly be done. Thus ended that Converſation. But the more earneſt

1528. the Cardinal was to have the Bull ſeen by ſome of the Privy-Council, the Pope was the more confirmed in his reſolutions never to conſent to it. For he could not imagine the deſire of ſeeing it was a bare curioſity, or only to direct the Kings Counſellors; ſince the King and the Cardinal could inform them of all the material Clauſes that were in it. Therefore he judged the deſire of ſeeing it was only that they might have ſo many witneſſes to prove that it was once granted, whereby they had the Pope in their power; and this he judged too dangerous for him to ſubmit to.

The Pope ſends *Campana* to *England*. Collect. *Numb.* 18th.

But the Pope finding the King and the Cardinal ſo ill ſatisfied with him, reſolved to ſend *Franciſco Campana*, one of his Bed-chamber, to *England*, to remove all miſtakes, and to feed the King with freſh hopes. In *England*, *Campegio* found ſtill means by new delays to put off the buſineſs, and amuſed the King with new and ſubtle motions for ending the matter more dextrouſly. Upon which, in the beginning of *December*, Sir *Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes*, the Kings Secretary for the Latine Tongue were ſent to *Rome*. They had it in Commiſſion to ſearch all the Records there, for the *Breve* that was now ſo much talked of in *Spain*. They were to propoſe ſeveral overtures. "Whether if the Queen vowed Re-
"ligion, the Pope would not diſpence with the Kings ſecond Marriage?
"or if the Queen would not vow Religion, unleſs the King alſo did it,
"Whether in that caſe would the Pope diſpence with his vow? Or whe-
"ther if the Queen would hear of no ſuch propoſition; would not the
"Pope diſpence with the Kings having two Wives? For which there
"were diverſs preſidents vouched from the Old Teſtament. They were to repreſent to the Pope that the King had laid out much of his beſt Treaſure in his Service, and therefore he expected the higheſt favours out of the deepeſt Treaſure of the Church. And *Peter Vannes* was commanded to tell the Pope as of himſelf, that if he did for partial reſpects and fears, refuſe the Kings deſires, he perceived it would not only alienate the King from him, but that many other Princes his Confederates, with their Realms, would withdraw their Devotion and Obedience from the Apoſtolick See.

New Ambaſſadors ſent to *Rome*,

With other overtures.

Collect. *Numb.* 19th.

By a diſpatch that followed them, the Cardinal tried a new project, which was an offer of 2000 men for a Guard to the Pope, to be maintained at the coſt of the King and his Confederates. And alſo propoſed an enterview of the Pope, the Emperor, the *French* King, and the Ambaſſadors of other Princes, to be either at *Nice*, *Avignon*, or in *Savoy*, and that himſelf would come thither from the King of *England*. But the Pope reſolved ſtedfaſtly to keep his ground, and not to engage himſelf too much to any Prince; therefore the motion of a Guard did not at all work upon him. To have Guards about him upon another Princes pay, was to be their Priſoner; and he was ſo weary of his late Impriſonment, that he would not put himſelf in hazard of it a ſecond time. Beſides, ſuch a Guard would give the Emperor juſt cauſe of jealouſie, and yet not ſecure him againſt his power. He had been alſo ſo unſuccesful in his conteſts with the Emperor, that he had no mind to give him any new provocation: And though the Kings of *England* and *France* gave him good words, yet they did nothing, nor did the King make War upon the Emperor, ſo that his Armies lying in *Italy*, he was ſtill under his power. Therefore the Pope reſolved to unite himſelf firmly to the Emperor;

A Guard of 2000 men offered to the Pope.

The Pope reſolved to unite himſelf to the Emperor.

and

and all the uſe he made of the Kings earneſtneſs in his Divorce, was only to bring the Emperor to better terms. The *Lutherans* in *Germany* were like to make great uſe of any deciſion he might make againſt any of his Predeceſſors Bulls. The Cardinal Elector of *Mentz*, had written to him to conſider well what he did in the Kings Divorce, for if it went on, nothing had ever fallen out ſince the beginning of *Luthers* Sect, that would ſo much ſtrenghen it as that Sentence. He was alſo threatned on the other ſide from *Rome*, that the Emperor would have a General Council called, and whatſoever he did in this Proceſs ſhould be examined there, and he proceeded againſt accordingly. Nor did they forget to put him in mind of his Birth, that he was a *Baſtard*, and ſo by the Canon incapable of that Dignity, and that thereupon they would depoſe him. He having all theſe things in his proſpect, and being naturally of a fearful temper, which was at this time more prevalent in him by reaſon of his late Captivity, reſolved not to run theſe hazards, which ſeemed unavoidable, if he proceeded further in the Kings buſineſs. But his conſtant Maxime, being to promiſe and ſwear deepeſt, when he intended leaſt, he ſent *Campana* to *England*, with a Letter of Credence to the Cardinal the effects of which meſſage will appear afterwards. And thus ended this year, in which it was believed that if the King had employed that Money, which was ſpent in a fruitleſs Negotiation at *Rome*, on a War in *Flanders*, it had ſo diſtracted the Emperors Forces, and encouraged the Pope, that he had ſooner granted that, which in a more fruitleſs way was ſought of him.

1528.

Being frighned with the threats of the Imperialiſts.

In the beginning of the next year, *Caſſali* wrote to the Cardinal, that the Pope was much inclined to unite himſelf with the Emperor, and propoſed to go in Perſon to *Spain*, to ſolicite a general Peace; but intended to go privately, and deſired the Cardinal would go with him thither, as his Friend and Counſellor, and that they two ſhould go as Legates. But *Caſſali*, by *Salviati's* means, who was in great favour with the Pope, underſtood that the Pope was never in greater fear of the Emperor than at that time; for his Ambaſſador had threatned the Pope ſeverely, if he would not recal the Commiſſion that he had ſent to *England*; ſo that the Pope ſpoke oft to *Salviati* of the *great Repentance that he had inwardly in his heart, for granting the Decretal*: and ſaid, *He was undone for ever, if it came to the Emperors knowledge.* He alſo reſolved, that though the Legates gave Sentence in *England*, it ſhould never take effect, for he would not confirm it: Of which *Gregory Caſſali* gave Advertiſement by an expreſs Meſſenger, who as he paſſed through *Paris*, met Secretary *Knight* and Doctor *Bennet*, whom the King had diſpatched to *Rome*, to aſſiſt his other Ambaſſadors there, and gave them an account of his meſſage: and that it was the Advice of the Kings Friends at *Rome*, That he and his Confederates ſhould follow the War more vigorouſly, and preſs the Emperor harder, without which all their applications to the Pope would ſignifie nothing. Of this they gave the Cardinal an account, and went on but faintly in their Journey, judging that upon theſe Advertiſements they would be recalled, and other Counſels taken.

1529. *Jan.* 3.

Repents his granting the Decretal.

Kings Letter to the Cardinal, *Jan.* 8th.

At the ſame time the Pope was with his uſual Arts cajoling the Kings Agents in *Italy*: For when Sir *Francis Brian* and *Peter Vannes* came to *Bononia*, the Proto-Notary *Caſſali* was ſurprized, to hear that the buſineſs was not already ended in *England*: ſince (he ſaid) he knew there were

Jan. 9.

1529. ſufficient Powers ſent about it, and that the Pope aſſured him he would confirm their Sentence; but that he made a great difference between the confirming their judgment, by which he had the Legates between him and the *Envy* or *Odium* of it, and the granting a Bull, by which the Judgment ſhould ariſe immediately from himſelf. This his beſt Friends diſſuaded, and he ſeemed apprehenſive, that in caſe he ſhould do it, a Council would be called, and he ſhould be depoſed for it. And any ſuch diſtraction in the Papacy, conſidering the footing which Hereſie had alread gotten, would ruin the Eccleſiaſtical State, and the Church: So dextrouſly did the Pope govern himſelf between ſuch contrary tides. But all this Diſſimulation was ſhort of what he acted by *Campana* in *England*, whoſe true errand thither was to order *Campegio* to deſtroy the Bull; but he did ſo perſwade the King and the Cardinal of the Popes ſin-

Jan. 15. cerity, that by a diſpatch to Sir *Francis Brian*, and *Peter Vannes*, and Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, he chid the two former for not making more haſte to *Rome*; for he believed it might have been a great advantage to the Kings Affairs, if they had got thither before the *General of the Obſervants* (then Cardinal *Angell.*) He ordered them to ſetle the buſineſs of the Guard about the Pope preſently, and tells them that the Secretary was recalled, and *Dr. Stephens* again ſent to *Rome*: And in a Letter to Secretary *Knight*, who went no further than *Lions*, he writ to him; "That *Campana*

But feeds the King with high promiſes. "had aſſured the King and him, in the Popes name, that the Pope was "ready to do, not only all that of Law, Equity, or Juſtice, could be de-"ſired of him, but whatever of the *fulneſs of his Power* he could do or "deviſe, for giving the King content: And that although there were "three things, which the Pope had great reaſon to take care of; The "calling a General Council, The Emperors deſcent into *Italy*, and the "Reſtitution of his Towns, which were offered to be put in his hands "by the Emperors means; yet neither theſe, nor any other conſiderati-"on, ſhould divert him from doing all that lay within his Authority, or "Power, for the King: And that he had ſo deep a ſenſe of the Kings "merits, and the obligations that he had laid on him, that if his reſig-"nation of the Popedom might do him any Service, he would readily "conſent to it: And therefore in the Popes name he encouraged the Le-"gates to proceed and end the buſineſs.

Upon theſe aſſurances the Cardinal ordered the Secretary to haſte forward to *Rome*, and to thank the Pope for that kind meſſage, to ſetle the Guard about him, and to tell him, that for a Council, none could be called but by himſelf, with the conſent of the Kings of *England* and *France*. And for any pretended Council or meeting of Biſhops, which the Emperor by the Cardinals of his Party might call, he needed not fear that. For his Towns, they ſhould be moſt certainly reſtored. Nor was the Emperors offering to put them in his hand to be much regarded; for though he reſtored them, if the Pope had not a better Guaranty for them, it would be eaſie for him, to take them from him when he pleaſed. He was alſo to propoſe a firmer League between the Pope, *England*, and *France*, in order to which, he was to move the Pope moſt earneſtly to go to *Nice*; and if the Pope propoſed the Kings taking a ſecond Wife, with a Legitimation of the Iſſue, which ſhe might have, ſo the Queen might be induced to enter into a ſtate of Religion, to which the Pope inclined moſt, he was not to accept of that; both becauſe the thing would take

take up much time, and they found the Queen reſolved to do nothing, but as ſhe was adviſed by her Nephews. Yet if the Pope offered a *Decretal* about it, he might take it, to be made uſe of as the Occaſion might require. But by a Poſtſcript he is recalled, and it is ſignified to him, that *Gardiner* was ſent to Rome, to negotiate theſe affairs, who had returned to *England* with the Legate, and his being ſo ſucceſsful in his former Meſſage, made them think him the fitteſt Miniſter they could imploy in that Court; and to ſend him with the greater Advantage, he was made a Privy Councellour. 1529.

The Pope ſickens.

But an unlooked-for Accident put a ſtop to all Proceedings in the Court of *Rome*. For on *Epiphany*-day the Pope was taken extreme ill at Maſs, and a great ſickneſs followed, of which it was generally believed he could not recover; and though his diſtemper did ſoon abate ſo much, that it was thought to be over, yet it returned again upon him, inſomuch that the Phyſicians did ſuſpect he was poiſoned. Then followed all the ſecret Caballings and Intrigues, which are ordinary in that Court upon ſuch an occaſion. The *Collonna's* and the other Imperialiſts were very buſie, but the Cardinal of *Mantua* oppoſed them; and *Farneſe* who was then at his houſe in the Countrey, came to *Rome* and joyned with *Mantua*; and theſe of that Faction, reſolved that if the *Spaniſh* Army marched from *Naples* toward them, they would diſpence with that Bull, which provides that the Succeeding Pope ſhould be choſen in the ſame place where the former died, and would retire to ſome ſafe place. Some of the Cardinals ſpoke highly in favour of Cardinal *Wolſey*, whom (if the Ambaſſadors did not flatter and lie groſly in their Letters, from which I draw theſe Informations) they reverenced *as a Deity*. And the Cardinal of *Mantua*, it ſeems, propoſing him as a Pattern, would needs have a Particular account of his whole Courſe of Life, and expreſſed great eſteem for him. When *Gardiner* was come as far as *Lions* he wrote the Cardinal word, that there went a Prophecy that an Angel ſhould be the next Pope, but ſhould die ſoon after. He alſo gave Advice that if the Pope died, the Commiſſion for the Legates muſt needs expire with him, unleſs they made ſome Step in their Buſineſs, by a Citation of Parties, which would keep it alive; but whether this was done or not I cannot find. The Cardinals Ambition was now fermenting ſtrongly, and he reſolved to lay his Project for the Popedom better than he had done before. His Letter about it to *Gardiner*, and the Kings Inſtructions to his Ambaſſadors, are Printed by *Fox*, and the Originals from which they are taken are yet extant. He wrote alſo another Letter to the Ambaſſadors, which the Reader will find in the Collection. But becauſe the Inſtructions ſhow what were the methods in chooſing Popes in thoſe days, by which it may be eaſily gathered, how ſuch an Election muſt needs recommend a man to Infallibility, Supremacy, and all the other Appendages of *Chriſts Vicar on Earth*, I ſhall give a ſhort Summary of them.

* *Jan.* 27.

Cardinal *Wolſey's* intrigues for the Papacy. *Feb.* 6th.

Collect. *Numb.* 20.

"By his Letter to his Confident *Gardiner*, he commits the thing "chiefly to his care, and orders him to employ all his parts to bring "it to the deſired iſſue; ſparing neither Preſents, nor Promiſes; and that "as he ſaw mens Inclinations or affections led them, whether to pub-"lick or private Concerns, ſo he ſhould govern himſelf towards them "accordingly.

1529. "accordingly. *The Instructions bear*, that the King thought the Car-
"dinal the fitteſt perſon to ſucceed to the Papacy; (they being ad-
The Kings Inſtructions for the Election. "vertiſed that the Pope was dead;) that the *French* King did alſo of
"his own Motion offer his Aſſiſtance to him in it, and that both for
"publick and private ends, the Cardinal was the fitteſt. There-
"fore the Ambaſſadors are required with all poſſible earneſtneſs and
"vigour, to promote his Election. A Schedule of the Cardinals names
"is ſent them with marks to every one, whether he was like to be
"preſent or abſent, favourable, indifferent, or oppoſite to them. It
Numb. "was reckoned there could be but 39 preſent, of which 26 were ne-
"ceſſary to chooſe the Pope. Of theſe the two Kings thought them-
"ſelves ſure of 20. So 6 was all the number that the Ambaſſadors were
"to gain, and to that number, they were firſt to offer them good rea-
"ſons, to convince them of the Cardinals fitneſs for the Papacy. But
"becauſe humane frailty was ſuch, that reaſon did not always take
"place, they were to promiſe Promotions, and Sums of Money, with
"other good Rewards, which the King gave them Commiſſion to of-
"fer, and would certainly make them good: beſides all the great Pre-
"ferments which the Cardinal had, that ſhould be ſhared among thoſe
"who did procure his Election. The Cardinals of their Party were
"firſt to enter into a firm bond, to exclude all others. They were alſo
"to have ſome Creatures of theirs to go into the Conclave, to manage
"the Buſineſs. Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, was thought fitteſt for that Ser-
"vice. And if they ſaw the adverſe party too ſtrong in the Conclave,
"ſo that they could carry nothing, then *Gardiner* was to draw a Pro-
"teſtation, which ſhould be made in name of the two Crowns; and
"that being made, all the Cardinals of their Faction were to leave the
"Conclave. And if the fear of the Emperors Forces overawed them,
"the Ambaſſadors were to offer a Guard of 2 or 3000. men to ſecure
"the Cardinals: and the *French* King Ordered his Armies to move,
"if the *Spaniſh* Troops did move either from *Naples*, or *Millan*. They
"were alſo to aſſure them, that the Cardinal would preſently upon
"his Election come and live at *Rome*, and were to uſe all endea-
"vours to gain the Cardinal *de Medici* to their Faction; but at the
"ſame time to aſſure the *Florentines*, that *Wolſey* would aſſiſt them
"to exclude the *Medici* out of the Government of their Town and
"State. They were alſo to have a ſtrict eye upon the motions of the
"*French* Faction, leſt if the Cardinal were excluded, they ſhould con-
"ſent to any other, and refuſe to make the Proteſtation as it was de-
"ſired. But to oblige *Campegio* the more, it was added, that if they
"found all hopes of raiſing the Cardinal of *York* to vaniſh, then they
"ſhould try if *Campegio* could be Elected; and in that caſe the Car-
"dinals of their Faction were to make no Proteſtation.

Theſe were the Apoſtolical Methods, then uſed for chooſing a Succeſſour to St. *Peter*; for though a Succeſſour had been choſen to *Judas* by lot, yet more Caution was to be uſed in chooſing one for the Prince of the Apoſtles. But when the Cardinal heard that the Pope was not dead, and that there was hope of his recovery, he wrote another long Letter to the Ambaſſadors (the Original of which is yet extant) "to
"keep all their Inſtructions about a new Pope very ſecret, to be gain-
"ing as many Cardinals as they could, and to take care that the Car-
"dinals

"dinals ſhould not go into the Conclave, unleſs they were free; and "ſafe from any fears of the Imperial Forces. But if the Pope reco- "vered, they were to preſs him to give ſuch orders about the Kings "Buſineſs, that it might be ſpeedily ended: and then the Cardinal "would come and wait on the Pope over to *Spain*, as he had propo- "ſed. And for the Apprehenſions the Pope had of the Emperors be- "ing highly offended with him, if he granted the Kings deſire, or of "his coming into *Italy*, he needed not fear him. They knew what- "ever the Emperor pretended about his obligation to protect his Aunt, "it was only for reaſon of State: but if he were ſatisfied in other "things, that would be ſoon paſſed over. They knew alſo that his "deſign of going into *Italy* was laid aſide for that year; becauſe he "apprehended that *France* and *England* would make War on him in "other places. There were alſo many Precedents found, of Diſpen- "ſations granted by Popes in like caſes: And lately there had been "one granted by Pope *Alexander* the 6th, to the King of *Hungary*, a- "gainſt the Opinion of his Cardinals, which had never been queſti- "oned: and yet he could not pretend to ſuch Merits as the King had. And all that had ever been ſaid in the Kings Cauſe, was Sum'd up in a ſhort Breviate by *Caſſali*, and offered to the Pope; a Copy whereof taken from an Original under his own hand, the Reader will find in the Collection.

1529. *Feb.* 20. New propoſitions about the Divorce.

Collect. *Numb.* 21.

The King ordered his Ambaſſadors to make as many Cardinals ſure for his cauſe, as they could, who might bring the Pope to conſent to it, if he were ſtill averſe. But the Pope was at this time poſſeſſed with a new jealouſie, of which the *French* King was not free, as if the King had been tampering with the Emperor, and had made him great offers, ſo he would conſent to the Divorce; about which *Francis* wrote an anxious Letter to *Rome*, the Original of which I have ſeen. The Pope was alſo ſurprized at it, and queſtioned the Ambaſſadors about it; but they denyed it, and ſaid the union between *England* and *France* was inſeparable, and that theſe were only the Practices of the Emperors Agents to create diſtruſt. The Pope ſeemed ſatisfied with what they ſaid, "and added that in the preſent conjuncture a firm union "between them was neceſſary. Of all this Sir *Francis Brian* wrote a long account in cipher.

But the Popes relapſe put a new ſtop to buſineſs, of which the Cardinal being informed, as he ordered the Kings Agents to continue their care about his Promotion, ſo he charged them to ſee if it were "poſſible to get Acceſs to the Pope, and though he were in the very "Agony of Death, to propoſe two things to him: the one, that he "would preſently command all the Princes of Chriſtendom to agree "to a Ceſſation of Arms, under pain of the Cenſures of the Church, "as Pope *Leo* and other Popes had done; and if he ſhould die, he "could not do a thing that would be more meritorious, and for the "good of his Soul, than to make that the laſt Act of his Life. The "other thing was concerning the Kings buſineſs, which he preſſeth as "a thing neceſſary to be done, for the clearing and eaſe of the Popes "Conſcience, towards God: And withal he orders them to gain as "many about the Pope, and as many Cardinals and Officers in the "*Rota* as they could, to promote the Kings deſires, whether in the

The Popes relapſe. *April.* 6.

another Diſpatch to *Rome*.

Collect. *Numb.* 2. 2.

"Popes

1528. "Popes ſickneſs or health. The Biſhop of *Verona* had a great Intereſt "with the Pope, ſo by that; and another Diſpatch of the ſame Date, "(ſent another way) they were ordered to gain him; promiſing him "great Rewards, preſſing him to remain ſtill about the Popes perſon: "to ballance the ill Offices which Cardinal *Angell*, and the Arch-Bi- "ſhop of *Capua* did, who never ſtirred from the Pope: And to aſſure "that Biſhop, that the King laid this Matter more to heart, than any "thing that ever befel him; and that it would trouble him as much "to be overcome in this Matter by theſe two Friers, as to looſe both "his Crowns: and for my part (*writes the Cardinal*) I would expoſe "any thing to my life, yea life itſelf, rather than ſee the Inconveni- "encies that may enſue upon diſappointing of the Kings deſire. For promoting the Buſineſs, the *French* King ſent the Biſhop of *Bayon*, to aſſiſt the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors in his name, who was firſt ſent over to *England*, to be well Inſtructed there. They were either to procure a Decretal for the Kings Divorce, or a new Commiſſion to the two Legates, with ampler Clauſes in it, than the former had; to judge as "if the Pope were in perſon, and to emit compulſorie Letters againſt "any, whether Emperor, King, or of what degree ſoever, to produce "all manner of Evidences or Records, which might tend towards the "clearing the Matter, and to bring them before them. This was ſought becauſe the Emperor would not ſend over the pretended Original *Breve*, to *England*, and gave only an Atteſted Copy of it to the Kings Ambaſſadors: leaſt therefore from that *Breve*, a new Suit might be afterwards raiſed, for Annulling any Sentence which the Legates ſhould give, they thought it needful to have the Original brought before them. In the penning of that new Commiſſion, Dr. *Gardiner* was ordered to have ſpecial care that it ſhould be done, by the beſt advice he could get in *Rome*. It appears alſo from this Diſpatch, that the Popes *Pollicitation* to Confirm the Sentence which the Legates ſhould give, was then in *Gardiner's* hands, for he was ordered to take care that there might be no diſagreement between the date of it, and of the new Commiſſion. And when that was obtained, Sr. *Francis Brian* was commanded to bring them with him to *England*. Or if neither a Decretal, nor a new Commiſſion could be obtained, then if any other expedient were propoſed, that upon good advice ſhould be found ſufficient and effectual, they were to accept of it, and ſend it away with all poſſible diligence. And the Cardinal conjured them "by "the Reverence of Almighty God, to bring them out of their Perplexity, "that this Virtuous Prince may have this thing ſped, which would be "the moſt joyous thing that could befal his heart upon Earth. But "if all things ſhould be denyed, then they were to make their Prote- "ſtations, not only to the Pope, but to the Cardinals, of the Injuſtice "that was done the King, and in the Cardinals name to let them know "that not only the King and his Realm would be loſt, but alſo the "*French* King and his Realm, with their other Confederates, would al- "ſo withdraw their Obedience from the See of *Rome*, which was more "to be regarded, than either the Emperors Diſpleaſure, or the Recove- "ry of two Cities. They were alſo to try what might be done in Law by the Cardinals in a Vacancy, and they were to take good Counſel upon ſome Chapters of the Canon-Law, which related to that: and

Govern

Govern themſelves accordingly, either to hinder an Avoçation, or Inhibition, or if it could be done to obtain ſuch things as they could grant, towards the Concluſion of the Kings Buſineſs. At this time alſo the Cardinals Bulls for the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter* were expedited: they were rated high at 15000 Ducats, for though the Cardinal pleaded his great Merits, to bring the compoſition lower, yet the Cardinals at *Rome*, ſaid the Apoſtolick Chamber was very poor, and other Bulls were then coming from *France*, to which the favour they ſhould ſhow the Cardinal would be a Precedent. But the Cardinal ſent word that he would not give paſt 5, or 6000 Ducats, becauſe he was exchanging *Wincheſter* for *Dureſm*, and by the other they were to get a great Compoſition. And if they held his Bulls ſo high, he would not have them; for he needed them not, ſince he enjoyed already by the Kings Grant the Temporalities of *Wincheſter*; which it is very likely was all that he conſidered in a Biſhoprick. They were at laſt expedited, at what Rates I cannot tell; but this I ſet down to ſhow, how ſevere the Exactions of the Court of *Rome* were. 1529.

The Cardinals Bulls for the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*.

As the Pope recovered his health, ſo he inclined more to joyn himſelf to the Emperor than ever, and was more alienated than formerly from the King and the Cardinal; which perhaps was increaſed by the diſtaſte he took at the Cardinals aſpiring to the Popedom. The firſt thing that the Emperor did in the Kings Cauſe, was to proteſt in the Queen of *Englands* name, that ſhe refuſed to ſubmit to the Legates. The one was the Kings chief Miniſter and her mortal enemy: The other was alſo juſtly ſuſpected, ſince he had a Biſhoprick in *England*. The Kings Ambaſſador preſſed the Pope much, not to admit the Proteſtation; but it was pretended that it could not be denyed, either in Law or Juſtice. But that this might not offend the King, *Salviati* that was the Popes Favourite, wrote to *Campegio*, that the Proteſtation could not be hindred, but that the Pope did ſtill moſt earneſtly deſire to ſatisfie the King, and that the Ambaſſadors were much miſtaken, who were ſo diſtruſtful of the Popes good mind to the Kings Cauſe. But now good words could deceive the King no longer, who clearly diſcovered the Popes mind, and being out of all hopes of any thing more from *Rome*, reſolved to proceed in *England* before the Legates: and therefore *Gardiner* was recalled, who was thought the fitteſt perſon, to manage the Proceſs in *England*, being eſteemed the greateſt Canoniſt they had; and was ſo valued by the King, that he would not begin the Proceſs till he came. Sr. *Francis Brian* was alſo recalled, and when they took leave of the Pope, they were ordered to Expoſtulate in the Kings name: „Upon the Partiality he expreſſed for "the Emperor, notwithſtanding the many aſſurances, that both the "Legates had given the King, that the Pope would do all he could to- "ward his Satisfaction; which was now ſo ill performed that he ex- "pected no more juſtice from him. They were alſo to ſay, as much "as they could deviſe in the Cardinals name, to the ſame purpoſe, up- "on which they were to try, if it were poſſible to obtain any Enlarge- "ment of the Commiſſion with fuller Power to the Legates; for they ſaw it was in vain to move for any new Bulls, or Orders from the Pope about it. And though *Gardiner* had obtained a Pollicitation from the Pope, by which he both bound himſelf not to recal the cauſe from the Legates,

The Pope inclines to joyn with the Emperor.

Who proteſts againſt the Legates Commiſſion. *May* 15.

Collect. *Numb.* 23.

The Pope promiſed not to recal, but to confirm it.

1529. gates, and alſo to confirm their Sentence, and had ſent it over; they found it was ſo conceived, that the Pope could go back from it when he pleaſed. So there was a new Draught of a Pollicitation formed with more binding Clauſes in it, which *Gardiner* was to try if he could obtain by the following Pretence. "He was to tell the Pope, "that the Courier to whom he truſted it, had been ſo little careful "of it, that it was all wet and defaced, and of no more uſe; ſo "that he durſt not deliver it. And this might turn much to *Gardiners* "prejudice, that a matter of ſuch Concern was through his neglect "ſpoiled: upon which he was to ſee if the Pope would renew it. "If that could be obtained, he was to uſe all his Induſtry to get as "many pregnant and material words added, as might make it more "binding. He was alſo to aſſure the Pope, that though the Empe- "ror was gone to *Barcellona*, to give reputation to his affairs in *Italy*; "yet he had neither Army, nor Fleet ready, ſo that they needed not "fear him. And he was to inform the Pope of the Arts he was u- "ſing both in the *Engliſh* and *French* Court to make a ſeparated Trea- "ty: But that all was to no purpoſe, the two Kings being ſo firmly "linked together. But the Pope was ſo great a Maſter in all the Arts of Diſſimulation, and Policy, that he was not to be overreached eaſily; and when he underſtood that his Pollicitation was defaced, he was in his heart glad at it, and could not be prevailed with, to renew it. So they returned to *England*, and Dr. *Bennet* came in their place.

The Legates write to the Pope.

Collect. *Numb.* 24.

He carryed with him one of the fulleſt and moſt important Diſpatches that I find in this whole matter, from the two Legates to the Pope, and the Conſiſtory, who wrote to them, "that they had in vain en- "deavoured to perſwade either party to yield to the other; That the "*Breve* being ſhewed to them by the Queen, they found great and e- "vident Preſumptions of it's being a meer forgery; and that they "thought it was too much for them to ſit and try the Validity, or "Authenticalneſs of the Popes Bulls, or Breves, or to hear his Pow- "er of Diſpencing in ſuch caſes diſputed: therefore it was more ex- "pedient to Avocate the cauſe, to which the King would conſent, if "the Pope obliged himſelf under his hand, to paſs Sentence ſpeedily "in his favour; but they rather adviſed the Granting a Decretal Bull "which would put an end to the whole matter, in order to which "the Bearer was Inſtructed to ſhow very good Precedents. But in "the mean while, they adviſed the Pope to preſs the Queen moſt ef- "fectually, to enter into a Religious life, as that which would com- "poſe all theſe differences in the ſofteſt and eaſieſt way. It pitied them. "to ſee the rack and torments of Conſcience, under which the King "had ſmarted ſo many years: and that the Diſputes of Divines, and "the Decrees of Fathers, had ſo diſquieted him, that for clearing a "matter thus perplexed, there was not only need of Learning, but of "a more ſingular Piety and Illumination. To this were to be added "the deſire of Iſſue, the Settlement of the Kingdom, with many other "preſſing reaſons: that as the matter did admit of no further delays, "ſo there was not any thing in the oppoſite ſcale to ballance theſe "Conſiderations. There were falſe Suggeſtions ſurmiſed abroad, as "if the hatred of the Queen, or the deſire of another wife (who was "not perhaps yet known, much leſs deſigned) were the true cauſes of "this

"this Suit. But though the Queen was of a rough Temper, and an 1529.
"unpleaſant Converſation, and was paſſed all hopes of Children; yet
"who could imagine that the King who had ſpent his moſt youthful
"days with her, ſo kindly, would now in the decline of his Age, be
"at all this trouble to be rid of her, if he had no other Motives?
"But they by ſearching his ſore, found there was rooted in his heart,
"both an awe of God, and a reſpect to Law and Order; ſo that though
"all his people preſſed him to drive the Matter to an iſſue, yet he
"would ſtill wait for the deciſion of the Apoſtolick See. Therefore
"they moſt preſſingly deſire the Pope to grant the Cure which his di-
"ſtemper required, and to conſider that it was not fit to inſiſt too
"much on the Rigour of the Law; but ſince the Soul and Life of all
"the Laws of the Church was in the Popes breaſt; in doubtful caſes,
"where there was great hazard, he ought to mollifie the ſeverity of
"the Laws, which if it were not done, other Remedies would be found
"out, to the vaſt prejudice of the Eccleſiaſtical Authority, to which
"many about the King adviſed him: There was reaſon to fear they
"ſhould not only loſe a King of *England*, but a *Defender of the Faith.*
"The Nobility and Gentry were already enraged at the delay of a Mat-
"ter, in which all their Lives and Intereſts were ſo nearly concerned:
"and ſaid many things againſt the Popes Proceedings, which they
"could not relate without horror. And they plainly complained, that
"whereas Popes had made no ſcruple to make and change divine Laws,
"at their pleaſure; yet one Pope ſticks ſo much at the Repealing what
"his Prodeceſſor did, as if that were more ſacred, and not to be med-
"led with. The King betook himſelf to no ill Arts, neither to the
"charms of Magitians, nor the Forgeries of Impoſtours, therefore they
"expected ſuch an Anſwer as ſhould put an end to the whole mat-
"ter.

Campegio's ill life. Pelerin. In gleſe.

But all theſe things were to no purpoſe: the Pope had taken his meaſures, ard was not to be moved by all the reaſons, or Remonſtrances, the Ambaſſador could lay before him. The King had abſolutely gained *Campegio* to do all he could for him without loſing the Popes favour. He led at this time a very diſſolute life in *England*, hunting and gaming all the day long, and following whores all the night: and brought a Baſtard of his own over to *England* with him, whom the King Knighted, ſo that if the King ſought his pleaſure, it was no ſtrange thing: ſince he had ſuch a Copy ſet him by two Legates, who repreſenting his Holineſs ſo lively in their manners, it was no unuſual thing, if a King had a ſlight ſenſe of ſuch diſorders. The King wrote to his Ambaſſadors, that he was ſatisfied of *Campegio's* love and affection to him, and if ever he was gained by the Emperors Agents, he had ſaid ſomething to him which did totally change that Inclination.

April 6.

The Emperor preſſes for an Avocation.

The Imperialiſts being Alarm'd at the recalling of ſome of the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, and being Informed by the Queens means, that they were forming the Proceſs in *England*, put in a Memorial for an Avocation of the cauſe to *Rome*. The Ambaſſadors anſwered, that there was no Colour for asking it, ſince there was nothing yet done by the Legates. For they had ſtrict orders to deny that there was any Proceſs forming in *England*, even to the Pope himſelf in private, unleſs he had a mind it ſhould go on; but were to uſe all their En-

1529. deavours to hinder an Avocation; and plainly in the Kings name, to tell the Pope, that if he granted that, the King would look on it as a Formal deciſion againſt him. And it would alſo be an high affront to the two Cardinals: and they were thereupon to Proteſt, that the King would not obey, nor conſider the Pope any more, if he did an Act of ſuch high Injuſtice; as after he had granted a Commiſſion, upon no complaint of any Illegality, or Injuſt Proceedings of the Legates, but only upon ſurmiſes and ſuſpitions, to take it out of their hands. But the Pope had not yet brought the Emperor to his Terms in other things, therefore to draw him on the faſter, he continued to give the *Engliſh* Ambaſſador good words; and in diſcourſe with *Peter Vannes*, did inſinuate as if he had found a means to bring the whole matter to a good Concluſion, and ſpoke it with an Artificial ſmile, adding, *In the name of the Father*, &c. But would not ſpeak it out, and ſeemed to keep it up as a ſecret, not yet ripe. But all this did afterwards appear to be the deepeſt Diſſimulation that ever was practiſed. And in the whole Proceſs, though the Cardinal ſtudied to make tricks paſs upon him, yet he was always too hard for them all at it; and ſeemed as Infallible in his Arts of Jugling, as he pretended to be in his Deciſions. He wrote a Cajoling Letter to the Cardinal, but words went for nothing.

Which the Kings Ambaſſadors oppoſe much.

The Popes deep diſſimulation.

Collect. *Numb.* 25th.

Collect. *Numb.* 26th.

The Pope complains of the *Florentines*

June 5.

Soon after this, the Pope complained much to Sr. *Gregory Caſſali*, of the ill uſage he received from the *French* Ambaſſador, and that their Confederates, the *Florentines*, and the Duke of *Ferrara* uſed him ſo ill, that they would force him to throw himſelf into the Emperors hands: and he ſeemed inclined to grant an Avocation of the cauſe, and complained that there was a Treaty of peace going on at *Cambray*, in which he had no ſhare. But the Ambaſſador undertook that nothing ſhould be done to give him juſt offence; yet the *Florentines* continued to put great affronts on him, and his Family: and the Abbot of *Farfa* their General, made excurſions to the gates of *Rome*; ſo that the "Pope with great ſigns of fear, ſaid that the *Florentines* would ſome "day ſeize on him, and carry him with his hands bound behind his "back in Proceſſion to *Florence*: and that all this while the Kings of "*England* and *France* did only entertain him with good words, and "did not ſo much as reſtrain the Inſolencies of their Confederates. "And whereas they uſed to ſay, that if he joyned himſelf to the Em-"peror, he would treat him as his Chaplain, he ſaid with great Com-"motion, that he would not only chooſe rather to be his Chaplain, "but his horſe-Groom, than ſuffer ſuch injuries from his own Rebel-"lious Vaſſals and Subjects. This was perhaps ſet on by the Cardinals Arts, to let the Pope feel the weight of offending the King, and to oblige him to uſe him better: but it wrought a contrary effect, for the Treaty between the Emperor and him, was the more advanced by it. And the Pope reckoned that the Emperor being (as he was informed) aſhamed and grieved for the taking and Sacking of *Rome*, would ſtudy to repair that by better uſage for the future.

June 13.

Great Conteſts about the Avocation.

June 23.

Collect. *Numb.* 27.

The Motion for the Avocation was ſtill driven on, and preſſed the more earneſtly, becauſe they heard the Legates were proceeding in the cauſe. But the Ambaſſadors were inſtructed by a Diſpatch from the King, to obviate that carefully; for as it would reflect on the Legates, and

and defeat the Commiſſion, and be a groſs violation of the Popes Promiſe, which they had in writing; ſo it was more for the Popes Intereſt, to leave it in the Legates hands, than to bring it before himſelf; for then, whatever Sentence paſſed, the ill effects of it would ly on the Pope without any Interpoſition. And as the King had very juſt exceptions to *Rome*, where the Emperors forces lay ſo near, that no ſafety could be expected there; ſo they were to tell the Pope that by the Laws of *England*, *the Prerogative of the Crown Royal was ſuch*, that the Pope could do nothing that was prejudicial to it: To which the citing the King to *Rome*, to have his cauſe decided there, was contrary in a high degree. And if the Pope went on, notwithſtanding all the diligence they could uſe to the contrary, they were by an other Diſpatch which *Gardiner* ſent, ordered to *Proteſt* and *Appeal* from the Pope as *not the true Vicar of Chriſt, to a true Vicar*. But the King upon ſecond thoughts, judged it not fit to proceed to this Extremity ſo ſoon. They were alſo ordered to advertiſe the Pope, that all the Nobility had aſſured the King, they would adhere to him, in caſe he were ſo ill uſed by the Pope, that he were conſtrained to withdraw his obedience from the Apoſtolick See; and that the Cardinals ruine was unavoidable, if the Pope granted the Avocation. The Emperors Agents had pretended they could not ſend the original *Breve* into *England*, and ſaid their Maſter would ſend it to *Rome*, upon which the Ambaſſadors had ſolicited for Letters Compulſory, to require him to ſend it to *England*; yet leſt that might now be made an Argument by the *Imperialiſts* for an Avocation, they were ordered to ſpeak no more of it, for the Legates would proceed to Sentence, upon the atteſted Copy that was ſent from *Spain*. 1529.

The Ambaſſadors had alſo orders to take the beſt Counſel in *Rome*, about the Legal ways of hindring an Avocation. But they found it was not fit to rely much on the Lawyers in that matter. For as on the one hand, there was no ſecrecy to be expected from any of them, they having ſuch expectations of preferments from the Pope, (which were beyond all the Fees that could be given them,) that they diſcovered all ſecrets to him: So none of them would be earneſt to hinder an Avocation, it being their Intereſt to bring all Matters to *Rome*, by which they might hope for much greater Fees. And *Salviati* whom the Ambaſſadors had gained, told them, that *Campana* brought word out of *England*, that the Proceſs was then in a good forwardneſs. They with many Oaths denyed there was any ſuch thing, and *Silveſter Darius* who was ſent expreſs to *Rome*, for oppoſing the Avocation, confirmed all that they ſwore. But nothing was believed, for by a ſecret conveyance, *Campana* had Letters to the contrary. And when they objected to *Salviati*, what was promiſed by *Campana*, in the Popes name, that he would do every thing for the King, *that he could do out of the fulneſs of his Power*; He anſwered, that *Campana* ſwore he had "never ſaid any ſuch thing. So hard is the caſe of Miniſters in ſuch "tickliſh negotiations, that they muſt ſay, and unſay, ſwear, and for-"ſwear, as they are Inſtructed, which goes of Courſe, as a part of "their Buſineſs. *June* 28.

But now the Legates were proceeding in *England*: Of the ſteps in which they went, though a great deal be already publiſhed, yet conſiderable The Legates fit in *England*

1529. ſiderable things are paſſed over. On the 31th of *May*, the King by a Warrant under the Great Seal, gave the Legates leave to execute their Commiſſion, upon which they Sate that ſame day. The Commiſſion was preſented by *Longland*, Biſhop of *Lincoln*, which was given to the Proto-Notary of the Court, and he read it publickly; then the Legates took it in their hands, and ſaid, They were reſolved to Execute it: And firſt gave the uſual Oaths to the Clerks of the Court, and ordered a peremtory Citation of the King and Queen to appear on the 18th of *June*, between 9 and 10 a Clock; and ſo the Court Adjourned. The next Seſſion was on the 18th of *June*, where the Citations being returned duely Executed; *Richard Simpſon*, Dean of the Chappel, and Mr. *John Bell*, appeared as the Kings Proxies. But the Queen appeared in Perſon, and did proteſt againſt the Legates as incompetent Judges, alledging that the cauſe was already Avocated by the Pope, and deſired a competent time in which ſhe might prove it. The Legates aſſigned her the 21th, and ſo Adjourned the Court till then.

Orig. Journ Cott. Libr. Vitel. B. 12.

A ſevere charge againſt the Queen.

About this time there was a ſevere Complaint exhibited againſt the Queen in Council, of which there is an account given in a paper, that has ſomewhat written at the concluſion of it, with the Cardinals own hand. "The ſubſtance of it is, That they were informed ſome deſigned "to kill the King, or the Cardinal; in which, if ſhe had any hand, ſhe "muſt not expect to be ſpared. That ſhe had not ſhewed ſuch love to "the King, neither in Bed, nor out of Bed, as ſhe ought. And now that "the King was very penſive, and in much grief, ſhe ſhowed great ſigns "of joy, ſetting on all people to Dancings, and other Diverſions. This "it ſeemed ſhe did out of ſpite to the King, ſince it was contrary to her "temper and ordinary behaviour. And whereas ſhe ought rather to pray "to God to bring this matter to a good concluſion, ſhe ſeemed not at all "ſerious; and that ſhe might corrupt the peoples affections to the King, "ſhe ſhowed her ſelf much abroad, and by civilities, and gracious bow-"ing her head, which had not been her cuſtom formerly, did ſtudy to "work upon the people: And that having the pretended *Breve* in her "hands, ſhe would not ſhow it ſooner. From all which the King con-"cluded that ſhe hated him, Therefore his Council did not think it ad-"viſable for him to be any more converſant with her, either in Bed or "at Board. They alſo in their Conſciences thought his life was in ſuch "danger, that he ought to withdraw himſelf from her company, and not "ſuffer the Princeſs to be with her. Theſe things were to be told her, "to induce her to enter into a Religious Order, and to perſwade her to "ſubmit to the King. To which paper, the Cardinal added in Latine, *That ſhe played the fool, if ſhe contended with the King, that her Children had not been bleſſed, and ſomewhat of the evident ſuſpitions that were of the Forgery of the Breve.* But ſhe had a conſtant mind, and was not to be threatned to any thing. On the 21th of *June*, the Court Sate, The King and Queen were preſent in Perſon. *Campegio* made a long Speech of the errand they were come about: * "That it was a new, unheard-of, vile, "and intolerable thing, for the King and Queen to live in Adultery, or "rather Inceſt; which they muſt now try, and proceed as they ſaw juſt "cauſe. And both the Legates made deep proteſtations of the ſincerity of their minds, and that they would proceed juſtly and fairly without any favour or partiality.

Quod ſtulte facit, ſi contendit cum Rege, quod male illi ſucceſſit in ſœtibus: de Brevi ac ſuſpicione falſitatis.

The King and Queen appear in Court.

* *Fidelis ſervi infideli ſubdito Reſponſio.*

As

As for the formal Speeches which the King and Queen made, *Hall*, who never failed in trifles, ſets them down, which I incline to believe they really ſpoke; for with the Journals of the Court, I find thoſe Speeches written down, though not as a part of the Journal. 1529.

But here the Lord *Herbert's* uſual diligence fails him; for he fancies the Queen never appeared after the 18th, upon which, becauſe the Journal of the next Seſſions are loſt, he infers againſt all the Hiſtories of that time, That the King and the Queen were not in Court together. And he ſeems to conclude that the 25th of *June*, was the next Seſſion after the 18th, but in that he was miſtaken: For by an original Letter of the Kings to his Ambaſſadors, it is plain that both the King and Queen came in Perſon into the Court; where they both ſate, with their Council ſtanding about them: The Biſhops of *Rocheſter*, and St. *Aſaph*, and Doctor *Ridley* being the Queens Council. When the King and Queen were called on, the King anſwered, *Here*; but the Queen left her ſeat and went and kneeled down before him, and made a Speech, that had all the Inſinuations in it to raiſe pity and compaſſion in the Court. She ſaid, "She "was a poor woman, and a ſtranger in his Dominions, where ſhe could "neither expect good Council, nor indifferent Judges; ſhe had been "long his Wife, and deſired to know wherein ſhe had offended him: "ſhe had been his Wife twenty years and more, and had born him ſeve"ral Children, and had ever ſtudied to pleaſe him; and proteſted he "had found her a true Maid, about which ſhe appealed to his own Con"ſcience. If ſhe had done any thing amiſs, ſhe was willing to be put a"way with ſhame. Their Parents were eſteemed very wiſe Princes, "and no doubt had good Counſellors, and Learned men about them, "when the Match was agreed: Therefore ſhe would not ſubmit to the "Court, nor durſt her Lawyers, who were his Subjects, and aſſigned "by him, ſpeak freely for her. So ſhe deſired to be excuſed till ſhe "heard from *Spain*. That ſaid, ſhe roſe up, and made the King a low Reverence, and went out of the Court. And though they called after her, ſhe made no anſwer, but went away and would never again appear in Court.

Collect. *Numb.* 28.

The Queen's Speech.

The King gives the account of his Scruples.

She being gone, the King did publickly Declare, what a true and obedient Wife ſhe had always been, and commended her much for her excellent Qualities. Then the Cardinal of *York* deſired the King would witneſs, whether he had been the firſt or chief mover of that matter to him, ſince he was ſuſpected to have done it. In which the King did vindicate him, and ſaid, That he had always rather oppoſed it, and proteſted it aroſe meerly out of a ſcruple in his Conſcience, which was occaſioned by the Diſcourſe of the *French* Ambaſſador; who during the Treaty of a Match between his Daughter, and the Duke of *Orleance*, did except to her being Legitimate, as begotten in an unlawful Marriage: upon which he reſolved to try the lawfulneſs of it, both for the quiet of his Conſcience, and for clearing the Succeſſion of the Crown: And if it were found lawful, he was very well ſatisfied to live ſtill with the Queen. But upon that, he had firſt moved it in Confeſſion to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*; then he had deſired the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to gather the Opinions of the Biſhops, who did all under their Hands and Seals Declare againſt the Marriage. This the Arch-Biſhop confirmed, but the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* denied his Hand was at it. And the Arch-Biſhop pretended

1529. tended he had his conſent to make another write his name to the Judgment of the reſt, which he poſitively denied.

The Court Adjourned to the 25th, ordering Letters Monitory to be Iſſued out for Citing the Queen to appear under pain of Contumacy. But on the 25th, was brought in her Appeal to the Pope, the Original of which is extant, every page being both Subſcribed, and Superſcribed by her. She excepted both to the Place, to the Judges, and to her Council, in whom ſhe could not confide; and therefore appealed and deſired her Cauſe might be heard by the Pope, with many things out of the Canon-Law, on which ſhe grounded it. This being read, and ſhe not appearing, was Declared *Contumax*. Then the Legates being to proceed, *ex officio*, drew up Twelve Articles, upon which they were to examine witneſſes. The ſubſtance of them was, "That Prince *Arthur* and the King "were Brothers; that Prince *Arthur* did Marry the Queen, and Con- "ſummated the Marriage; that upon his death the King by vertue of a "Diſpenſation had Married her; that this Marrying his Brothers Wife "was forbidden both by Humane and Divine Law; and that upon the "complaints which the Pope had receiv ed, he had ſent them now to try "and judge in it. The Kings Council inſiſted moſt on Prince *Arthur's* having Conſummated the Marriage, and that led them to ſay many things that ſeemed indecent; of which the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* complained, and ſaid they were things deteſtable to be heard: but Cardinal *Wolſey* checkt him, and there paſſed ſome ſharp words between them.

The Queens Appeal.

Articles drawn by the Legates.

The Legates proceeded to the Examination of Witneſſes, of which I ſhall ſay little, the ſubſtance of their Depoſitions, being fully ſet down with all their names by the Lord *Herbert*. The ſum of what was moſt material in them, was, that many violent preſumptions appeared by their Teſtimonies, that Prince *Arthur* did carnally know the Queen. And it cannot be imagined how greater proofs could be made 27 years after their Marriage. Thus the Court went on ſeveral days Examining Witneſſes; but as the matter was going on to a concluſion, there came an Avocation from *Rome*. Of which I ſhall now give an Account

Upon which witneſſes are examined.

The Queen wrote moſt earneſtly to her Nephews to procure an Avocation; proteſting ſhe would ſuffer any thing, and even death it ſelf, rather than depart from her Marriage: that ſhe expected no juſtice from the Legates, and therefore lookt for their aſſiſtance, that her appeal being admitted by the Pope, the Cauſe might be taken out of the Legates hands. *Campegio* did alſo give the Pope an account of their Progreſs, and by all means adviſed an Avocation; for by this he thought to excuſe himſelf to the King, to oblige the Emperor much, and to have the reputation of a man of Conſcience.

The proceedings at *Rome* about an Avoartion.

All this is drawn from the orginal Letters, *June* 28, and 30. *July* 8, and 9.

The Emperor, and his Brother *Ferdinand*, ſent their Ambaſſadors at *Rome* orders, to give the Pope no reſt till it were procured; and the Emperor ſaid, He would look on a Sentence againſt his Aunt, as a diſhonour to his Family, and would loſe all his Kingdoms ſooner than endure it. And they plied the Pope ſo warmly, that between them and the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors, he had for ſome days very little reſt. To the one he was kind, and to the other he reſolved to be civil. The *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors met oft with *Salviati*, and ſtudied to perſwade him, that the Proceſs went not on in *England*; but he told them their Intelligence was ſo good, that whatever they ſaid on that head would not be believed.

They

They next ſuggeſted, that it was viſible *Campegio's* adviſing an Avocation was only done to preſerve himſelf from the envy of the Sentence, and to throw it wholly on the Pope: for were the matter once called to *Rome*, the Pope muſt give Sentence one way or another, and ſo bear the whole burden of it. There were alſo ſecret ſurmiſes of Depoſing the Pope, if he went ſo far; for ſeeing that the Emperor prevailed ſo much by the terrors of that, the Cardinal reſolved to try what operation ſuch threatnings in the Kings name might have. But they had no Armies near the Pope, ſo that big words did only provoke and alienate him the more. 1529.

The matter was ſuch, that by the Canon-Law it could not be denied. For to grant an Avocation of a Cauſe upon good reaſon, from the Delegated to the Supreme Court, was a thing which by the courſe of Law was very uſual: And it was no leſs apparent that the Reaſons of the Queens appeal were juſt and good. But the ſecret and moſt convincing Motives that wrought more on the Pope than all other things, were, that the Treaty between him and the Emperor was now concerted: Therefore this being to be publiſhed very ſpeedily, the Pope thought it neceſſary to avocate the matter to *Rome*, before the publication of the Peace, leſt if he did it after, it ſhould be thought that it had been one of the ſecret Articles of the Treaty, which would have caſt a foul blot upon him. Yet on the other hand he was not a little perplexed with the fears he had of loſing the King of *England*; he knew he was a man of an high Spirit, and would reſent what he did ſeverely. "And the Cardinal now again ordered Dr. *Bennet* in his name, and as with tears in his eyes, lying at the "Popes feet, to aſſure him, that the King and Kingdom of *England* were "certainly loſt, if the Cauſe were Avocated: Therefore he beſought "him to leave it ſtill in their hands, and aſſured him, that for himſelf, "he ſhould rather be torn in pieces joynt by joynt, than do any thing in "that matter contrary to his Conſcience or to Juſtice. Theſe things had been oft ſaid, and the Pope did apprehend that ill effects would follow; for if the King fell from his Obedience to the Apoſtolick See, no doubt all the *Lutheran* Princes, who were already bandying againſt the Emperor, would joyn themſelves with him; and the Intereſts of *France* would moſt certainly engage that King alſo into the Union, which would diſtract the Church, give encouragement to Hereſie, and end in the utter ruin of the Popedom. But in all this the crafty Pope comforted himſelf, that many times threatnings are not intended to be made good, but are uſed to terrifie; and that the King who had written for the Faith againſt *Luther*, and had been ſo ill uſed by him, would never do a thing that would ſound ſo ill, as becauſe he could not obtain what he had a mind to, therefore to turn Heretick: he alſo reſolved to careſs the *French* King much, and was in hopes of making Peace between the Emperor and him.

The Pope agrees with the Emperor.

Collect. *Numb.* 29th.

Yet is in great perplexities.

But that which went neareſt the Popes heart of all other things, was the ſetting up of his Family at *Florence*: and the Emperor having given him aſſurance of that, it weighed down all other conſiderations. Therefore he reſolved he would pleaſe the Emperor, but do all he could not to loſe the King: So on the 9th of *July* he ſent for the Kings Ambaſſadors, and told them, the Proceſs was now ſo far ſet on in *England*, and the Avocation ſo earneſtly preſſed, that he could deny it no longer; for all the Lawyers in *Rome* had told him, the thing could not be denied in the com-

1529. mon courſe of Juſtice. Upon this the Ambaſſadors told him what they had in Commiſſion to ſay againſt it, both from the King and the Cardinal, and preſſed it with great vehemence: So that the Pope by many ſighs and tears ſhowed how deep an impreſſion that which they ſaid made upon him; he wiſhed himſelf dead, that he might be delivered out of that Martyrdom: and added theſe words, which becauſe of their ſavouring ſo much of an Apoſtolical Spirit, I ſet down: *Wo is me, no body apprehends all thoſe evils better than I do. But I am ſo between the Hammer and the Forge, that when I would comply with the Kings deſires, the whole ſtorm then muſt fall on my head; and which is worſe, on the Church of Chriſt.* They did object the many promiſes he had made them, both by word of mouth, and under his hand. He anſwered, *He deſired to do more for the King than he had promiſed; but it was impoſſible to refuſe what the Emperor now demanded, whoſe Forces did ſo ſurround him, that he could not only force him to grant him Juſtice, but could diſpoſe of him and all his Concerns at his pleaſure.*

The Ambaſſadors ſeeing the Pope was reſolved to grant the Avocation, preſſed againſt it no further, but ſtudied to put it off for ſome time. And therefore propoſed that the Pope would himſelf write about it to the King, and not grant it till he received his anſwer. Of all this they gave Advertiſement to the King, and wrote to him, that he muſt either drive the matter to a Sentence in great haſte, or to prevent the affront of an Advocation, ſuſpend the Proceſs for ſome time. They alſo adviſed the ſearching all the Packets that went or came by the way of *Flanders*; and to keep up all *Campegio's* Letters, and to take care that no Bull might come to *England*; for they did much apprehend that the Avocation would be granted within very few days. Their next Diſpatch bore, that the Pope had ſent for them to let them know, that he had Signed the Avocation the day before. But they underſtood another way, that the Treaty between the Emperor and him was finiſhed, and the Peace was to be proclaimed on the 18th of *July*; and that the Pope did not only fear the Emperor more than all other Princes, but that he alſo truſted him more now. On the 19th of *July*, the Pope ſent a Meſſenger with the Avocation to *England*, with a Letter to the Cardinal. To the King he wrote afterwards.

July 26.

The Avocation is granted.

Collect. *Numb.* 30th.

All this while *Campegio*, as he had Orders from the Pope to draw out the matter by delays, ſo did it very dextrouſly: And in this he pretended a fair excuſe, that it would not be for the Kings honour to precipitate the matter too much, leſt great advantages might be taken from that by the Queens Party. That therefore it was fit to proceed ſlowly, that the world might ſee with what Moderation as well as Juſtice, the matter was handled. From the 25th of *June*, the Court Adjourned to the 28th, ordering a ſecond Citation, for the Queen under the pains of Contumacy, and of their proceeding to examine Witneſſes. And on the 28th they declared the Queen Contumacious the ſecond time; and examined ſeveral Witneſſes upon the Articles, and Adjourned to the 5th of *July*. on that day the *Bull* and *Breve* were read in Court, and the Kings Council argued long againſt the validity of the one, and the truth of the other, Upon the grounds that have been already mentioned, in which *Campegio* was much diſguſted to hear them argue againſt the Popes Power, of granting ſuch a Diſpenſation in a matter that was againſt a Divine Precept,

The proceedings of the Legates.

Precept, alledging that his Power did not exend ſo far. This the Legates over-ruled, and ſaid, that that was too high a point for them to judg in, or ſo much as to hear argued; and that the Pope himſelf was the only proper judge in that: "And it was odds but he would judge favour-"ably for himſelf. The Court Adjourned to the 12th, and from that to the 14th. On theſe days the Depoſitions of the reſt of the Witneſſes were taken, and ſome that were ancient Perſons were examined by a Commiſſion from the Legates; and all the Depoſitions were publiſhed on the 17th; other inſtruments relating to the Proceſs, were alſo read and verified in Court. On the 21th the Court ſate to conclude the matter as was expected, and the Inſtrument that the King had Signed when he came of Age, proteſting that he would not ſtand to the Contract made when he was under Age, was then read and verified. Upon which, the Kings Council (of whom *Gardiner* was the chief,) cloſed their Evidence, and ſummed up all that had been brought: and in the Kings name, deſired Sentence might be given. But *Campegio* pretending that it was fit ſome interval ſhould be between that and the Sentence, put it off till the 23th, being *Friday*; and in the whole Proceſs he preſided, both being the ancienter Cardinal, and chiefly to ſhow great equity; ſince exceptions might have been taken, if the other had appeared much in it; ſo that he only ſate by him for form: But all the Orders of the Court were ſtill directed by *Campegio*. On *Friday* there was a great appearance, and a general expectation; but by a ſtrange ſurprize *Campegio* Adjourned the Court to the 1ſt. of *October*, for which he pretended that they ſate there as a part of the Conſiſtory of *Rome*, and therefore muſt follow the Rules of that Court, which from that time till *October* was in a Vacation, and heard no Cauſes: And this he averred to be true on the word of a true Prelate.

1529.

All things are ready for a Sentence.

Campegio Adjourned the Court.

The King was in a Chamber very near where he heard what paſſed, and was inexpreſſibly ſurprized at it. The Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* were in Court, and complained much of this delay; and preſſed the Legates to give Sentence. *Campegio* anſwered, that, what they might then pronounce would be of no force, as being in Vacation-time; but gave great hopes of a favourable Sentence in the beginning of *October*. Upon which the Lords ſpake very high. And the Duke of *Suffolk* with great Commotion, Swore *by the Maſs, that, he ſaw it was true which had been commonly ſaid, That never Cardinal yet did good in England*; and ſo all the Temporal Lords went away in a fury, leaving the Legates, (*Wolſey* eſpecially) in no ſmall perplexity. *Wolſey* knew it would be ſuſpected that he underſtood this before-hand, and that it would be to no purpoſe for him, either to ſay he did not know, or could not help it, all Apologies being ill heard by an enraged Prince. *Campegio* had not much to loſe in *England* but his Biſhoprick of *Salisbury*, and the reward he expected from the King, which he knew the Emperor and the Pope would plentifully make up to him. But his Collegue was in a worſe condition, he had much to fear, becauſe he had much to loſe: For as the King had ſeverely chid him for the delays of the buſineſs, ſo he was now to expect a heavy ſtorm from him; and after ſo long an Adminiſtration of Affairs by ſo inſolent a Favourite, it was not to be doubted, but as many of his Enemies were joyning againſt him, ſo matter muſt needs be found to work his ruin with a Prince that was Alienated from him: There-

Which gives great offence.

Wolſey's danger.

1529. Therefore he was under all the diſorders, which a fear that was heighten'd by Ambition and Covetouſneſs could produce.

But the King govern'd himſelf upon this occaſion, with more temper than could have been expected from a man of his humour: Therefore as he made no great ſhow of diſturbance, ſo to divert his uneaſie thoughts he went his Progreſs. Soon after, he received his Agents Letter from *Rome*, and made *Gardiner* (who was then Secretary of State) write to the Cardinal, to put *Campegio* to his Oath, whether he had revealed the Kings Secrets to the Pope, or not? And if he Swore he had not done it, to make him Swear he ſhould never do it. A little after that, the Meſſenger came from *Rome* with a *Breve* to the Legates, requiring them to proceed no further, and with an Avocation of the Cauſe to *Rome*; together
Aug. 4. with Letters Citatory to the King and Queen to appear there in Perſon, or by their Proxies. Of which when the King was advertiſed, *Gardiner* wrote to the Cardinal by his order, That the King would not have the Letters Citatory executed, or the Commiſſion diſcharged by vertue of them; but that upon the Popes *Breve* to them, they ſhould declare their Commiſſion void: For he would not ſuffer a thing ſo much to the prejudice of his Crown, as a Citation be made to appear in another Court, nor would he let his Subjects imagine that he was to be Cited out of his Kingdom. This was the firſt ſtep that he made for the leſſening of the Popes Power: Upon which the two Cardinals (for they were Legates no longer) went to the King at *Grafton*. It was generally expected that *Wolſey* ſhould have been diſgraced then, for not only the King was offended with him, but he received new Informations of his having juggled in the buſineſs, and that he ſecretly adviſed the Pope to do what was done. This was ſet about by ſome of the Queens Agents, as if there was certain knowledge had of it at *Rome*; and it was ſaid, that ſome Letters of his to the Pope were by a trick found and brought over to *England*. The Emperor lookt on the Cardinal as his inveterate Enemy, and deſigned to ruin him if it was poſſible; nor was it hard to perſwade the Queen to concur with him to pull him down. But all this ſeems an artifice of theirs only to deſtroy him. For the earneſtneſs the Cardinal expreſſed in this matter, was ſuch, that either he was ſincere in it, or he was the beſt at deſſembling that ever was. But theſe ſuggeſtions were eaſily infuſed in the Kings angry mind, ſo ſtrangely are men turned by their affections, that ſometimes they will believe nothing, and at other times they believe every thing. Yet when the Cardinal with his Colleague came to Court, they were received by the King with very hearty expreſſions of kindneſs; and *Wolſey* was often in private with him, ſometimes in preſence of the Council, and ſometimes alone: once he was many hours with the King alone, and when they took leave he ſent them away very obligingly. But that which gave Cardinal *Wolſey* the moſt
Sept. 23, in a Letter from the Cardinal, Secetary to *Cromwell*. aſſurance, was that all thoſe who were admitted to the Kings privacies, did carry themſelves towards him as they were wont to do; both the Duke of *Suffolk*, Sir *Thomas Boleyn* then made Viſ-count of *Rochford*, Sir *Brian Tuke* and *Gardiner*: concluding that from the motions of ſuch Weather-cocks the air of the Princes affections was beſt gathered.

Anne Boleyn returns to Court. *Anne Boleyn* was now brought to the Court again, out of which ſhe had been diſmiſſed for ſome time, for ſilencing the noiſe, that her being at Court, during the Proceſs, would have occaſioned. It is ſaid,

ſaid, that ſhe took her diſmiſſion ſo ill, that ſhe reſolved never again to return; and that ſhe was very hardly brought to it afterwards, not without Threatnings from her Father. But of that nothing appears to me; only this I find, that all her former kindneſs to the Cardinal, was now turned to enmity, ſo that ſhe was not wanting in her endeavours to pull him down. 1529.

But the King being reconciled to her, and as it is ordinary after ſome intermiſſion and diſorder between Lovers, his affection encreaſing, he was caſting about for overtures, how to compaſs what he ſo earneſtly deſired. Sometimes he thought of procuring a new Commiſſion; but that was not adviſable, for after a long dependance it might end as the former had done. Then he thought of breaking off with the Pope; but there was great danger in that, for beſides that in his own perſwaſion he adhered to all the moſt Important parts of the *Roman* Religion, his ſubjects were ſo addicted to it, that any ſuch a Change could not but ſeem full of hazard. Sometime he inclined to Confederate himſelf with the Pope and Emperor, for now there was no dividing of them, till he ſhould thereby bring the Emperor to yield to his deſires. But that was againſt the Intereſts of his Kingdom, and the Emperor had already proceeded ſo far in his Oppoſition, that he could not be eaſily brought about.

Cranmers propoſition about the Kings Divorce.

While his thoughts were thus divided, a new Propoſition was made to him that ſeemed the moſt reaſonable and feaſible of them all. There was one Dr. *Cranmer*, who had been a Fellow of *Jeſus* Colledge in *Cambridge*; but having Married, forfeited his fellowſhip, yet continued his Studies, and was a Reader of Divinity in *Buckingham* Colledge. His wife dying, he was again choſen Fellow of *Jeſus* Colledge; and was much eſteemed in the Univerſity for his Learning, which appeared very eminently on all publick occaſions. But he was a man that neither courted Preferment, nor did willingly accept of it, when offered. And therefore though he was invited to be a Reader of Divinity in the Cardinals Colledge at *Oxford*, he declined it. He was at this time forced to fly out of *Cambridge*, from a Plague that was there, and having the Sons of one Mr. *Creſſy* of *Waltham*-Croſs committed to his Charge, he went with his Pupils to their Fathers houſe at *Waltham*. There he was when the King returned from his Progreſs, who took *Waltham* in his way, and lay a night there. The Harbingers having appointed *Gardiner* and *Fox*, the Kings Secretary, and Almoner, to ly at Mr. *Creſſies* houſe; it ſo happen'd that *Cranmer* was with them at Supper. The whole diſcourſe of *England* being then about the Divorce, theſe two Courtiers, knowing *Cranmer's* Learning and ſolid Judgment, entertained him with it, and deſired to hear his opinion concerning it. He modeſtly declined it; but told them, that he judged it would be a ſhorter and ſafer way once to clear it well, if the Marriage was unlawful in it ſelf, by vertue of any divine Precept: For if that were proved, then it was certain, that the Popes Diſpenſation could be of no force to make that lawful, which God had declared to be unlawful. Therefore he thought that inſtead of a long fruitleſs Negotiation at *Rome*, it were better to conſult all the Learned men, and the Univerſities of Chriſtendome; for if they once declared it in the Kings favours, then the Pope muſt needs give judgment, or otherwiſe

1529. wiſe the Bull being of it ſelf, null and void, the Marriage would be found ſinful, notwithſtanding the Popes Diſpenſation. This ſeemed a very good Motion, which they reſolved to offer to the King; ſo next night when he came to *Greenwich*, they propoſed it to him; but with this difference, that *Gardiner* had a mind to make it paſs for their own Contrivance, but *Fox*, who was of a more ingenuous Nature, told the King from whom they had it. He was much affected with it, ſo ſoon as he heard it, and ſaid, had he known it ſooner, it would have ſaved him a vaſt expence, and much trouble; and would needs have *Cranmer* ſent for to Court, ſaying in his coarſe way of ſpeaking, *That he had the Sow by the right ear.* So he was ſent for to Court, and being brought before the King, he carryed himſelf ſo, that the King conceived an high opinion of his Judgment, and Candour, which he preſerved to his death, and ſtill payed a reſpect to him, beyond all the other Churchmen that were about him: and though he made more uſe of *Gardiner* in his Buſineſs, whom he found a man of great dexterity and Cunning; yet he never had any reſpect for him. But for *Cranmer*, though the King knew that in many things he differed from him, yet for all his being ſo impatient of Contradiction, he always Reverenced him.

Approved by the King.

And he much eſteemed by him.

He was ſoon looked on as a Riſing Churchman, and the rather becauſe the Cardinal was now declining; for in the following *Michaelmas-Term*, the King ſent for the great Seal, which the Cardinal at firſt was not willing to part with. But the next day the King wrote to him, and he preſently delivered it to the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. It was offered back again to *Warham*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; but he being very old, and foreſeeing great difficulties in the keeping of it, excuſed himſelf. So it was given to Sr. *Thomas More*, who was not only eminent in his own Profeſſion, but in all other Learning: and was much eſteemed for the ſtrictneſs of his life, and his Contempt of Money. He was alſo the more fit to be made uſe of, having been in ill terms with the Cardinal. Soon after, *Hales* the Attourney-General, put in an Information againſt the Cardinal, in the Kings Bench; bearing, *that notwithſtanding the Statute of* Richard the 2*d*, *againſt the Procuring Bulls from* Rome, *under the pains of* Premunire, *yet he had procured Bulls for his Legantine Power, which he had for many years executed; and ſome particulars, for form, were named out of a great many more.* To this he put in his anſwer, by his Attorney, and confeſſed the Indictment, but pleaded his ignorance of the Statute, and ſubmitted himſelf to the Kings mercy. Upon this it was declared, that he was out of the Kings protection, and that he had forfeited his Goods and Chattells to the King, and that his Perſon might be ſeized on. Then was his rich Palace of *York-houſe* (now *Whitehall*) with all that vaſt wealth, and Royal furniture that he had heaped together, (which was beyond any thing that had ever been ſeen in *England* before,) ſeized on for the King. But it ſeems the King had not a mind to deſtroy him out right, but only to bring him lower, and to try if the terror of that would have any influence on the Pope: Therefore on the 21ſt of *November*, the King granted him firſt his Protection, and then his Pardon, and reſtored him to the Arch-Biſhoprick of *York*, and the Biſhoprick of *Wincheſter*, and gave him back in Money,

The Cardinals fall.

Rot. Pat. 2da pars viceſ. prin. Regni. Feb. 12.

Natus 1471. Mart
Consecrat Ep Lin
:coln 1514 Mart 26
Translatus ad sedē
Eboracensē Nov 6

Cardinalis tit
S Cecilie trans Ti
berim 1513 Sept 7
Obijt 1530 Nov 26

Printed for Ric: Chiswell at the Rose and Crown in St Pauls Church yard.

ney, Goods, and Plate, that which amounted to 6374 *l.* 3 *s.* 7 *d.* and many kind Meſſages were ſent him, both by the King, and *Anne Boleyn.* 1529.

The meanneſs of his Temper.

But as he had carryed his Greatneſs with moſt extravagant pride, ſo he was no leſs baſely caſt down with his misfortune; and having no ballaſt within himſelf, but being wholly guided by things without him, he was lifted up, or caſt down, as the Scales of Fortune turned: yet his Enemies had gone too far, ever to ſuffer a man of his parts or temper, to return to favour. And therefore they ſo ordered it, that an high Charge of many Articles was brought againſt him, into the Houſe of Lords, in the Parliament that ſate in *November* following; and it paſſed there, where he had but few friends, and many and great enemies. But when the charge was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, it was ſo managed by the induſtry of *Cromwell*, who had been his ſervant, that it came to nothing. The heads of it have been oft printed, therefore I ſhall not repeat them; they related chiefly to his Legantine Power, contrary to Law, to his Inſolence and Ambition, his lewd life, and other things that were brought to defame, as well as deſtroy him.

The King ſtill favoured him.

All theſe things did ſo ſink his proud mind, that a deep melancholy overcame his Spirits. The King ſent him frequent aſſurances of his favour, which he received with extravagant tranſports of joy, falling down on his knees in the dirt, before the meſſenger that brought one of them, and holding up his hands for joy, which ſhewed how mean a Soul he had, and that as himſelf afterwards acknowledged, *he preferred the Kings favour, to God Almighties.* But the King found they took little notice of him at *Rome*; the Emperor hated him, and the Pope did not love him, looking on him as one that was almoſt equal to himſelf in Power: and though they did not love the Precedent to have a Cardinal ſo uſed, yet they were not much troubled at *Rome*, to ſee it fall on him. So in Eaſter-week, he was ordered to go North, though he had a great mind to have ſtayed at *Richmond*, which the King had given him in Exchange for *Hampton-Court*, that he had alſo built. But that was too near the Court, and his enemies had a mind to ſend him further from it. Accordingly he went to *Cawood* in *York-ſhire*, in which journey it appears, that the ruins of his ſtate were conſiderable, for he travelled thither with an 160 horſe in his train, and 72 Carts following him, with his houſhold ſtuff.

He is afterwards attached for Treaſon.

To Conclude his ſtory all at once, he was in *November* the next year, ſeized on by the Earl of *Northumberland*, who attached him for high Treaſon, and committed him to the keeping of the Lieutenant of the Tower, who was ordered to bring him up to *London*. And even then he had gracious meſſages from the King; but theſe did not work much on him, for whether it was that he knew himſelf guilty of ſome ſecret Practiſes with the Pope, or with the Emperor, which yet he denyed to the laſt; or whether he could no longer ſtand under the Kings diſpleaſure, and that change of condition; he was ſo caſt down, that on his way to *London*, he ſickened at *Sheffield* Park, in the Earl of *Shrewsburies* houſe, from whence by ſlow journeys he went as far as *Leiceſter*, where after ſome days languiſhing he dyed; and at the laſt made great Proteſtations *of his having ſerved the King faithfully, and*

that

1529. *that he had little regarded the ſervice of God, to do him pleaſure; but if he had ſerved God as he had done him, he would not have given him over ſo, as he did in his gray hairs. And he deſired the King to reflect on all his paſt ſervices, and in particular, in his weighty matter* (for by that phraſe, they uſually ſpoke of the Kings Divorce) *and then he would find in his Conſcience whether he had offended him or not.* He dyed the 28 of *November* 1530. and was the greateſt Inſtance that ſeveral Ages had ſhown of the Variety and Inconſtancy of Humane things, both in his riſe and fall; and by his temper in both, it appears he was unworthy of his greatneſs, and deſerved what he ſuffered. But to conclude all that is to be ſaid of him, I ſhall add what the writer of his life ends it with.

And dies.

His Character. *Here is the end and fall of Pride and Arrogance, for I aſſure you, in his time he was the haughtieſt man in all his proceedings alive, having more reſpect to the honour of his Perſon, than he had to his Spiritual Profeſſion, wherein ſhould be ſhewed all meekneſs and charity.*

A Parliament called. But now with the change of this great Miniſter, there followed a change of Counſels, and therefore the King reſolved to hold a Parliament, that he might meet his people, and eſtabliſh ſuch a good underſtanding between himſelf and them, that he might have all ſecured at home; and then he reſolved to proceed more confidently abroad. There had been no Parliament for ſeven years, but the blame of that, and of every other miſcarriage, falling naturally on the diſgraced Miniſter, he did not doubt, that he ſhould be able to give his people full ſatisfaction in that, and in every thing elſe. So a Parliament was ſummoned to meet the 3d of *November*. And there, among ſeveral other Laws that were made for the publick good of the Kingdom, there were Bills ſent up by the Houſe of Commons, againſt ſome of the moſt exorbitant abuſes of the Clergy: one was againſt the Exactions for the Probates of Wills; another was for the Regulating of Mortuaries; a third was about the Plurality of Benefices, and non-reſidence, and Churchmens being Farmers of Lands. In the paſſing of theſe Bills there were ſevere reflections made on the vices and corruptions of the Clergy of that time, which were believed to flow from men that favoured *Luthers* Doctrine in their hearts.

Hall. When theſe Bills were brought up to the Houſe of Lords, the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* ſpeaking to them, did reflect on the Houſe of Commons: ſaying, that they were reſolved to bring down the Church, and he deſired they would conſider the miſerable ſtate of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, to which it was reduced by Hereſie, and ended, *that all this was for lack of Faith.* But this being afterwards known to the Houſe of Commons, they ſent their ſpeaker, Sr. *Thomas Audley*, with 30 of their members, to complain to the King of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, for ſaying, that their Acts flowed from the *want of Faith*, which was an high Imputation on the whole Nation, when the Repreſentative of the Commons was ſo charged, as if they had been Infidels and Heathens. This was ſet on by the Court, to mortifie that Biſhop, who was unacceptable to them, for his adhering ſo firmly to the Queens cauſe. The King ſent for the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and ſix other Biſhops, and before them told the complaint of the Commons. But the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* excuſed himſelf, and ſaid, he only meant of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*, when he ſaid, *all flowed from the want of Faith*, and did not at all intend

The Houſe of Commons complains of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter.*

intend the Houſe of Commons. This Explanation the King ſent by the Treaſurer of his houſhold, Sr. *Will. Fitz-Williams.* But though the matter was paſſed over, yet they were not at all ſatisfied with it, ſo that they went on, laying open the abuſes of the Clergy. 1529.

Some Bills paſt reforming the abuſes of the Clergy.

In the Houſe of Peers, great oppoſition was made to the Bills, and the Clergy both within and without doors did defame them, and ſaid, theſe were the ordinary beginnings of Hereſie, to complain of Abuſes, and pretend Reformation, on purpoſe to diſgrace the Clergy, from which Hereſie took it's chief ſtrength. And the Spiritual Lords did generally oppoſe them, the Temporal Lords being no leſs earneſt to have them paſſed. The Cardinal was admitted to ſit in the Houſe, where he ſhowed himſelf as ſubmiſſive in his fauning as he had formerly done in his ſcorn and contempt of all who durſt oppoſe him. But the King ſet the Bills forward, and in the end they were agreed to by the Lords, and had the Royal Aſſent.

The King intended by this, to let the Pope ſee what he could do if he went on to offend him, and how willingly his Parliament would concur with him, if it went to extremities. He did alſo endear himſelf much to the People, by relieving them from the oppreſſions of the Clergy. But the Clergy loſt much by this means, for theſe Acts did not only leſſen their preſent profits, but did open the way for other things that were more to their detriment afterward. Their oppoſing of this and all other motions for Reformation, did very much encreaſe the prejudices that were conceived againſt them: whereas if ſuch motions had either riſen from themſelves, or had at leaſt been cheriſhed by them, their Adverſaries had not perhaps been ſo favourably heard; ſo fatally did they miſtake their true Intereſt, when they thought they were concerned, to link with it all abuſes and corruptions.

One Act diſcharging the King of his debts. Collect. *Numb.* 31.

But there paſt another Bill in this Parliament, which becauſe of its ſingular nature, and that it was not printed with the other Statutes, ſhall be found in the Collection of Inſtruments at the end. The Bill bore in a Preamble; the higheſt flattery that could be put in Paper, of the great things the King had done for the Church and Nation, in which he had been at vaſt Charges; and that divers of the Supjects had lent great Sums of Money, which had been all well employed in the publick Service: and whereas they had Security for their Payment, the Parliament did offer all theſe Sums ſo lent to the King; and diſcharged him of all the obligations or aſſignations made for their payment, and of all Suits that might ariſe thereupon.

This was brought into the Houſe by the Kings Servants, who enlarged much on the wealth and peace of the Nation, notwithſtanding the wars, the King always making his enemies Countrey the ſcene of them; and ſhew'd that for fourteen years, the King had but one Subſidy from his people; that now he asked nothing for any other purpoſe, but only to be diſcharged of a Debt contracted for the publick, the accounts whereof were ſhown, by which they might ſee to what uſes the Money ſo raiſed had been applyed. But there were ſeveral ends in paſſing this Bill: thoſe of the Court did not only intend to deliver the King from a charge by it, but alſo to ruin all the Cardinals friends and creatures, whom he had cauſed every-where to advance great Sums,

1529. for an Example to others. Others in the houſe that were convinced that the Act was unjuſt in it ſelf, yet did eaſily give way to it, that they might effectually for the future diſcredit that way of raiſing Money by Loans, as judging it to be the publick Intereſt of the Kingdom, that no ſums of Money ſhould be raiſed but by Parliament. So this Act paſſed, and occaſioned great Murmuring among all them that ſuffered by it. But to qualify the general diſcontent, the King gave a free pardon to his Subjects for all offences, ſome Capital ones only excepted, as is uſual in ſuch caſes; and to keep the Clergy under the Laſh, all tranſgreſſions againſt the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Premunire* were excepted, in which they were all involved, as will afterwards appear. There are two other exceptions in this Pardon, not fit to be omitted: the one is of the pulling or digging down Croſſes on the high wayes, which ſhews what a Spirit was then ſtirring among the people; the other is of the Forfeitures that accrued to the King, by the Proſecution againſt Cardinal *Wolſey*, that is, the Cardinals Colledge in *Oxford*, with the Lands belonging to it which are excepted, upon which the Dean and Canons reſigned their Lands to the King, the Original of which is yet extant: But the King founded the Colledge a-new ſoon after. All this was done both to keep the Clergy quiet, and to engage them to uſe what Intereſt they had in the Court of *Rome*, to diſpoſe the Pope to uſe the King better in his great Suit. After thoſe Acts were paſſed, on the 17 of *December*, the Parliament was prorogued till *April* following; yet it did not ſit, till *January* after that, being continued by ſeveral Prorogations.

There had been great induſtry uſed in carrying Elections for the Parliament, and they were ſo ſucceſsful, that the King was reſolved to continue it for ſome time. This great buſineſs being happily over, the Kings thoughts turned next to affairs beyond Sea. The whole world was now at peace. The Pope and the Emperor (as was ſaid before) had made an Alliance on terms of ſuch advantage to the Pope, that as the Emperor did fully repair all paſt injuries, ſo he laid new and great obligations on him; for he engaged that he would aſſiſt him in the recovery of his Towns, and that he would reſtore his Family to the Government of *Florence*, and inveſt his Nephew in it, with the Title of *Duke*, to whoſe Son he would Marry his own natural Daughter; and that he would hold the Kingdom of *Naples* of the Papacy. Theſe were the Motives that directed the Popes conſcience, ſo infallibly in the Kings buſineſs. Not long after that, in *Auguſt* an other Peace was made in *Cambray*, between the Emperor and the *French* King, and Lady *Margaret* the Emperors Aunt, and Regent of *Flanders*: where the King firſt found the hollowneſs of the *French* friendſhip and alliance; for he was not ſo much conſidered in it as he expected, and he clearly perceived that *Francis* would not embroyl his own affairs, to carry on his Divorce.

The Pope and the Emperor firmly united. *Jun.* 20.

The womens peace. *Aug.* 5.

1530. The Emperors Coronation at *Bononia*. The Emperor went over into *Italy*, and met the Pope at *Bononia*, where he was Crowned with great Magnificence. The Pope and he lodged together in the ſame Palace, and there appeared ſuch ſigns of a familiar friendſhip between them, that the Kings Ambaſſadors did now clearly perceive that they were firmly united. The Emperor did alſo, by a rare mixture of Generoſity and Prudence, reſtore the Dutchie of

Milan

Milan to *Francis Sforza*. By this he ſetled the Peace of *Italy*, nothing holding out but *Florence*, which he knew would be ſoon reduced, when there was no hope of ſuccour from *France*; and accordingly after eleven Months Siege, it was taken, and within a year after, *Alexander de Medici* was made Duke of it. About the time that the Emperor came to *Bononia*, news was brought, that the Turk was forced to raiſe the Siege of *Vienna*; ſo that all things concurred to raiſe his glory very high. At *Bononia* he would needs receive the two Crowns of the *Roman* Empire, that of *Milan*, and that of *Rome*, which was done with all the Magnificence poſſible, the Pope himſelf ſaying Maſs both in *Latine* and *Greek*. There is one ceremony of the Coronation, fit to be taken notice of, in this work; that the Emperor was firſt put in the habit of a Canon of *Sancta Maria de la Torre* in *Rome*, and after that in the habit of a Deacon, to make him be look't on as an Eccleſiaſtical perſon. This had riſen out of an Extravagant vanity of the Court of *Rome*, who deviſed ſuch rites to raiſe their reputation ſo high, that on the greateſt ſolemnity, the Emperor ſhould appear in the habit of the loweſt of the Sacred orders, by which he muſt know, that Prieſts and Biſhops are above him. When the Pope and he firſt met, the ceremony of kiſſing the Popes foot was much look't for, and the Emperor very gently kneel'd to pay that ſubmiſſion; but the Pope (whether it was that he thought it was no more ſeaſonable to expect ſuch Complements, or more ſignally to oblige the Emperor) did humble himſelf ſo far as to draw in his foot, and kiſs his cheek.

1530. *Florence* taken. *Aug.* 9. Popes Nephew made Duke of it. *July* 17. 1531. Siege of *Vienna* raiſ'd. *Octob.* 13. 1529. Emperor Crown'd King of *Lombardy*. *Feb.* 22. 1530. *Rom.* Emp. *Feb.* 2.

But now the Divorce was to be managed in another method, and therefore *Cranmer*, after he had diſcourſed with the King, about that Propoſition which was formerly mentioned, was commanded by him to write a Book for his opinion, and confirm it with as much Authority as he could; and was recommended to the care of the Earl of *Wiltſhire* and *Ormond* (to which honor, the King had advanced Sr. *Thomas Boleyn* in the right of his Mother) and in the beginning of the next year he publiſhed his Book about it. *Richard Crook* (who was Tutor to the Duke of *Richmond*) was ſent into *Italy*, and others were ſent to *France* and *Germany*, to conſult the Divines, Canoniſts, and other Learned men in the Univerſities, about the Kings buſineſs. How the reſt managed the matter, I have not yet been able to diſcover; but from a great number of original Letters of Doctor *Crooks*, I ſhall give a full account of his Negotiation. It was thought beſt to begin at home, and therefore the King wrote to the two Univerſities in *England*, to ſend him their concluſions about it. The matters went at *Oxford* thus. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* being ſent thither with the Kings Letters for their Reſolution, it was by the Major vote of the Convocation of all the Doctors and Maſters, as well Regents as non-Regents committed to 33 Doctors and Batchelours of Divinity (who were named by their own Facultie) or to the greater number of them, to determine the Queſtions, that were ſent with the Kings Letters, and to ſet the common Seal of the Univerſity to their Concluſions: and by vertue of that Warrant, they did on the 8 of *April* put the common Seal of the Univerſity to an Inſtrument, declaring the Marriage of the Brothers wife, to be both contrary to the Laws of God and Nature. The Collector of the Antiquities of *Oxford*, informs us of the uneaſineſs that was in

The King conſults his Univerſities about his Divorce.

Lord *Herbert* out of the Record. *April.* 4. 1530.

v. Wood. p. 8. 257.

1530. the Univerſity in this matter, and of the ſeveral meſſages the King ſent, before that Inſtrument could be procured, ſo that from the 12 of *February* to the 8 of *April*, the matter was in agitation, the Maſters of Arts generally oppoſing it, though the Doctors and Heads were (for the greateſt part) for it. But after he has ſet down the Inſtrument, he gives ſome reaſons (upon what deſign, I cannot eaſily imagine) to ſhew that this was extorted by force; and being done without the conſent of the Maſters of Arts, was of it ſelf void, and of no force: and as if it had been an ill thing, he takes pains to purge the Univerſity of it, and lays it upon the fears and corruptions of ſome aſpiring men of the Univerſity: and without any proof, gives credit to a lying Story ſet down by *Sanders*, of an Aſſembly called in the night, in which the Seal of the Univerſity was ſet to the Determination. But it appears that he had never ſeen or conſidered the other Inſtrument, to which the Univerſity ſet their Seal, that was agreed on in a Convocation of all the Doctors and Maſters, as well Regents as non-Regents; giving Power to theſe Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity, to determine the Matter, and to ſet the Seal of the Univerſity to their Concluſion. The original whereof the Lord *Herbert* ſaw, upon which the perſons ſo deputed, had full Authority to ſet the Univerſity Seal to that Concluſion without a new Convocation. Perhaps that Inſtrument was not ſo carefully preſerved among their Records, or was in Queen *Maries* days taken away, which might occaſion theſe miſtakes in their Hiſtorian.

Lib. 1°. *p.* 225.

There ſeems to be alſo another miſtake in the Relation he gives: for he ſays, thoſe of *Paris* had determined in this matter before it was agreed to at *Oxford*. The Printed Deciſion of the *Sorbone* contradicts this: for it bears date the 2d of *July*, 1530. whereas this was done the 8th of *April*, 1530. But what paſſed at *Cambridge*, I ſhall ſet down more fully, from an original Letter written by *Gardiner* and *Fox* to the King in *February* (but the day is not marked) When they came to *Cambridge*, they ſpake to the Vice-Chancellor, whom they found very ready to ſerve the King; ſo was alſo *Bonner* (whom they call Doctor *Edmonds*) and ſeveral others, but there was a contrary party that met together, and reſolved to oppoſe them. A meeting of the Doctors, Batchelors of Divinity, and Maſters of Arts, in all about 200, was held. There the Kings Letters were read, and the Vice-Chancellor calling upon ſeveral of them, to deliver their opinions about it, they anſwered as their affections led them, and were in ſome diſorder. But it being propoſed, that the anſwering the Kings Letter, and the Queſtions in it, ſhould be referred to ſome indifferent men; great exceptions were made to Doctor *Salcot*, Doctor *Reps*, and *Crome*, and all others who had approved Doctor *Cranmers* Book, as having already declared themſelves partial. But to that it was anſwered, that after a thing was ſo much diſcourſed of, as the Kings matter had been, it could not be imagined, that any number of men could be found, who had not declared their judgment about it, one way or another. Much time was ſpent in the debate, but when it grew late, the Vice-Chancellor commanded every man to take his place, and to give his voice, whether they would agree to the Motion of referring it to a Select body of men; but that night they would not agree to it.

Collect. *Numb.* 32.

And at *Cambridge. Feb.*

The

The Congregation being Adjourned till next day, the Vice-Chancellor offered a Grace (or Order) to refer the matter to 29 persons (himself, 10 Doctors, and 16 Batchelors, and the 2 Proctors) That (the Questions being publickly disputed) what two parts of three agreed to, should be read in a Congregation, and without any further debate, the Common Seal of the University should be set to it. Yet it was at first denyed; then being put to the vote, it was carryed equally on both sides. But being a third time proposed, it was carryed for the Divorce. Of which an account was presently sent to the King, with a Schedule of their names to whom it was committed, and what was to be expected from them, so that it was at length determined, though not without opposition, *That the King's Marriage was against the Law of God.* 1530.

It is thought strange, that the King who was otherwise so absolute in *England*, should have met with more difficulty in this matter at home, than he did abroad. But the most reasonable account I can give of it, is, That at this time there were many in the Universities, (particularly at *Cambridge*) who were addicted to *Luthers* Doctrine. And of those *Cranmer* was lookt on as the most Learned: So that *Crome*, *Shaxton*, *Latimer*, and others of that Society favoured the Kings Cause; besides that, *Anne Boleyn* had in the Dutchess of *Alancon*'s Court (who inclined to the Reformation) received such impressions as made them fear, that her Greatness and *Cranmers* Preferment would encourage Heresie; to which the Universities were furiously averse, and therefore they did resist all Conclusions that might promote the Divorce. Though with great difficulty.

But as for *Crooke* in *Italy*, he being very Learned in the *Greek* Tongue, was first sent to *Venice* to search the *Greek* Manuscripts that lay in the Library of St. *Mark*, and to examine the Decrees of the ancient Councils: He went *incognito* without any Character from the King, only he had a Letter Recommending him to the care of *John Cassali*, then Ambassador at *Venice*, to procure him an admittance into the Libraries there. But in all his Letters he complained mightily of his Poverty, that he had scarce whereby to live and pay the Copiers whom he imployed to Transcribe passages out of MSS. He stayed some time at *Venice*, from whence he went to *Padua*, *Bononia*, and other Towns, where he only talked with Divines and Canonists about these questions: *Whether the Precepts in* Leviticus, *of the Degrees of Marriage, do still oblige Christians? And whether the Popes Dispensation could have any force against the Law of God?* These he proposed in Discourse, without mentioning the King of *England*, or giving the least intimation, that he was sent by him, till he once discovered their Opinions. But finding them generally inclining to the Kings Cause, he took more courage and went to *Rome*; where he sought to be made a *Penitentiary Priest*, that he might have the freer access into Libraries, and be lookt on as one of the Popes Servants. But at this time the Earl of *Wiltshire* and *Stokesley*, (who was made Bishop of *London*, *Tonstall* being Translated to *Duresm*,) were sent by the King into *Italy*, Ambassadors both to the Pope and Emperor. *Cranmer* went with them to justifie his Book in both these Courts. *Stokesley* brought full Instructions to *Crooke* to search the Writings of most of the Fathers on a great many passages of the Scripture; and in particular to try, what they wrote on that Law in *Deuteronomy*, which provided, that *when one* *Crooke* employed in *Venice*.

Crooks Negotiation, taken from many of his Original Letters. *Cott. Libr. Vitel.* B. 13.

died

1530. *died without Children, his Brother ſhould marry his Wife to raiſe up Children to him.* This was moſt preſſed againſt the King by all that were for the Queen, as either an Abrogation of the other Law in *Leviticus*, or at leaſt a Diſpenſation with it in that particular Caſe. He was alſo to conſult the *Jews* about it; and was to Copy out every thing that he found in any Manuſcript of the *Greek* or *Latine* Fathers, relating to the Degrees of Marriage. Of this labour he complained heavily, and ſaid, That though he had a great task laid on him, yet his allowance was ſo ſmall, that he was often in great ſtraits. This I take notice of, becauſe it is ſaid by others, That all the Subſcriptions that he procured were bought. At this time there were great Animoſities between the Miniſters whom the King imployed in *Italy*; the two Families of the *Caſſali*, and the *Ghinucci*, hating one another. Of the former Family were the Ambaſſadors at *Rome*, and at *Venice*. Of the other *Hierome* was Biſhop of *Worceſter*, and had been in ſeveral Ambaſſies into *Spain*. His Brother *Peter* was alſo imployed in ſome of the little Courts of *Italy* as the Kings Agent. Whether the King out of Policy kept this hatred up to make them Spies one on another, I know not. To the *Ghinucci* was *Crooke* gained, ſo that in all his Letters he complained of the *Caſſali*, as men that betraied the Kings Affairs; and ſaid that *John*, then Ambaſſador at *Venice*, not only gave him no aſſiſtance, but uſed him ill: and publickly diſcovered, That he was imployed by the King; which made many who had formerly ſpoken their minds freely, be more reſerved to him. But as he wrote this to the King, he begged of him, that it might not be known, otherwiſe he expected either to be Killed, or Poiſoned by them: Yet they had their Correſpondents about the King, by whoſe means they underſtood what *Crooke* had Informed againſt them. But they wrote to the King, that he was ſo moroſe and ill-natured, that nothing could pleaſe him; and to leſſen his Credit, they did all they could to ſtop his Bills. All this is more fully ſet down, than perhaps was neceſſary, if it were not to ſhow that he was not in a condition to corrupt ſo many Divines, and whole Univerſities, as ſome have given out. He got into the acquaintance of a Frier at *Venice*, *Franciſcus Georgius*, who had lived 49 years in a Religious order, and was eſteemed the moſt Learned man in the Republick, not only in the vulgar Learning, but in the Greek and Hebrew, and was ſo much accounted of by the Pope, that he called him *the Hammer of Hereticks*. He was alſo of the Senatorian Quality, and his Brother was Governor of *Padua*, and payed all the Readers there. This Friar had a great opinion of the King: and having ſtudied the caſe, wrote for the Kings cauſe, and endeavoured to ſatisfie all the other Divines of the Republick, among whom he had much credit. *Thomas Omnibonus* a Dominican, *Philippus de Cremis* a Doctor of the Law, *Valerius* of *Bergamo*, and ſome others, wrote for the Kings cauſe. Many of the *Jewiſh* Rabbins, did give it under their hands in Hebrew, *That the Laws of Leviticus and Deuteronomy, were thus to be reconciled. That Law of Marrying the Brothers wife when he dyed without Children, did only bind in the Land of* Judæa, *to preſerve Families and maintain their Succeſſions in the Land, as it had been divided by Lot. But that in all other places of the world, the Law of Leviticus, of not Marrying the Brothers wife was obligatory.* He alſo ſearched all the Greek MSS. of Councils, and *Nazianzens* and *Chryſoſtoms* works. After that he

Many in *Italy* write for the Kings cauſe.

he run over *Macarius*, *Acacius*, *Apollinaris*, *Origen*, *Gregory Nyſſen*, *Cyril*, *Severian*, and *Gennadius*; and copied out of them all that which was pertinent to his purpoſe. He procured ſeveral hands to the Concluſions, before it was known that it was the Kings buſineſs, in which he was employed. But the Government of *Venice* was ſo ſtrict, that when it was known whoſe Agent he was, he found it not eaſie to procure Subſcriptions: Therefore he adviſed the King to order his Miniſter to procure a Licence from the Senate, for their Divines, to declare their opinions in that matter. Which being propoſed to the Senate, all the anſwer he could obtain was, *that they would be Neutrals*; and when the Ambaſſador preſſed, as an evidence of Neutrality, that the Senate would leave it free to their Divines, to declare of either ſide as their Conſciences led them; he could procure no other anſwer, the former being again repeated. Yet the Senate making no Prohibition, many of their Divines put their hands to the Concluſions. And *Crook* had that Succeſs, that he wrote to the King, he had never met with a Divine that did not favour his cauſe: but the Concluſions touching the Popes Power, his Agents did every-where diſcourage, and threaten thoſe who ſubſcribed them. And the Emperors Ambaſſador at *Venice*, did threaten *Omnibonus* for writing in prejudice of the Popes Authority; and aſſerting concluſions, which would make moſt of the Princes of Europe *Baſtards*. He anſwered, he did not conſider things as a Stateſman, but as a Divine. Yet to take off this fear, *Crook* ſuggeſted to the King, to order his Miniſter at the Court of *Rome*, to procure a *Breve* "that Divines or Canoniſts might without fear or hazard, "deliver their opinions according to their Conſciences, requiring them "under the pain of Excommunication, that they ſhould write nothing "for gain or Partial affections, but ſay the pure and ſimple truth, "without any artifice, as they would anſwer to God in the great day "of Judgment. This ſeemed ſo fair, that it might have been expected, the Succeſſor of St. *Peter* would not deny it; yet it was not eaſily obtained, though the King wrote a very earneſt Letter to the Biſhop of *Verona*, to aſſiſt his Miniſter in procuring it. And I find by another Diſpatch, that the *Breve* was at length gained, not without much oppoſition made to it by the Emperors Ambaſſadors: For at *Rome*, though they knew not well how to oppoſe this method, becauſe it ſeem'd ſo very reaſonable; yet they had great apprehenſions of it, becauſe they thought it was deſigned to force the Pope to determine as the King pleaſed: and they abhorred the Preſident, that a company of poor Friars, ſhould Dictate to them in matters of this nature. *Crook* reports out of a Letter of *Cranmers* to him from *Rome*, theſe words. *As for our Succeſſes here, they be very little, nor dare we attempt to know any mans mind, becauſe of the Pope, nor is he content with what you have done; and he ſays, no Friars ſhall diſcuſs his Power: and as for any favour in this Court, I look for none, but to have the Pope with all his Cardinals declare againſt us.* But Crook, as he went up and down procuring hands, told theſe he came to, *he deſired they would write their Concluſions, according to Learning and Conſcience, without any reſpect, or favour, as they would anſwer it at the laſt day; and Proteſted he never gave, nor promiſed any Divine any thing, till he had firſt freely written his mind, and that what he then gave, was rather an honourable Preſent than a Reward.* And in another

1530.

Feb. 18.

Though the Pope and Emperor diſcouraged them.

July 4.

Aug. 7.

Septemb. 16.

July 28.

Aug. 5.

No Money nor bribes given for ſubſcriptions.

1529. nother Letter to the King he writes : *Upon pain of my head if the contrary be proved, I never gave any man one half-penny, before I had his Concluſion to your Highneſs, without former Prayer or Promiſe of reward for the ſame.* From whence it appears, that he not only had no orders from the King to corrupt Divines, but that his orders were expreſs to the contrary.

Septemb. 7.

As for the Money he gave, the Reader will be beſt able to judge by the following account, whether it was ſuch as could work much on any man. There is an Original Bill of his accounts yet extant, audited and ſigned by *Peter a Ghinuciis*, out of which I have extracted theſe particulars: *Item, To a Servite Friar when he ſubſcribed, one Crown. To a few one Crown. To the Doctors of the Servites two Crowns. To the Obſervant Friars two Crowns. To the Prior of St.* John *and St.* Pauls, *who wrote for the Kings Cauſe fifteen Crowns. To that Convent four Crowns. Item, Given to* John Maria *for his expence of going to* Milan *from* Venice, *and for rewarding the Doctors there, thirty Crowns. Item, To* John Marino Miniſter *of the Franciſcans, who wrote a Book for the Kings cauſe, Twenty Crowns.* This ſhews that they muſt have had very proſtituted Conſciences, if they could be hired ſo cheap. It is true *Crook* in many of his Letters ſays, *That if he had Money enough, he did not doubt but he ſhould get the hands of all the Divines in* Italy, *for he found the greateſt part of them all Mercenary.* But the Biſhop of *Worceſter* in his Letters to him, ordered him only to promiſe rewards to thoſe who expected them, and lived by them, that is, to the Canoniſts who did not uſe to give their opinion without a fee.

Feb. 8.

Only ſome ſmall acknowledgments.

Feb. 22.

Feb. 9.

But at the ſame time, the Emperor did reward and fee Divines at another rate, for *Crook* informed the King, that one *Friar Felix* having written for the validity of the Marriage againſt the King, there was a Benefice of 500 Ducats a year, given him in reward. And the Emperors Ambaſſador offered a thouſand Ducats to the Provincial of the *Gray-friars* in *Venice*, if he would Inhibite all within his Province to write or ſubſcribe for the Kings cauſe. But the Provincial refuſed it, and ſaid, he neither could nor yet would do it. And another that wrote for the Queen, had a Benefice of 600 Crowns. So that it was openly ſaid at *Ferrara*, that they who wrote for the King, had but a few Crowns a-piece, but they who wrote on the other ſide had good Benefices. They alſo tryed what could be done at *Padua*, both by threatnings, entreaties, and rewards, to induce them to reverſe the determination they had made in the matter; but with no ſucceſs. And though *Francis Georgius* the *Venetian* Friar, did greatly promote the Kings cauſe, both by his writings and authority; yet *Crook* wrote *that he could not prevail to make either him or his Nephew accept one farthing of him.* By ſuch fair means it was, that *Crook* procured ſo many Subſcriptions.

Septemb. 16.

But great Rewards given by the Emperor.

Septemb. 29.

Feb. 18.

Firſt, of particular Divines, many *Franciſcans, Dominicans*, and *Servites*, ſet their hands to the Concluſions; though even in that, there was oppoſition made by the Popes Agents. *Campegio* was now engaged in the Emperors Faction, and did every-where miſ-repreſent the Kings cauſe. Being at *Venice*, he ſo wrought on the Miniſter of the *Franciſcans*, that though he had declared for the King, and engaged to bring the hands of 24 Doctors and Learned men of his Order

March 29.

for

for it, and had received a ſmall Preſent of ten Crowns; yet after he had kept the Money three weeks, he ſent it back, and ſaid, he would not meddle more in it: But they procured moſt of theſe hands without his help. At *Milan*; a Suffragan Biſhop, and ſixteen Divines Subſcribed. Nine Doctors Subſcribed at *Vincenza*, but the Pope's Nuntio took the writing out of his hands that had it, and ſuppreſſed it. At *Padua* all the Franciſcans, both *Obſervants* and *Conventuals*, Subſcribed, and ſo did the *Dominicans*, and all the Canoniſts; and though the Popes and Emperor's Emiſſaries did threaten all that Subſcribed, yet there were got eighty hands at *Padua*. Next the Univerſities determined. 1530. *May* 26. *June* 27.

At *Bononia*, though it was the Popes Town, many Subſcribed. The Governour of the Town did at firſt oppoſe the granting of any Determination; but the Popes *Breve* being brought thither, he not without great difficulty gave way to it. So on the 19th of *June*, the matter being publickly debated, and all *Cajetans* Arguments being examined, who was of Opinion, *That the Laws of Marriage in* Leviticus *did not bind the Chriſtian Church; they determined, That theſe Laws are ſtill in force, and that they bind all both Chriſtians and Infidels, being parts of the Law of Nature, as well as of the Law of God; and that therefore they judged Marriages in theſe degrees unlawful, and that the Pope had no Authority to diſpence with them.* They Determined for the King at *Bononia*. *June* 10th.

The Univerſity of *Padua* after ſome days publick Diſpute, on the 1ſt of *July*, determined to the ſame purpoſe; about which *Crooks* Letter will be found among the Inſtruments at the end of this Book. At *Padua*. *July* 1ſt. Collect. *Numb.* 33.

At *Ferrara*, the Divines did alſo confirm the ſame concluſion, and ſet their Seal to it; but it was taken away violently by ſome of the other Faction, yet the Duke made it be reſtored. The profeſſion of the Canon-Law was then in great credit there, and in a Congregation of 72 of that profeſſion, it was determined for the King; but they asked 150 Crowns for ſetting the Seal to it, and *Crook* would not give more than an hundred; the next day he came and offered the Money, but then it was told him they would not meddle in it, and he could not afterwards obtain it. And *Ferrara*, *Sept.* 29th.

In all, *Crook* ſent over by *Stokeſley* an hundred ſeveral Books, Papers and Subſcriptions, and there were many hands ſubſcribed to many of thoſe Papers. But it ſeems *Crook* died before he could receive a reward of this great Service he did the King, for I do not find him mentioned after this. I hope the Reader will forgive my inſiſting ſo much on this Negotiation; for it ſeemed neceſſary to give full and convincing Evidences of the ſincerity of the Kings proceedings in it, ſince it is ſo confidently given out that theſe were but mercenary Subſcriptions.

What difficulties or oppoſition thoſe who were employed in *France* found, does not yet appear to me; but the Seals of the chief Univerſities there were procured. The Univerſity of *Orleance* determined it on the 7th of *April*. The faculty of the Canon-Law at *Paris*, did alſo conclude that the Pope had no Power to diſpence in that Caſe, on the 25th of *May*. But the great and celebrated faculty of the *Sorbon*, (whoſe Concluſions had been lookt on for ſome Ages as little inferiour to the Decrees of Councils) made their Deciſion with all poſſible Solemnity and Decency. They firſt met at the Church of St. *Mathurin*, where there was a Maſs of the H. Ghoſt, and every one took an Oath to ſtudy the Queſtion, and reſolve it according to his Conſcience; and from the 8th of *June*, to And in *Orleance*, *April* 7. At *Paris* of the Canoniſts. *May* 25th.

1530. Of the *Sorbon, July* 2d. the 2d of *July*, they continued ſearching the matter with all poſſible diligence, both out of the Scriptures, the Fathers, and the Councils; and had many Diſputes about it. After which, the greater part of the Faculty did Determine, *That the King of* Englands *Marriage was unlawful, and that the Pope had no Power to diſpence in it*; and they ſet their common Seal to it, at St. *Mathurin's*, the 2d of *July*, 1530. To the ſame purpoſe did both the Faculties of Law, Civil and Canon at *Angiers*, Determine the 7th of *May*. On the 10th of *June*, the Faculty of Divinity, at *Bourges*, made the ſame Determination. And on the 1ſt of *October* the whole Univerſity of *Tholoſe*, did all with one conſent give their judgment, agreeing with the former Concluſions. More of the Deciſions of Univerſities were not Printed, though many more were obtained to the ſame effect. In *Germany*, *Spain*, and *Flanders*, the Emperors Authority was ſo great, that much could not be expected except from the *Lutherans*, with whom *Cranmer* converſed, and chiefly with *Oſiander*, whoſe Neece he then Married. *Oſiander* upon that wrote a Book about Inceſtuous Marriages, which was publiſhed; but was called in by a Prohibition Printed at *Ausburg*, becauſe it Determined in the Kings cauſe, and on his ſide.

At *Angiers. May* 7th. At *Bourges. June* 10th. And *Tholoſe, Octob.* 1ſt. Collect. *Numb.* 34. *Jan.* 28th. his Orig. Let. *Cott.* Libr. *Otho.* C. 10.

But now I find the King did likewiſe deal among thoſe, in *Switzerland* that had ſet up the Reformation. The Duke of *Suffolk* did moſt ſet him on to this, ſo one who was imployed in that time writes, for he often asked him, *how he could ſo humble himſelf, as to ſubmit his Cauſe to ſuch a vile, vitious, ſtranger, Prieſt, as* Campegio *was?* To which the King anſwered, *He could give no other reaſon, but that it ſeemed to him, Spiritual men ſhould judge Spiritual things*; *yet*, he ſaid, *he would ſearch the matter further, but he had no great mind to ſeem more curious than other Princes.* But the Duke deſired him to diſcuſs the matter ſecretly amongſt Learned men, to which he conſented; and wrote to ſome Forreign Writers that were then in great eſtimation. *Eraſmus* was much in his favour, but he would not appear in it. He had no mind to provoke the Emperor, and live uneaſily in his own Country. But *Simon Grineus* was ſent for, whom the King eſteemed much for his Learning. The King informed him about his Proceſs, and ſent him back to *Baſil*, to try what his Friends in *Germany* and *Switzerland* thought of it. He wrote about it to *Bucer*, *Oecolampadius*, *Zuinglius*, and *Paulus Phrygion*.

Pelerine Ingleſe. *Grineus* employed amongſt the Reformed in *Switzerland*. Whoſe Letters are in a MSS. in R. *Smiths* Libr.

Oecolampadius, as it appears by three Letters, one dated the 10th of *Auguſt*, 1531. another the laſt of the ſame Month, another to *Bucer* the 10th of *September*; was poſitively of Opinion, *That the Law in* Leviticus *did bind all mankind*, and ſays, *That Law of a Brothers Marrying his Siſter-in-Law, was a Diſpenſation given by God to his own Law, which belonged only to the* Jews; *and therefore he thought that the King might without any ſcruple put away the Queen.* But *Bucer* was of another mind, and thought the Law in *Leviticus* did not bind, and could not be Moral, becauſe God had diſpenſed with it in one Caſe, *of raiſing up ſeed to his Brother*: Therefore he thought theſe Laws belonged only to that Diſpenſation, and did no more bind Chriſtians, than the other Ceremonial or Judiciary Precepts; and that to Marry in ſome of theſe Degrees, was no more a ſin, than it was a ſin in the Diſciples to pluck Ears of Corn on the Sabbath-day. There are none of *Bucers* Letters remaining on this Head, but by the anſwers that *Grineus* wrote to him, one on the 29th of *Auguſt*, another

The Opinions of *Oecolompadius.* *Bucer*

ther of the 10th of *September*, I gather his Opinion, and the reaſons for it. But they all agreed, That the Popes Diſpenſation was of no force to alter the nature of the thing. *Paulus Phrygion* was of Opinion, That the Laws in *Leviticus* did bind all Nations, becauſe it is ſaid in the Text, *That the* Canaanites *were puniſhed for doing contrary to them, which did not conſiſt with the Juſtice of God, if thoſe Prohibitions had not been parts of the Law of Nature.* Dated *Baſil* the 10th of *September*. In *Grineus*'s Letter to *Bucer*, he tells him, that the King had ſaid to him, *That now for ſeven years he had perpetual trouble upon him about this Marriage.* *Zuinglius* Letter is very full. Firſt, he largely proves that neither the Pope, nor any other Power could diſpence with the Law of God: Then, that the Apoſtles had made no new Laws about Marriage, but had left it as they found it: That the Marrying within near degrees was hated by the *Greeks*, and other Heathen Nations. But whereas *Grineus* ſeemed to be of opinion, that though the Marriage was ill made, yet it ought not to be diſſolved, and inclined rather to adviſe that the King ſhould take another Wife, keeping the Queen ſtill; *Zuinglius* confutes that, and ſays, If the Marriage be againſt the Law of God, it ought to be diſſolved: But concludes the Queen ſhould be put away honourably, and ſtill uſed as a Queen; and the Marriage ſhould only be diſſolved for the future, without Illegitimating the Iſſue begotten in it, ſince it had gone on in a publick way, upon a received error. But adviſes, that the King ſhould proceed in a Judiciary way, and not eſtabliſh ſo ill a Preſident as to put away his Queen, and take another without due form of Law. Dated *Baſil*, 17th of *Aug.* There is a ſecond Letter of his to the ſame purpoſe from *Zurick*, the firſt of *September*. There is alſo with theſe Letters a long paper of *Oſianders*. in the form of a Direction how the Proceſs ſhould be managed.

1530. *Phrygion.* *Zuinglius.*

There is alſo an Epiſtle of *Calvins*, publiſhed among the reſt of his. Neither the date nor the perſon to whom it was directed are named. Yet I fancie it was written to *Grineus*, upon this occaſion: *Calvin* was clear in his judgment that the Marriage was null, and that the King ought to put away the Queen, upon the Law of *Leviticus*. And whereas it was objected, that the Law is only meant *of Marrying the Brothers wife while he is yet alive*; he ſhews that could not be admitted, for all the prohibited degrees being forbidden in the ſame ſtyle, they were all to be underſtood in one ſenſe: Therefore ſince it is confeſſed, that it is unlawful to Marry in the other degrees, after the death of the *Father*, *Son*, *Uncle*, or *Nephew*, ſo it muſt be alſo a ſin, to Marry the Brothers wife after his death. And for the Law in *Deuteronomy* of *Marrying the Brothers wife to raiſe up ſeed to him*; he thought, that by *Brother* there, is to be underſtood a *near Kinſman*, according to the uſual phraſe of the Hebrew tongue: and by that he reconciles the two Laws which otherwiſe ſeem to differ, illuſtrating his Expoſition by the Hiſtory of *Ruth* and *Boaz*. It is given out that *Melanchthon* adviſed the Kings taking another wife, juſtifying *Polygamy from the old Teſtament*; but I cannot believe it. It is true the Lawfulneſs of *Polygamy* was much controverted at this time. And as in all controverſies newly ſtarted, many crude things are ſaid; ſo ſome of the *Helvetian* and *German* Divines ſeem not ſo fierce againſt it; though none of them went ſo far as the Pope did, who did plainly offer to grant the King Licence to have two wives: and it was a motion the Imperialiſts conſented to, and pro-

And *Calvin Epiſt.* 384.

Lord *Herb.* from an Orig. Let. *Sept.* 18. 1530.

1530. moted, though upon what reaſon, the Ambaſſador *Caſſali*, who wrote the account of it to the King, could not learn. The Pope forbade him to write about it to the King, perhaps as Whiſperers enjoyn ſilence, as the moſt effectual way to make a thing publick. But for *Melanchthons* being of that mind, great evidences appear to the contrary; for there is a Letter of *Oſianders* to him, giving him many reaſons to perſwade him to approve of the Kings putting away the Queen, and Marrying another: the Letter alſo ſhews he was then of opinion, that the Law in *Leviticus* was Diſpenſable.

The opinion of the *Lutheran* Divines.

And after the thing was done, when the King deſired the *Lutheran* Divines to approve his ſecond Marriage; they begged his excuſe in a writing, which they ſent over to him; ſo that *Melanchthon* not allowing the thing, when it was done, cannot be imagined to have adviſed *Polygamy* before hand. And to open at once all that may clear the ſenſe of the Proteſtants in the Queſtion, when ſome years after this, *Fox* being made Biſhop of *Hereford*, and much inclined to their Doctrine, was ſent over to get the Divines of *Germany*, to approve of the Divorce, and the ſubſequent Marriage of *Anne Boleyn*; he found that *Melanchthon* and others had no mind to enter much into the Diſpute about it, both for fear of the Emperor, and becauſe they judged the King was led in it by diſhoneſt affections: they alſo thought the Laws in *Leviticus* were not Moral, and did not oblige Chriſtians, and ſince there were no Rules made about the Degrees of Marriage in the Goſpel, they thought Princes and States might make what Laws they pleaſed about it: yet after much Diſputing they were induced to change their minds, but could not be brought to think that a Marriage once made, might be annulled, and therefore demurred upon that; as will appear by the Concluſion they paſſed upon it, to be found at the end of this volume. All this I have ſet together here, to give a right repreſentation of the judgments of the ſeveral parties of *Chriſtendome* about this matter.

Inſtructions ſent by Dr. *Barns* to *Cromwel Cott.* Lib. *Vitel.* B. 13.

They condemn the Kings firſt Marriage, but are againſt a ſecond.

Collect. *Numb.* 35.

It cannot be denyed, that the Proteſtants did expreſs great ſincerity in this matter: ſuch as became men of conſcience, who were acted by true Principles, and not by maxims of Policie. For if theſe had governed them, they had ſtruck in more compliantly with ſo great a Prince, who was then alienated from the Pope, and in very ill terms with the Emperor: ſo that to have gained him by a full Compliance to have protected them, was the wiſeſt thing they could do; and their being ſo cold in the matter of his Marriage, in which he had engaged ſo deeply, was a thing, which would very much provoke him againſt them. But ſuch meaſures as theſe, though they very well became the *Apoſtolick* See, yet they were unworthy of men, who deſigned to reſtore an Apoſtolick Religion.

Fox.

The Earl of *Wiltſhire* with the other Ambaſſadors, when they had their Audience of the Pope at *Bononia*, refuſed to pay him the ſubmiſſion of Kiſſing his foot, though he graciouſly ſtretched it out to them; but went to their Buſineſs, and expoſtulated in the Kings name, and in high words: and in Concluſion told the Pope, that the *Prerogative of the Crown of England* was ſuch, that their Maſter would not ſuffer any Citation to be made of him, to any forreign Court; and that therefore the King would not have his cauſe tryed at *Rome*. The Pope anſwered,

The King refuſes to appear at *Rome*.

ſwered, that though the Queens Sollicitor had preſſed him to proceed in the Citation; both that her Marriage being further examined, might receive a new Confirmation, for ſilencing the Diſputes about it, and becauſe the King had withdrawn himſelf from her; yet if the King did not go further, and did not innovate in Religion, the Pope was willing to let the matter reſt. They went next to the Emperor, to juſtifie the Kings Proceedings in the Suit of the Divorce. But he told them he was bound in honour and juſtice to ſupport his Aunt, and that he would not abandon her. *Cranmer* offered to maintain what he had written in his Book, but whether they went ſo far, as to make their Divines enter into any Diſcourſe with him about it, I do not know. This appears that the Pope, to put a Complement on the King, declared *Cranmer* his *Pœnitentiary* in *England*. He having ſtayed ſome months at *Rome*, after the Ambaſſadors were gone, went into *Germany*: where he became acquainted with *Cornelius Agrippa*, a man very famous for great and curious Learning, and ſo ſatisfied him in the Kings cauſe, that he gave it out, that the thing was clear and indiſputable, for which he was afterwards hardly uſed by the Emperor, and dyed in Priſon. 1530.

Cranmer offers to maintain the Kings cauſe.

But when the King received the Determinations and Concluſions of the Univerſities, and other Learned men beyond Sea, he reſolved to do two things. Firſt, to make a new attempt upon the Pope, and then to publiſh thoſe Concluſions to the World, with the arguments upon which they were grounded. But to make his addreſs to the Pope carry more terror with it, he got a Letter to be ſigned by a great many Members of Parliament, to the Pope. The Lord *Herbert* ſaith, it was done by his Parliament; but in that, he had not applyed his ordinary diligence, the Letter bears date the 13 of *July*. Now by the Records of Parliament, it appears, there could be no Seſſion at that time, for there was a Prorogation from the 21 of *June*, till the 1ſt of *October* that year: But the Letter was ſent about to the chief Members, for their hands; and *Cavendiſh* tells how it was brought to the Cardinal, and with what chearfulneſs he ſet his hand to it. It was ſubſcribed by the Cardinal, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, 4 Biſhops, 2 Dukes, 2 Marqueſſes, 13 Earls, 2 Viſcounts, 23 Barons, 22 Abbots, and 11 Commoners, moſt of theſe being the Kings Servants.

The Nobility, Clergy, and Commons of *England*. write to the Pope.

In the life of *Wolſey*.

The Contents of the Letters were, "that their near Relation to the "King, made them addreſs thus to the Pope. The Kings cauſe was "now in the opinion of the Learned men, and Univerſities both in "*England*, *France*, and *Italy* found juſt, which ought to prevail ſo far "with the Pope, that though none moved in it, and notwithſtanding "any Contradiction, he ought to confirm their judgment; eſpecially "it touching a King and Kingdom, to whom he was ſo much obliged. "But ſince neither the juſtice of the cauſe, nor the Kings moſt earneſt "deſires had prevailed with him, they were all forced to complain of "that ſtrange uſage of their King; who both by his Authority, and "with his Pen, had ſupported the Apoſtolick See, and the Catholick "Faith, and yet was now denyed juſtice. From which they appre"hended great miſchief and Civil Wars, which could only be prevent"ed by the Kings Marrying another wife, of whom he might have "iſſue. This could not be done, till his preſent Marriage were annulled,

This Letter and the anſwer are Printed by the Lord *Herbert*.

1530. "nulled. And if the Pope would ſtill refuſe to do this, they muſt con-
"clude that they were abandoned by him, and ſo ſeek for other Remedies.
"This they moſt earneſtly prayed him to prevent, ſince they did not
"deſire to go to extremities, till there was no more to be hoped for
"at his hands.

The Popes anſwer. To this the Pope made anſwer, the 27 of *September*. "He took no-
"tice of the vehemency of their Letter, which he forgave them, im-
"puting it to their great affection to their King: they had charged him
"with ingratitude and injuſtice; two grievous Imputations. He ac-
"knowledged all they wrote of the obligations he owed to their King,
"which were far greater than they called them, both on the Apoſto-
"lick See, and himſelf in particular. But in the Kings cauſe he had
"been ſo far from denying juſtice, that he was oft charged as having
"been too partial to him. He had granted a Commiſſion to two Le-
"gates to hear it, rather out of favour, than in Rigor of Law; upon
"which the Queen had appealed: he had delayed the admitting of it,
"as long as was poſſible; but when he ſaw it could not be any longer
"denyed to be heard, it was brought before the Conſiſtory, where all
"the Cardinals with one conſent, found that the Appeal, and an A-
"vocation of the cauſe muſt be granted. That ſince that time, the
"King had never deſired to put it to a Tryal, but on the contrary, by
"his Ambaſſadors at *Bononia* moved for a delay: and in that poſture
"it was ſtill, nor could he give ſentence in a thing of ſuch Conſequence,
"when it was not ſo much as ſought for. For the concluſions of U-
"niverſities and Learned men, he had ſeen none of them from any of
"the Kings Ambaſſadors. It was true ſome of them had been brought
"to him another way; but in them there were no reaſons given, but
"only bare Concluſions, and he had alſo ſeen very important things for
"the other ſide; and therefore he muſt not precipitate a Sentence, in
"a cauſe of ſuch high Importance, till all things were fully heard and
"conſidered. He wiſhed their King might have Male Iſſue, but he
"was not in Gods ſtead to give it. And for their Threatnings of ſeek-
"ing other Remedies, they were neither agreeable to their wiſdom, nor
"to their Religion. Therefore he admoniſhed them to abſtain from
"ſuch Counſels; but minded them that it is not the Phyſicians fault,
"if the Patient will do himſelf hurt. He knew the King would never
"like ſuch courſes; and though he had a juſt value for their Interceſſi-
"on; yet he conſidered the King much more, to whom as he had ne-
"ver denyed any thing, that he could grant with his honor; ſo he
"was very deſirous to examine this matter, and to put it to a ſpeedy
"iſſue, and would do every thing that he could without offending
"God.

A Proclamation againſt Bulls from *Rome*. But the King either ſeeing the Pope reſolved to grant nothing, or ap-
prehending that ſome Bull might be brought into *England*, in behalf of
the Queen, or the diſgraced Cardinal, did on the Nineteenth of *Sep-*
Lord *Herb.* *tember*, put forth a Proclamation againſt any "who purchaſed any thing
"from *Rome*, or elſewhere, contrary to his Royal Prerogative and Au-
"thority, or ſhould publiſh or divulge any ſuch thing, requiring them
"not to do it, under the pains of incurring his indignation, Impriſon-
"ment, and other puniſhments on their perſons. This was founded
on the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Premunires*. But that being done, he
reſolved,

reſolved next to publiſh to the world, and to his Subjects the juſtice of his cauſe: Therefore ſome Learned men were appointed to compare all that had been written on it, and out of all the Tranſcripts of the Manuſcripts, of Fathers and Councils, to gather together whatſoever did ſtrengthen it. Several of theſe Manuſcripts I have ſeen, one is in Mr. *Smiths* Library, where are the Quotations of the Fathers, Councils, Schoolmen, and Canoniſts, written out at length. There are Three other ſuch MSS. in the *Cotton* Library, of which one contains a large vindication of theſe Authorities, from ſome Exceptions made to them; another is an anſwer to the Biſhop of *Rocheſters* Book for the Queens cauſe. A Third digeſts the Matter into Twelve Articles, which the Reader will find in my Appendix; and theſe are there enlarged on and proved. But all theſe, and many more were ſum'd up in a ſhort Book, and Printed firſt in Latine, then in Engliſh, with the Determinations of the Univerſities before it. Theſe are of ſuch weight and Importance, and give ſo great a light to the whole Matter, that I hope the Reader will not be ill pleaſed to have a ſhort abſtract of them laid before him. 1530.

Books written for the Kings cauſe.

Otho. C. 10.

Ibidem.

Vſp. B. 5. Collect. Numb. 36.

An Abſtract of thoſe things which were written for the Divorce.

"The Law of Marriage was originally given by God, to *Adam* in "the ſtate of Innocence, with this Declaration, that man and wife "*were one Fleſh*; but being afterwards corrupted by the Inceſtuous "commixtures of thoſe which were of Kin, in the neareſt degrees, "the Primitive Law was again revived by *Moſes*. And he gives many "Rules and Prohibitions about the Degrees of Kinred and Affinity, "which are not to be looked on, as new Laws and judiciary Precepts, "but as a Reſtoring of the Law of Nature, originally given by God, "but then much corrupted. For as the Preface which is ſo oft repeated before theſe Laws, *I am the Lord*, inſinuates that they were conform to the Divine Nature; ſo the conſequences of them ſhow they "were Moral and Natural. For the Breaches of them are called *Wickedneſs* and *Abomination*, and are ſaid *to defile the Land*; and the Violation of them is charged on the *Canaanites*, *by which the Land was polluted, and for which it did vomit out the Inhabitants*. From whence "it muſt be concluded, that theſe were not poſitive Precepts, which "did only bind the *Jews*, but were parts of the Law of Mankind and "Nature; otherwiſe thoſe Nations could contract no Guilt by their "Violating them. Among the forbidden Degrees, one is, *Thou ſhalt "not diſcover the Nakedneſs of thy Brothers wife, it is thy Brothers "Nakedneſs*. And it is again repeated, *If a man ſhall take his Brothers "wife, it is an unclean thing, he hath uncovered his Brothers Nakedneſs, "they ſhall be childleſs*. Theſe are clear and expreſs Laws of God, "which therefore muſt needs oblige all perſons of what rank ſoever, "without exception.

The grounds of it in the old Teſtament.

Lev. 18. 20.

Lev. 18. 2. 4. 5. 6. 21.

v. 17. 24. 26.

v. 24. 25.

Lev. 18. v. 16.

Lev. 20. 21.

"In the New Teſtament, St. *John Baptiſt* ſaid to *Herod*, *It is not "Lawful for thee, to take thy Brothers wife*, which ſhows that theſe "Laws of *Moſes* were ſtill obligatory. St. *Paul* alſo in his epiſtle to "the *Corinthians*, condemns the Inceſtuous perſon for having his Fathers "wife which is one of the Degrees forbidden by the Law of *Moſes*, and

And in the New.

Mat. 14. 4.

1 Cor. 5. 1.

1530. "and calls it *a Fornication, not so much as named among the Gentiles.* "From whence it is inferred, that these forbidden degrees are excluded "by the Law of Nature, since the Gentiles did not admit them. St. "*Paul* also calling it by the common name of *Fornication*, within which, "according to that place, all undue Commixtures of men and women "are included. Therefore those places in the New Testament, that "condemn *Fornication*, do also condemn Marriages in forbidden de- "grees: our Saviour did also assert the foundation of affinity, by say- "ing, *that man and wife are one Flesh.*

"But in all Controverted things, the sense of the Scriptures must "be taken from the Tradition of the Church, which no good Catho- "lick can deny: and that is to be found in the Decrees of Popes and "Councils, and in the writings of the Fathers and Doctors of the "Church: against which, if any argue from their private understand- "ing of the Scriptures, it is the way of Heresie, and savours of *Luthe-* "*ranism.* The first of the Fathers, who had occasion to write of this

Lib. 4to cont. *Marcionem.* "Matter, was *Tertullian*, who lived within an Age after the Apostles. "He in expres's words says, that the Law of not Marrying the Bro- "thers wife, did still oblige Christians.

The Authorities of Popes "The first Pope, whose decision was sought in this Matter, was "*Gregory* the *Great*, to whom *Austin* the Apostle of *England* wrote "for his resolution of some things, in which he desired direction; "and one of these is, *Whether a man may Marry his Brothers wife:* (who in "the Language of that time was called his *Kinswoman*) The Pope an- "swered Negatively, and proved it by the Law of *Moses*, and there- "fore Defined, *that if any of the* English *Nation, who had Marryed* "*within that degree, were converted to the Faith, he must be admonished* "*to abstain from his wife, and to look on such a Marriage as a most grie-* "*vous Sin.* From which it appears, that that good Pope did judge "it a thing, which by no means could be dispenced with, otherwise "he had not pressed it so much under such Circumstances; since in "the first Conversion of a Nation to the Christian Faith, the Insisting "too much upon it, might have kept back many from receiving the "Christian Religion, who were otherwise well inclined to it. [a] *Ca-* "*lixtus*, [b] *Zacarias*, and [c] *Innocent* the Third, have plainly asserted the "obligation of these Precepts in the Law of *Moses*, the last particu- "larly, who treats about it with great vehemency: So that the Apo- "stolick See has already judged the Matter.

[a] *ad omnes Galliæ Episcopos.*
[b] 30. *Quæst.* 3. *Cap. Pitanum.*
[c] *De Pres. cap. cum in juventutem.*

and Councils. "Several Provincial Councils have also declared the obligation of "the Precepts, about the degrees of Marriage in *Leviticus*, by the "Council at *Neocesarea*; *If a woman had been Married to two Brothers,* Can. 2. "*she was to be cast out of the Communion of the Church till her death, and* Chap. 5. "*the man that Married his Brothers wife, was to be Anathematized,* which "was also Confirmed in a Council held by Pope *Gregory* the Second. Can. 61. "In the Council of *Agde*, where the Degrees that make a Marriage "incestuous are reckoned; this of Marrying the Brothers wife is one "of them: and there it was Decreed, *that all Marriages within these* "*Degrees were Null, and the Parties so Contracting, were to be cast out of* "*the Communion of the Church, and put among the Catechumens, till they* "*separated themselves from one another.* And in the Second Council of Chap. 5. "*Toledo*, the Authority of the Mosaical Prohibitions about the De-

grees

"grees of Marriage is acknowledged. It was one of *Wickcliffs* errors, 1530.
"that the Prohibition of Marriage within ſuch degrees was without any
"foundation in the Law of God; for which, and other points, he was
"condemned firſt in a Convocation at *London*, then at *Oxford*, and laſt of
"all at the general Council of *Conſtance* theſe Condemnations were con-
"firmed. So formally had the Church in many Provincial Councils, and
"in one that was General, decided this matter.

"Next to theſe, the Opinions of the Fathers were to be conſidered. [a] And the Greek.
"In the Greek Church [a] *Origen* firſt had occaſion to Treat about it, wri- In 20. *Levit.*
"ting on *Leviticus*; and [b] *Chryſoſtome* after him; but moſt fully St. [c] *Baſil* [b] *Homil.*
"the Great, who do expreſly aſſert the obligations of theſe Precepts: 71. on 22.
"The laſt particularly, refuting at great length the Opinion of ſome, *Mat.*
"who thought the Marrying two Siſters was not unlawful, laies it down [c] *Epiſt. ad Diodor.*
"as a Foundation, That the Laws in *Leviticus* about Marriage were ſtill
"in force. *Heſychius* alſo, writing upon *Leviticus*, proves that theſe On *Levit.* 18. and 20.
"Prohibitions were univerſally obligatory, becauſe both the *Egyptians*
"and *Cananites* are taxed for Marrying within theſe Degrees; From
"whence he inferrs, they are of Moral and Eternal obligation.

"From the Greek they went to the Latine Fathers, and alledged, as And the Latine Fathers.
"was already obſerved, that *Tertullian* held the ſame Opinion, and with [a] Lib. 8. Ep.
"him agreed the three great Doctors of the Latin Church, [a] *Ambroſe*, 66.
"[b] *Jerom*, and St. [c] *Auſtin*, who do plainly deliver the Tradition of the [b] *Cont. Helvidium.*
"Church about the obligation of thoſe Laws, and anſwer the objecti- [c] *Cont. Fauſt.*
"ons that were made, either from *Abraam's* Marrying his Siſter, or from chap. 8, 9, 10.
"*Jacob's* Marrying two Siſters, or the Law in *Deuteronomy*, for the Bro- *& Quæſt.* 64.
"thers Marrying his Brothers Wife, if he died without Children. in *Lev. Ad Bo-*

"They obſerved that the ſame Doctrine was alſo taught by the Fa- *nifac.* Lib. 3.
"thers and Doctors in the latter Ages. [d] *Anſelm* held it, and pleads chap. 4. Lib.
"much for Marrying in remote Degrees, and anſwer the Objection 15. *de Civ.*
"from the Deciſion in the Caſe of the Daughters of *Zelophehad.* [e] *Hugo* *Dei.* chap. 16.
"*Cardinalis*, *Radulphus Flaviacenſis*, and *Rupertus Tuitienſis*, do agree, And of the Modern Writers.
"that theſe Precepts are Moral, and of perpetual obligation, as alſo *Hugo* In *Epiſt. ad*
"*de Sto. Victore.* [g] *Hildebert* Biſhop of *Mans*, being conſulted in a Caſe *Pium Fratrem.*
"of the ſame nature with what is now controverted, plainly Deter- [e] On 18. *Lev.*
"mines, *That a man may not Marry his Brothers Wife*; and by many Au- [f] Lib. 2. *de Sacram.* p.
"thorities ſhewes, That by no means it can be allowed. And [h] *Ivo Car-* 2. chap. 4.
"*notenſis* being deſired to give his Opinion in a Caſe of the ſame circum- Art. 2.
"ſtances, of a Kings Marrying his Brothers Wife, ſays, *Such a Marriage* [g] *Epiſt. ad Arch. Rotomag. & Epiſ.*
"*is null, as inconſiſtent with the Law of God, and that the King was not to be* *Sag.*
"*admitted to the Communion of the Church, till he put away his Wife, ſince* [h] *Epiſt.* 240.
"*there was no Diſpencing with the Law of God, and no Sacrifice could be offered*
"*for thoſe that continued willingly in ſin.* Paſſages alſo to the ſame purpoſe,
"are in other places of his Epiſtles.

"From theſe Doctors and Fathers the Inquiry deſcended to the School- The Schoolmen.
"men, who had with more niceneſs and ſubtlety examined things. They
"do all agree in aſſerting the obligation of theſe Levitical Prohibitions.
"*Thomas Aquinas* does it in many places, and confirmes it with many 2da. 2^dæ. *Quæſt.* 154. *art.*
"Argumehts. *Altiſiodorenſis*, ſays, they are Moral Laws, and part of 9. In *Tertiam*
"the Law of Nature. *Petrus de Palude*, is of the ſame mind, and ſays, *Quæſt.* 54. *art.*
"that a mans Marrying his Brothers Wife, was a Diſpenſation granted 3. In 4^tum. *diſt.* 40. *Q.* 3.
"by God, but could not be now allowed, becauſe it was contrary to the and 4.

1530. "Law of Nature. St. *Antonine* of *Florence*, *Joannes de Turre Cremata*,
"*Joannes de Tabia*, *Jacobus de Lausania*, and *Astexanus*, were also cited
"for the same Opinion. And those who wrote against *Wickliffe*, name-
[a] *Cont. Wickl. art.* 8. [b] *De licitis & illicitis Conjugiis.* [c] Lib. *de Sacram. Tom.* 2. C. 134.
"ly [a] *Wydeford*, [b] *Cotton*, and [c] *Waldensis*, charged him with Heresie, for
"denying that those Prohibitions did oblige Christians. And asserted
"that they were Moral Laws, which obliged all Mankind. And the
"Books of *Waldensis* were approved by *P. Martin* the First. There were
"also many Quotations brought out of *Petrus de Tarantasia*, *Durandus*,
"*Stephanus Brulifer*, *Richardus de Media Villa*, *Guido Briancon*, *Gerson*,
"*Paulus Ritius*, and many others, to confirm the same Opinion, who did
"all unanimously assert, That those Laws in *Leviticus* are parts of the
"Law of Nature, which oblige all Mankind, and that Marriages con-
"tracted in these Degrees are null and void. All the Canonists were al-
"so of the same mind, *Joannes Andreas*, *Joannes de Imola*, *Abbas Pa-*
And Canonists. "*normitanus*, *Mattheus Neru*, *Vincentius*, *Innocentius*, and *Ostiensis*, all
"Concluded that these Laws were still in force, and could not be Dis-
"penced with.

Marriage compleated by Consent. "There was also a great deal alledged, to prove that a Marriage is
"compleated by the Marriage-Contract, though it be never Consum-
"mated. Many Authorities were brought to prove that *Adonijah* could
"not Marry *Abishag*, because she was his Fathers Wife, though never
"known by him. And by the Law of *Moses* a woman espoused to a man,
"if she admitted another to her Bed, was to be stoned as an *Adultress*;
"from whence it appears, that the validity of Marriage is from the mu-
"tual Covenant. And though *Joseph* never knew the Blessed Virgin,
"yet he was so much her Husband by the Espousals, that he could not
"put her away, but by a Bill of Divorce: and was afterwards called her
"Husband, and Christs Father. Affinity had been also defined by all
"writers, *a Relation arising out of Marriage*, and since Marriage was a
"*Sacrament of the Church*, its Essence could only consist in the Contract;
"and therefore as a man in Orders has the Character, though he never
"Consecrated any Sacrament: So Marriage is compleat, though its ef-
"fect never follow. And it was shewed that the Canonists had only
"brought in the Consummation of Marriage as essential to it by Eccle-
"siastical Law. But that as *Adam* and *Eve* were perfectly Married before
"they knew one another, so Marriage was compleat upon the Contract;
"and what followed, was only an effect done in the right of the Marriage.
"And there was a great deal of filthy stuff brought together, of the
"different Opinions of the Canonists concerning Consummation, to what
"Degree it must go, to shew that it could not be essential to the Mar-
"riage Contract, which in modesty were suppressed. Both *Hildebert*
"of *Mans*, *Ivo Carnotensis*, and *Hugo de Sto. Victore*, had delivered this
"Opinion, and proved it out of St. *Chrysostome*, *Ambrose*, *Austin*, and
"*Isidore*. Pope *Nicolas*, and the Council of *Tribur*, defined, that Mar-
"riage was compleated by the Consent, and the Benediction. From all
"which they Concluded, that although it could not be proved that
Violent presumptions of the Consummation of Prince *Arthur's* Marriage. "Prince *Arthur* knew the Queen, yet that she being once lawfully Mar-
"ried to him, the King could not afterwards Marry her.

"It was also said, that *violent presumptions* were sufficient in the Opi-
"nion of the Canonists to prove Consummation. Formal proofs could
"not be expected; and for Persons that were of Age, and in good health,

"to

"to be in Bed together, was in all Trials about Conſummation, all that "the Cononiſts ſought for. And yet this was not all in this Caſe, for "it appeared that, upon her Husbands death, ſhe was kept with great "care by ſome Ladies, who did think her with Child; and ſhe never "ſaid any thing againſt it. And in the Petition offered to the Pope in "her name, (repeated in the Bull that was procured for the Second Mar- "riage,) it is ſaid, 'ſhe was *perhaps known by Prince* Arthur, and in the "Breve, it is plainly ſaid, ſhe was known by Prince *Arthur*, and though "the Queen offered to purge her ſelf by Oath, that Prince *Arthur* ne- "ver knew her, it was proved by many Authorities out of the Canon- "Law, That a Partie's Oath ought not to be taken, when there were "*violent preſumptions* to the contrary. 1530.

"As for the validity of the Popes Diſpenſation, it was ſaid, That "though the Schoolmen and Canoniſts did generally raiſe the Popes "Power very high, and ſtretch it as far as it was poſſible; yet they all "agreed that it could not reach the Kings Caſe: Upon this received "Maxime, *That only the Laws of the Church are ſubject to the Pope, and may "be diſpenced with by him; but that Laws of God are above him, and that "he cannot diſpence with them in any caſe.* This *Aquinas* delivers in ma- "ny places of his Works, *Petrus de Paludè*, ſays, The Pope cannot diſ- "pence with Marriage in theſe Degrees, becauſe it is againſt Nature. But "*Joannes de Turre Cremata*, reports a ſingular Caſe, which fell out when "he was a Cardinal. A King of *France* deſired a Diſpenſation to Marry "his Wives Siſter. The matter was long conſidered of, and debated in "the *Rota*, himſelf being there, and bearing a ſhare in the Debate; but "it was concluded, *That if any Pope either out of Ignorance, or being Cor- "rupted, had ever granted ſuch a Diſpenſation, that could be no preſident or "warrant for doing the like any more, ſince the Church ought to be governed "by Laws, and not by ſuch Examples. Antonin*, and *Joannes de Tabia*, held "the ſame. And one *Bacon* an *Engliſh-man*, who had taught the contra- "ry, was cenſured for it even at *Rome*, and he did retract his Opinion, "and acknowledged, that the Pope could not diſpence with the Degrees "of Marriage forbidden by the Law of God. The Popes Diſpenſation of no force. *In Quodib. Lib. 4. Art. 13. & in 4tam. diſt. 15. Q. 3. art. 2. Sup. Cap. Conjunctionis 35. Q. 2. & 3.*

"The Canoniſts agree alſo to this, both *Joannes Andreas*, *Joannes de "Imola*, and *Abbas Panormitanus*, aſſert it, ſaying, That the Precepts in "*Leviticus* oblige for ever, and therefore cannot be diſpenced with. And "*Panormitan* ſays, *Theſe things are to be obſerved in Practice, becauſe great "Princes do often deſire Diſpenſations from Popes.* Pope *Alexander the* 3d. "would not ſuffer a Citizen of *Pavia* to Marry his younger Son, to the "Widow of his eldeſt Son, though he had Sworn to do it. For the Pope "ſaid, it was againſt the Law of God, therefore it might not be done, and "he was to repent of his unlawful Oath. *Sup. Cap. Literas de Reſt. Sponſ. Cap. ad Audien. Spouſal.*

"And for the Power of diſpencing even with the Laws of the Church, "by Popes; it was brought in, in the latter Ages. All the Fathers with "one conſent believed, That the Laws of God could not be diſpenced "with by the Church, for which many places were cited out of St. *Cy- "prian*, *Baſil*, *Ambroſe*, *Iſidore*, *Bernard*, and *Urban*, *Fabian*, *Marcellus*, and "*Innocent*, that were Popes; beſides an infinite number of latter Wri- "ters. And alſo the Popes *Zoſimus*, *Damaſus*, *Leo*, and *Hilarius* did free- "ly acknowledge they could not change the Decrees of the Church, nor "go againſt the Opinions or Practices of the Fathers. And ſince the A-

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1530. "poſtles confeſſed, *they could do nothing againſt the truth, but for the truth*; "the Pope being Chriſts Vicar, cannot be ſuppoſed to have ſo great a "Power as to abrogate the Law of God: and though it is acknowledged, "that he is Veſted with a *fulneſs of Power*, yet the phraſe muſt be reſtrain- "ed to the matter of it, which is the Paſtoral care of Souls. And though "there was no Court Superiour to the Popes, yet as St. *Paul* had with- "ſtood St. *Peter* to his face; ſo in all Ages upon ſeveral occaſions, holy "Biſhops have refuſed to comply with, or ſubmit to Orders ſent from "*Rome*, when they thought the matter of them unlawful.

Several Biſhops refuſe to ſubmit to the Popes Decrees. *Gul. Malmeſbur. Lib.* 1.

"*Laurence* that Succeeded *Auſtin* the Monk in the See of *Canterbury*, "having Excommunicated King *Edbald* for an Inceſtuous Marriage, "would not Abſolve him, till he put away his Wife; though the Pope "plied him earneſtly both by Intreaties and Threatnings, to let it alone, "and Abſolve him. *Dunſtan* did the like to Count *Edwin* for an other "Inceſtuous Marriage; nor did all the Popes Interpoſition make him "give over. They found many other ſuch inſtances which occurred in "the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, of Biſhops proceeding by Cenſures and o- "ther Methods, to ſtop the courſe of Sin, notwithſtanding any encourage- "ment the Parties had from Popes.

"And it is certain, that every man when he finds himſelf engaged in "any courſe, which is clearly ſinful, ought preſently to forſake it, ac- "cording to the opinion of all Divines. And therefore the King upon "theſe Evidences of the unlawfulneſs of his Marriage ought to abſtain "from the Queen; and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, with the other "Biſhops, ought to require him to do it, otherwiſe they muſt proceed to "Church Cenſures. Many things were alſo brought from reaſon (or "at leaſt the Maximes of the School Philoſophy, which paſſed for true "reaſon in thoſe days,) to prove Marriage in the degrees forbidden by "*Moſes* to be contrary to the Law of Nature; and much was alledged "out of Profane Authors, to ſhow what an abhorrency ſome Heathen "Nations had of Inceſtuous Marriages.

The Authority of Tradition

"And whereas the chief ſtrength of the Arguments for the contrary "opinion, reſted in this, That theſe Laws of *Moſes* were not confirmed "by *Chriſt* or his Apoſtles in the New Teſtament. To that they anſwer- "ed, That if the Laws about Marriage were Moral, as had been proved, "then there was no need of a particular Confirmation, ſince thoſe "Words of our Saviour: *I came not to deſtroy the Law, but to fulfil it*; do "confirm the whole Moral Law. Chriſt had alſo expreſly aſſerted the "Relation of Affinity, ſaying, *That man and wife are one Fleſh.* St. *Paul* "alſo condemned a Match as Inceſtuous for Affinity. But though it "were not expreſly ſet down in the Goſpel, yet the Traditions of the "Church, are received with equal Authority to written Verities. This "the Court of *Rome*, and all the Learned Writers for the Catholick Faith, "lay down as a Fundamental Truth. And without it, how could the "Seven Sacraments (ſome of which are not mentioned in the New Te- "ſtament,) with many other Articles of Catholick Belief be maintain- "ed againſt the Hereticks. The Tradition of the Church being ſo full "and formal in this particular, muſt take place: And if any Corrupti- "ons have been brought in by ſome Popes within an Age or two, which "have never had any other Authority from the Decrees of the Church, "or the Opinions of Learned men, they are not to be maintained in oppo- "ſition to the Evidence that is brought on the other ſide. This

This I have ſummed up in as ſhort and Comprehenſive words as I could, Being the Subſtance of what I gathered out of the Printed Books and Manuſcripts for the Kings cauſe. But the Fidelity of an Hiſtorian leads me next to open the arguments that were brought againſt it, by thoſe who wrote on the other ſide for the Queens cauſe, to prove the validity of the Marriage, and the Popes Power of Diſpenſing with a Marriage in that degree of Affinity. 1530.

I could never by all the ſearch I have made, ſee either MSS. or Printed Books that defended their Cauſe, except *Cajetans* and *Victorias* Books that are Printed in their works. But from an anſwer that was written to the Biſhop of *Rocheſters* Book, and from ſome other writings on the other ſide, I gather the Subſtance of their arguments to have been what follows.

The Arguments for the Marriage.

"Cardinal *Cajetan*, had by many arguments endeavored to prove, "that the Prohibitions in *Leviticus*, were not parts of the Moral Law. "They were not obſerved before the Law, no not by the holy ſeed. "*Adams* Children Married one another, *Abraham* Married his Siſter, "*Jacob* Married two Siſters, *Judah* gave his two Sons to *Tamar*, and "promiſed to give her the third for her Husband. By the Law of "*Moſes*, a Diſpenſation was granted in one caſe, for Marrying the "Brothers wife, which ſhows the Law was not Moral, otherwiſe it "could not be diſpenced with, and if *Moſes* diſpenſed with it, why "might not the Pope as well do it, nor was there any force in the "places cited from the New Teſtament. As for that of *Herod*, both "*Joſephus* and *Euſebius* witneſs, that his Brother *Philip* was alive when "he took his wife, and ſo his ſin was Adultery and not Inceſt. We "muſt alſo think that the Inceſtous Perſon in *Corinth*, took his Fathers "Wife when he was yet living, otherwiſe if he had been dead, St. "*Paul* could not ſay it was *a Fornication not named among the Gentiles*, "for we not only find both among the *Perſians* and other Nations, the "Marriage of Step-Mothers allowed, but even among the *Jews*, *Adonijah* deſired *Abiſha* in Marriage, who had been his Fathers Concubine. *Abishag*

From all which they concluded, "that the Laws about the Degrees "of Marriage, were only Judiciary Precepts, and ſo there was no o-"ther obligation on Chriſtians to obey them, than what flowed from "the Laws of the Church, with which the Pope might diſpenſe. "They alſo ſaid, that the Law in *Leviticus* of not taking the Brothers "wife, muſt be underſtood of not taking her, while he was alive; for "after he was dead, by another Law, a man might marry his Bro-"thers wife.

"They alſo pleaded, that the Popes Power, of Diſpenſing, did reach "further than the Laws of the Church, even to the Law of God, for "he daily Diſpenſed with the Breaking of Oaths and Vows, though "that was expreſly contrary to the Second Commandment, and though "the Fifth Command, *Thou ſhalt do no Murther*, be againſt Killing, yet "the Pope Diſpenſed with the putting Thieves to death, and in ſome "caſes, where the reaſon of the Commandment does not at all times "hold, he is the only judge according to *Summa Angelica*. They Con-"cluded the Popes Power of Diſpenſing was as neceſſary, as his Pow-"er of Expounding the Scriptures, and ſince there was a Queſtion "made concerning the obligation of theſe Levitical Prohibitions, whether

they

1529. "they were Moral, and did oblige Chriſtians or not? the Pope muſt "be the only Judge: There were alſo ſome late Preſidents found, one "of P. *Martin*, who in the caſe of a mans having Marryed his own Siſter, "who had lived long with her, upon a Conſultation with Divines "and Lawyers, Confirmed it: to prevent the Scandal, which the diſ- "ſolving of it would have given. Upon which St. *Antonin* of *Florence* "ſays, that ſince the thing was diſpenſed with, it was to be refered "to the judgment of God, and not to be condemned.

"The Pope had granted this Diſpenſation, upon a very weighty "Conſideration, to keep peace between two great Crowns; it had "now ſtood above Twenty years: it would therefore raiſe an high "ſcandal, to bring it under debate; beſides that it would do much hurt, "and bring the Titles to moſt Crowns into Controverſie.

"But they Concluded, that whatever Informalities or Nullities were "pretended to be in the Bulls or Breves, the Pope was the only com- "petent judge of it, and that it was too high a preſumption for infe- "rior Prelates, to take upon them to examine or diſcuſs it.

The Anſwers made to h eſe. But to theſe Arguments it was Anſwered by the writers for the Kings cauſe, "that it was ſtrange to ſee men, who pretended to be "ſuch Enemies to all Heretical Novelties, yet be guilty of that, which "Catholick Doctors hold to be the foundation of all Hereſie; which "was the ſetting up of private ſenſes of Scripture, and Reaſonings "from them, againſt the Doctrine and Tradition of the Church. It "was fully made out, that the Fathers and Doctors of the Church did "univerſally agree in this, that the Levitical Prohibitions of the De- "grees of Marriage are Moral, and do oblige all Chriſtians. Againſt "this Authority *Cajetan* was the firſt that preſumed to write, oppo- "ſing his private conceits to the Tradition of the Church: which is "the ſame thing, for which *Luther* and his followers are ſo ſeverely "Condemned. May it not then be juſtly ſaid of ſuch men, that they "plead much for Tradition, when it makes for them, but reject it "when it is againſt them? Therefore all theſe exceptions are over- "thrown, with this one Maxime of Catholick Doctrine, *That they are* "*Novelties againſt the conſtant Tradition of the Chriſtian Church, in all* "*Ages*. But if the force of them be alſo examined, they will be found "as weak, as they are New. That before the Law, theſe degrees "were not obſerved, proves only, that they are not evidently contra- "ry to the Common ſenſe of all men; But as there are ſome Mo- "ral Precepts, which have that natural evidence in them, that all men "muſt diſcern it, ſo there are others, that are drawn from publick "inconvenience and diſhoneſty, which are alſo parts of the Law of "nature: Theſe Prohibitions are not of the firſt, but of the ſecond "ſort, ſince the Immorality of them appears in this, that the Fami- "liarities and freedoms among near Relations are ſuch, that if an hor- "ror were not ſtruck in men at conjunctures in theſe degrees, Fami- "lies would be much defiled. This is the Foundation of the Prohibi- "tions of Marriages in theſe degrees: Therefore it is not ſtrange if "men did not apprehend it, before God made a Law concerning it. "Therefore all examples before the Law, ſhow only the thing is not ſo "evident, as to be eaſily collected by the light of Nature. And for "the ſtory of *Judah* and *Tamar*, there is ſo much wickedneſs in all the

parts

"parts of it, that it will be very hard to make a Preſident out of any "part of it. As for the Proviſion about Marrying the Brothers wife, "that only proves, the ground of the Law is not of its own Nature "Immutable, but may be Diſpenſed with by God in ſome caſes. And "all theſe Moral Laws, that are founded on publick conveniency and "honeſty, are Diſpenſable by God in ſome caſes; but becauſe *Moſes* "did it by Divine Revelation, it does not follow, that the Pope can "do it by his Ordinary Authority. 1531.

"For that about *Herod*, it is not clear from *Joſephus*, that *Philip* "was alive when *Herod* Marryed his Wife. For all that *Joſephus* "ſays, is, that ſhe ſeparated from her Husband, when he was yet alive, "and divorced her ſelf from him. But he does not ſay, that he lived "ſtill after ſhe Marryed his Brother. And by the Law of Divorce "Marriage was at an end, and broken by it as much, as if the Party "had been dead, So that, in that caſe ſhe might have Marryed any "other: Therefore *Herods* ſin in taking her, was from the Relation of "having been his Brothers Wife. And for the Inceſtuous perſon in *Co-* "*rinth*, it is as certain, that though ſome few Inſtances of a King of "*Syria* and ſome others, may be brought of Sons Marrying their Step-"Mothers, yet theſe things were generally ill looked on, even where "they were practiſed by ſome Princes, who made their Pleaſure their "Law. Nor could the Laws of *Leviticus* be underſtood, of not Mar-"rying the Brothers wife when he was alive; for it was not Lawful "to take any mans Wife from him living. Therefore that cannot be "the meaning. And all thoſe Prohibitions of Marriage in other de-"grees, excluding thoſe Marriages ſimply, whether during the life, or "after the death of the Father, Son, Uncle, and other ſuch Relations, "there is no ground to disjoynt this ſo much from the reſt, as to make "it only extend to a Marriage before the Husbands death. And for "any Preſidents that were brought, they were all in the latter Ages, "and were never Confirmed by any publick Authority. Nor muſt "the Practices of later Popes be laid in the Ballance againſt the Deci-"ſions of former Popes, and the Doctrine of the whole Church; and "as to the Power that was aſcribed to the Pope, that began now to "be enquired into with great Freedom, as ſhall appear afterwards.

The Queen ſtill intractable.

Theſe Reaſons on both ſides being thus opened, the Cenſures of them, it is like, will be as different now, as they were then: for they prevailed very little on the Queen, who ſtill perſiſted to juſtifie her Marriage, and to ſtand to her Appeal. And though the King carryed it very kindly to her in all outward appearance, and employed every body that had credit with her, to bring her to ſubmit to him, and to paſs from her Appeal, remitting the Deciſion of the matter to any Four Prelates, and Four Secular men in *England*, ſhe was ſtill unmovable and would hearken to no Propoſition. In the judgments that people paſſed, the Sexes were divided; the Men generally approved the Kings cauſe, and the Women favoured the Queen. But now the Seſſion of Parliament came on the Sixteenth of *January*, and there the King firſt brought in to the Houſe of Lords, the Determination of the Univerſities, and the Books that were written for his cauſe by Forreigners. After they were read and Conſidered there, the Lord Chancellor did on the 20th of *March*, with Twelve Lords both of the Spiritualty and Temporalty

Hall.

A Seſſion of Parliament.

More.

1531. Temporalty goe down to the Houſe of Commons, and ſhewed them what the Univerſities and Learned men beyond Sea, had written for the Divorce, and produced Twelve Original Papers, with the Seals of the Univerſities to them, which Sr. *Brian Tuke* took out of his hand, and read openly in the Houſe, Tranſlating the Latine into Engliſh. Then about an Hundred Books written by Forreign Divines, for the Divorce, were alſo ſhowed them; none of which were read, but put off to another time, it being late. When that was done, the Lord Chancellor deſired they would report in their Countries, *what they had heard and ſeen, and then all men ſhould clearly perceive, that the King hath not attempted this matter of Will and Pleaſure, as ſtrangers ſay, but only for the Diſcharge of his Conſcience, and the Security of the Succeſſion to the Crown.* Having ſaid that, he left the Houſe. The matter was alſo brought before the Convocation; and they having weighed all that was ſaid on both ſides, ſeemed ſatisfied, that the Marriage was unlawful, and that the Bull was of no force; more not being required at that time.

Convocation.

The whole Clergy ſued in a *Premunire.*

But it is not ſtrange, that this matter went ſo eaſily in the Convocation, when another of far greater conſequence paſſed there, which will require a full and diſtinct account. Cardinal *Wolſey* by exerciſing his Legantine Authority had fallen into a *Premunire*, as hath been already ſhewn, and now thoſe who had appeared in his Courts, and had ſutes there, were found to be likewiſe in the ſame guilt by the Law; and this matter, being excepted out of the Pardon that was granted in the former Parliament, was at this time ſet on foot: Therefore an Indictment was brought into the Kings Bench, againſt all the Clergy of *England*, for breaking the Statutes againſt Proviſions or Proviſors. But to open this more clearly,

The Prerogative of the Kings of *England*, in Eccleſiaſtical affairs.

It is to be Conſidered, that the Kings of *England* having claimed in all Ages, a Power in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, equal to what the *Roman* Emperors had in that Empire, they exerciſed this Authority both over the Clergy and Laity: and did at firſt erect Biſhopricks, grant Inveſtitures in them, call Synods, make Laws, about Sacred as well as Civil Concerns: and in a word, they Governed their whole Kingdom. Yet when the Biſhops of *Rome* did ſtretch their Power beyond either the limits of it in the Primitive Church, or what was afterward granted them by the Roman Emperors; and came to aſſume an Authority in all the Churches of *Europe*; as they found ſome Reſiſtance every where, ſo they met with a great deal in this Kingdom; and it was with much Difficulty, that they gained the Power of giving Inveſtitures, Receiving Appeals to *Rome*, and of ſending Legates to *England*, with ſeveral other things, which were long conteſted, but were delivered up at length, either by feeble Princes, or when Kings were ſo engaged at home or abroad, that it was not ſafe for them to offend the Clergy. For in the firſt Conteſt between the Kings and the Popes, the Clergy were generally on the Popes ſide, becauſe of the Immunity and Protection they enjoyed from that See, but when Popes became ambitious and warlike Princes, then new Projects and Taxes were every where ſet on foot, to raiſe a great Treaſure. The Pall, with many Bulls and high Compoſitions for them, Annates or firſt Fruits, and Tenths were the ſtanding Taxes of the Clergy, beſides many

The Encroachment of the Papacy.

many new ones upon emergent occaſions. So that they finding themſelves thus oppreſſed by the Popes, fled again back to the Crown for Protection, which their Predeceſſors had abandoned. 1531.

From the days of *Edward* the 1ſt many Statutes were made to reſtrain the Exactions of *Rome*. For then the Popes not ſatisfied with their other oppreſſions, (which a Monk of that time lays open fully, and from a deep ſenſe of them) did by Proviſions, Bulls, and other Arts of that See, diſpoſe of Biſhopricks, Abbeys, and leſſer Benefices to Forreigners, Cardinals, and others that did not live in *England*. Upon which the Commonalty of the Realm, did repreſent to the King in Parliament, *That the Biſhopricks, Abbeys, and other Benefices were founded by the Kings and people of* England, *To inform the people of the Law of God, and to make Hoſpitality, Alms, and other works of Charity, for which end they were endowed by the King and people of* England; *and that the King, and his other Subjects who endowed them, had, upon Voidances, the Preſentment and Collations of them, which now the Pope had Uſurped and given to Aliens, by which the Crown would be diſinherited, and the ends of their endowments deſtroyed, with other great Inconveniences*: Therefore it was ordained, *that theſe Oppreſſions ſhould not be ſuffered in any manner.* But notwithſtanding this, the abuſe went on, and there was no effectual way laid down in the Act, to puniſh theſe Tranſgreſſions. The Court of *Rome* was not ſo eaſily driven out of any thing, that either encreaſed their Power or their Profits; Therefore by another Act in his Grand-Child *Edward* the 3ds time, the Commons complained *that theſe abuſes did abound, and that the Pope did daily reſerve to his Collation, Church-Preferments in* England, *and raiſed the firſt-Fruits with other great Profits, by which the Treaſure of the Realm was carried out of it, and many Clerks advanced in the Realm, were put out of their Benefices, by thoſe Proviſors, therefore the King being bound by Oath to ſee the Laws kept, did with the aſſent of all the great men and the Commonalty of the Realm, ordain, that the free Elections, Preſentments, and Collations of Benefices, ſhould ſtand in the Right of the Crown, or of any of his Subjects as they had formerly enjoyed them, notwithſtanding any Proviſions from* Rome. *And if any did diſturb the Incumbents by vertue of ſuch Proviſions, thoſe Proviſors or others employed by them, were to be put in Priſon, till they made Fine and Ranſome to the King at his will; or if they could not be apprehended, writs were to be iſſued out to ſeize them, and all Benefices poſſeſſed by them, were to fall into the Kings hands, except they were Abbeys or Priories, that fell to the Canons or Colledges.* By another Act *the Proviſors were put out of the Kings Protection, and if any man offended againſt them, in Perſon or Goods, he was excuſed, and was never to be impeached for it.* And two years after that, upon another Complaint, of their Suing the Kings Subjects in other Courts, or beyond Sea, it was Ordained, *that any who Sued either beyond Sea, or in any other Court, for things that had been Sued, and about which, judgment had been given in former times, in the Kings Courts, were to be Cited to anſwer for it in the Kings Courts within two Months; and if they came not, they were to be put out of the Kings Protection, and to forfeit their Lands, Goods, and Chattels to the King, and to be impriſoned and ranſomed at the Kings will.* Both theſe Statutes received a new Confirmation Eleven years after that. But thoſe Statutes proved ineffectual, and in the beginning

Mat. Paris. The Laws made againſt them.

25 *Edw.* 1ſt. repeated in the Stat. of Proviſors. 25. *Edw.* 3d.

25. *Edward* 3d. Statute of Proviſors.

27. *Edward* 3d. *cap.* 1ſt.

38. *Edward* 3d. *cap.* 1ſt.

1531. beginning of the Reign of *Richard* the 2d, the former Acts were Confirmed by another Statute, and appointed to be Executed; and not only the Proviſors themſelves, but all ſuch as took Procuratories, Letters of Attourney, or Farms from them, were involved in the ſame Guilt. And in the 7th year of that King, Proviſions was made againſt Aliens, having Benefices without the Kings Licence, and the King promiſed to abſtain from granting them Licences: for this was another Artifice of the *Roman* Court, to get the King of their ſide, by accepting his Licence, which by this Act was reſtrained. This failing, they betook themſelves to another courſe, which was to prevail with the Incumbents that were preſented in *England* according to Law, to take Proviſions for their Benefices from *Rome*, to Confirm their Titles. This was alſo forbidden under the former Pains. As for the Rights of Preſentations, by the Law they were tryed and judged in the Kings Courts, and the Biſhops were to give Inſtitution according to the Title declared in theſe judgments: This the Popes had a mind to draw to themſelves, and to have all Titles to Advouſons tryed in their Courts; and Biſhops were Excommunicated, who proceeded in this matter according to the Law. Of which great Complaint was made in the 16th year of the Reign of *Richard* the 2d. And it was added to that, that the Pope intended to make many Tranſlations of Biſhops, ſome to be within, and ſome out of the Realm, which among other Inconveniences reckoned in the Statute, would produce this effect, *That the Crown of* England, *which had been ſo free at all times, ſhould be ſubjected to the Biſhop of* Rome, *and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm by him defeated and deſtroyed, at his Will. They alſo found thoſe things to be againſt the Kings Crown, and Regality, uſed and approved in the time of his Progenitors: Therefore all the Commons reſolved to live and dye with him and his Crown, and they required him by way of Juſtice, to Examine all the Lords, Spiritual and Temporal, what they thought of thoſe things, and whether they would be with the Crown to uphold the Regality of it? To which all the Temporal Lords anſwered, they would be with the Crown. But the Spiritual Lords being asked, ſaid, they would neither deny nor affirm that the Biſhop of* Rome, *might, or might not, Excommunicate Biſhops, or make Tranſlations of Prelates: But upon that Proteſtation,* they ſaid, *that if ſuch things were done, they thought it was againſt the Crown, and ſaid, they would be with the King, as they were bound by their Leageance;* whereupon it was ordained, *that if any did purchaſe Tranſlations, Sentences of Excommunication, Bulls, or other Inſtruments from the Court of* Rome, *againſt the King or his Crown, or whoſoever brought them to* England, *or did receive, or execute them, they were out of the Kings Protection, and that they ſhould forfeit their Goods and Chattels to the King, and their Perſons ſhould be impriſoned.* And becauſe the Proceedings were to be upon a writ, called from the moſt material words of it, *Premunire facies*, this was called the *Statute of Premunire.*

3. *Richard* 2d. *cap.* 3d.

12 *Richard.* 2d. *cap.* 15.

16. *Richard* 2d. *cap.* 5.

When *Henry* the 4th, had Treaſonably Uſurped the Crown, all the Biſhops (*Carliſle* only excepted) did aſſiſt him in it, and he did very gratefully oblige them again in other things; yet he kept up the force of the former Statutes. For the *Ciſtercian* Order having procured Bulls, diſcharging them of paying Tithes, and forbiding them to let their Farms to any, but to poſſeſs them themſelves, this

This was complained of in Parliament in the 2d year of his Reign, 1531.
and thoſe Bulls were declared to be of no force, and if any did put them in Execution, or procured other ſuch Bulls, they were to be proceeded againſt, upon the Statutes made in the 13th *year of the former Kings Reign, againſt Proviſors.* But all this while though they made Laws for the future, yet they had not the Courage to put them in Execution. And this Feebleneſs in the Government, made them ſo much deſpiſed, and ſo oft broken; whereas the ſevere execution of one Law in one Inſtance would more effectually have prevented the Miſchief, than all theſe Laws did without Execution. In the 6th year of his Reign, Complaints being made of the exceſſive Rates of Compoſitions for Arch-Biſhopricks and Biſhopricks in the Popes Chamber, *which were raiſed to the treble of what had been formerly payed;* it was Enacted, *That they ſhould pay no more than had been formerly wont to be payed.* In the 7th year of his Reign the Statute made in the 2d year was confirmed, and by another Act, *the Licences which the King had Granted for the Executing, any of the Popes Bulls are declared of no force, to prejudice any Incumbent in his Right.* Yet the abuſes and Encroachments of the Court of *Rome* ſtill encreaſing, all former Statutes againſt *Proviſors* were Confirmed again, and all Elections declared free, and not to be interrupted, either by the Pope, or the King. But at the ſame time, the King pardoned all the former Tranſgreſſions againſt theſe Statutes. By thoſe Pardons the Court of *Rome* was more encouraged, than terrified by the Laws, therefore there was a neceſſity of making another Law in the Reign of *Henry* 5th, againſt *Proviſors, that the Incumbents Lawfully Inveſted in their Livings, ſhould not be moleſted by them, though they had the Kings Pardon; and both Bulls and Licences were declared void and of no value, and thoſe who did upon ſuch grounds moleſt them, ſhould incur the pains of the Statutes againſt Proviſors.*

2. *Hen.*4.*cap.*4

6. *Henry* 4. *cap.* 1ſt.

7. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 6. 8.

17. *Hen.* 4. *cap.* 8.

4. *Hen.*5.*cap.*4.

Our Kings took the beſt opportunity that ever could have been found, to depreſs the Papal Power; for from the beginning of *Richard* the Second's Reign, till the Fourth year of *Henry* the Fifth, the Popedome was broken by a long and great Schiſm; and the Kingdoms of *Europe* were divided in their Obedience: Some holding for thoſe that ſate at *Rome*, and others for the Popes of *Avignon*: *England* in oppoſition to *France*, that chiefly ſupported the *Avignon*-Popes, did adhere to the *Roman* Popes. The Papacy being thus divided, the Popes were as much at the mercy of Kings for their Protection, as Kings had formerly been at theirs; ſo that they durſt not Thunder as they were wont to do, otherwiſe this Kingdom had certainly been put under Excommunications and Interdicts for theſe Statutes, as had been done formerly upon leſs Provocations.

But now that the Schiſm was healed, Pope *Martin* the Fifth, began to reaſſume the Spirit of his Predeceſſors, and ſent over threatning meſſages to *England*, in the beginning of *Henry* the Sixths Reign. None of our Books have taken any notice of this piece of our Hiſtory: The Manuſcript out of which I draw it, had been written near that time, and contains many of the Letters, that paſſed between *Rome* and *England*, upon this occaſion.

Ex MSS. P. Petyt.

The firſt Letter is to *Henry Chichely*, then Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who had been promoted to that See by the Pope, but had made

1530. *Reg. Chichel. Fol. 39.* no oppoſition to the Statute againſt Proviſions in the Fourth year of *Henry* the Fifth; and afterwards in the Eighth year of his Reign, when the Pope had granted a Proviſion of the Arch-Biſhoprick of *York*, to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, the Chapter of *York* rejected it, and purſuant to the former Statute, made a Canonical Election. *Henry* the Fifth being then the greateſt King in Chriſtendome, the Pope durſt not offend him: So the Law took place without any further contradiction, till the Sixth year of his Sons Reign, that *England* was both under an Infant King, and had fallen from its former greatneſs: Therefore the Pope who waited for a good conjuncture, laid hold on this, and firſt expoſtulated ſeverely with the Arch-Biſhop for his remiſneſs, that he had not ſtood up more, for the Right of St. *Peter* and the See of *Rome*, that had beſtowed on him the Primacy of *England*; and then ſays many things againſt the Statute of Premunire, and exhorts him to imitate the Example of his Predeceſſor St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury* the Martyr, in aſſerting the Rights of the Church; requiring him, under the pain of Excommunication, to declare at the next Parliament to both Houſes, the unlawfulneſs of that Statute, and that all were under Excommunication, who obeyed it. But to make ſure work among the people, he alſo commands him, to give orders under the ſame pains, that all the Clergy of *England* ſhould preach the ſame Doctrine to the people. This bears date the 5th day of *December* 1426. and will be found in the Collection of Papers.

Collect. *Numb.* 37.

But it ſeems the Pope was not ſatisfied with his Anſwer, for the next Letter in that MSS. is yet more ſevere, and in it, his Legantine Power is ſuſpended. It has no date added to it, but the Paper that follows, bearing date the 6th of *April* 1427. leads us pretty near the date of it. It contains an Appeal of the Arch-Biſhops, from the Popes Sentence, to the next general Council; or if none met, to the Tribunal of God and Jeſus Chriſt.

There is alſo another Letter, dated the 6th of *May* directed to the Arch-Biſhop, and makes mention of Letters written to the whole Clergie to the ſame purpoſe, Requiring him to uſe all his Endeavors, for repealing the Statute, and chides him ſeverely becauſe he had ſaid, *that the Popes zeal in this matter was only, that he might raiſe much Money out of* England; which he reſents as an high Injury, and Proteſts that he deſigned only to maintain theſe Rights, that Chriſt himſelf had granted to his See, which the Holy Fathers, the Councils, and the Catholick Church has always acknowledged. If this does not look like Teaching *ex Cathedra* it is left to the Readers Judgment.

But the next Letter is of an higher ſtrain. It is directed to the two Arch-Biſhops only, and it ſeems, in deſpite to *Chichely*, the Arch-Biſhop of *York* is named before *Canterbury*. By it the Pope annuls the Statutes made by *Edward* the Third and *Richard* the Second, and commands them to do no Act in purſuance of them: and declares, if they, or any other gave obedience to them, they were *ipſo facto* Excommunicated, and not to be relaxed, unleſs at the point of death, by any but the Pope. He charges them alſo to intimate that his Monitory Letter to the whole nation, and cauſe it to be affixed in the ſeveral places, where there might be occaſion for it. This is dated the 8th of *Decemb.* the tenth year of his Popedom. Then follow Letters from

from the Univerſity of *Oxford*, the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Dureſm*, and *Lincoln*, to the Pope; all to mitigate his diſpleaſure againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, in which they gave him the higheſt teſtimony poſſible, bearing date the 10th and the 25th day of *July*. Theſe the Arch-Biſhop ſent by an Expreſs to *Rome*, and wrote the humbleſt ſubmiſſion poſſible to the Pope; Proteſting that he had done, and would do all that was in his Power, for repealing theſe Statutes. One thing in this Letter is remarkable, he ſays, *he hears the Pope had proceeded to a Sentence againſt him, which had never been done from the days of St.* Auſtin *to that time: but he knew that only by report, for he had not opened, much leſs read the Bulls, in which it was contained; being commanded by the King, to bring them with the Seals entire, and lay them up in the Paper-Office, till the Parliament was brought together.* 1531.

There are two other Letters to the King and one to the Parliament, for the Repeal of the Statute. In thoſe to the King, the Pope writes, that he had often preſſed both King and Parliament to it; and that the King had anſwered, that he could not repeal it without the Parliament. But he excepts to that, as a delaying the buſineſs, and ſhews it is of it ſelf unlawful, and that the King was under Excommunication, as long as he kept it; therefore he expects that at the furtheſt, in the next Parliament, it ſhould be repealed. It bears date the 13th of *October*, in the 10th year of his Popedom. In his Letter to the Parliament, he tells them, that no Man can be ſaved, who is for the obſervation of that Statute: Therefore he requires them, under pain of Damnation to repeal it, and offers to ſecure them from any abuſes, which might have crept in formerly with theſe Proviſions. This is dated the Third of *October*, *Decimo Pontificat.* but I believe it is an error of the Tranſcriber, and that its true date was the 13th of *October*. And to the King and Parliament. Collect. *Numb.* 38. Collect. *Numb.* 39.

The Parliament ſate in *January* 1427, being the 6th year of King *Henry* the 6th, during which on the 30th of *January*, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* accompanyed by the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Biſhops of *London*, St. *Davids*, *Ely*, and *Norwich*, and the Abbots of *Weſtminſter* and *Reading*, went from the Houſe of Lords, to the place where the Houſe of Commons ordinarily ſate, which was the Refectory of the Abbey of *Weſtminſter*, where the Arch-Biſhop made a long Speech, in the form of a Sermon, upon that Text; *Render to Cæſar the things that are Cæſars, and to God, the things that are Gods.* He began with a Proteſtation, that he and his Brethren intended not to ſay any thing, that might derogate from the King, the Crown, or the people of *England*. Then he alledged many things, for the Popes Power in granting Proviſions, to prove it was of Divine Right, and admoniſhed and required them to give the Pope ſatisfaction in it, otherwiſe he laid out to them with tears, what miſchiefs might follow, if he proceeded to cenſures; which will appear more fully from the Inſtrument, that will be found in the Collection at the end: But it ſeems the Parliament would do nothing for all this, for no Act neither of Repeal nor Explanation was paſſed. But to no purpoſe. Collect. *Numb.* 40.

Yet it appears the Pope was ſatisfied with the Arch-Biſhops carriage in this matter, for he ſoon after reſtored him to the Exerciſe of his Legantine Power, as *Godwin* has it; only he by a miſtake ſays, he was made

1531 made Legate, *Anno* 1428. whereas it was only a Reſtitution after a Cenſure.

Thus ſtood the Law of *England* in that matter, which was neither Repealed nor well Executed; for the Popes Uſurpations ſtill encreaſing, thoſe Statutes lay dead among the Records, and ſeveral Cardinals had procured and executed a Legantine Power, which was clearly contrary to them. And as Cardinal *Wolſey* was already brought under the laſh for it, ſo it was now made uſe of; partly to give the Court of *Rome* apprehenſions of what they were to expect from the King, if they went on to uſe him ill; and partly to proceed ſeverely againſt all thoſe of the Clergy, who adhared obſtinately to the Intereſts of that Court; and to make the reſt compound the matter, both by a full Submiſſion and a conſiderable Subſidy. It was in vain to pretend, it was a publick and allowed Error, and that the King had not only connived at the Cardinals Proceedings, but had made him all that while his chief Miniſter: That therefore they were excuſable in ſubmitting to an Authority to which the King gave ſo great encouragement, and that if they had done otherwiſe they had been unavoidably ruined. For to all this it was anſwered, that the Laws were ſtill in force, and that their Ignorance could not excuſe them, ſince they ought to have kuown the Law; yet ſince the violation of it was ſo publick, though the Court proceeded to a Sentence, That they were all out of the Kings protection, and were liable to the pains in the Statutes; the King was willing, upon a reaſonable Compoſition, and a full Submiſſion, to Pardon them.

Yet they Compound.

So in the Convocation of *Canterbury*, a Petition was brought in to be offered to the King. In the Kings Title, he was called, *the Protector and Supreme Head of the Church, and Clergy of* England. To this ſome oppoſition was made, and it was put off to another day; but by the Interpoſition of *Cromwell*, and others of the Kings Council, who came to the Convocation, and uſed arguments to perſwade them to it, they were prevailed with to paſs it with that Title, at leaſt none ſpeaking againſt it: For when *Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſaid, *That ſilence was to be taken for conſent*; They cried out, *they were then all ſilent*: Yet it was moved by ſome to add theſe words to the Title, *in ſo far as is lawful by the Law of Chriſt*. But *Parker* ſays, The King diſliked that Clauſe, ſince it left his Power ſtill diſputable; therefore it was caſt out, and the Petition paſſed ſimply, as it was firſt brought in. Yet in that he was certainly miſinformed, for when the Convocation of the Province of *York* demurred about the ſame Petition, and ſent their reaſons to the King, why they could not acknowledge him *Supreme Head*, which (as appears by the Kings anſwer to them,) were chiefly founded on this, that the term *Head* was improper, and did not agree to any under Chriſt; the King wrote a long and ſharp anſwer to them, and ſhowed them, that words were not always to be underſtood in their ſtrict ſenſe, but according to the common acceptation. And among other things he ſhowed what an Explanation was made in the Convocation of *Canterbury*, That it was *in ſo far as was agreeable to the Law of Chriſt*; by which it appears, that at that time the King was ſatisfied to have it paſs any way, and ſo it was agreed to by nine Biſhops (the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* being one) and 52 Abbots and Priors, and the major part of the lower Houſe of Convocation in the Province of *Canterbury*. Of which number it is very probable

And acknowledge the King Supreme Head of the Church of *England*. Lord *Herbert*.

Antiquit. Britanniæ in vita Warham.

Printed in the *Cabala*.

Reginald

Reginald Pool was, for in his Book to the King, he ſays, he was then in *England*, and adds, that the King would not accept of the ſum the Clergy offered, unleſs they acknowledged him *Supreme Head*: he being then Dean of *Exceter*, was of the lower Houſe of Convocation; and it is not likely the King would have continued the Penſions, and other Church-Preferments he had, if he had refuſed to Signe that Petition and Submiſſion. By it they prayed the King to accept 100000 *l.* in lieu of all puniſhments which they had incurred, by going againſt the Statutes of *Proviſors*, and did promiſe for the future, neither to make, nor execute any Conſtitution without the Kings Licence; upon which he granted them a general Pardon: and the Convocation of the Province of *York* offering 18840 *l.* with another Submiſſion of the ſame nature afterwards, though that met with more oppoſition, they were alſo Pardoned. 1531.

When the King's Pardon for the Clergy was brought in to the Houſe of Commons, they were much troubled to find themſelves not included within it; for by the Statutes of *Proviſors*, many of them were alſo liable, and they apprehended, that either they might be brought in trouble, or at leaſt it might be made uſe of to draw a Subſidy from them: ſo they ſent their Speaker with ſome of their Members, to repreſent to the King, the great grief of his Commons to find themſelves out of his favour, which they concluded from the Pardon of the pains of *Premunire* to his Spiritual Subjects, in which they were not included; and therefore prayed the King that they might be comprehended within it. But the King anſwered them, That they muſt not reſtrain his Mercy, nor yet force it; it was free to him either to execute, or mitigate the Severity of the Law: That he might well grant his Pardon by his Great-Seal without their aſſent, but he would be well adviſed before he pardoned them, becauſe he would not ſeem to be compelled to it. So they went away, and the Houſe was in ſome trouble: many blamed *Cromwell*, who was growing in favour, for this rough anſwer; yet the King's Pardon was paſſed.

The Commons deſire to be included in the King's Pardon. *Hall.*

But his other concerns made him judge it very unfit to ſend away his Parliament diſcontented, and ſince he was ſo eaſie to them as to ask no Subſidy, he had no mind to offend them; and therefore when the thing was over, and they out of hopes of it, he of his own accord ſent another Pardon to all his Temporal Subjects, of their Tranſgreſſons of the Statutes of *Proviſors* and *Premunire*; which they received with great joy, and acknowledged there was a juſt Temperature of Majeſty and Clemency in the Kings proceedings.

Which the King afterwards grants.

During this Seſſion of Parliament, an unheard-of Crime was committed by one *Richard Rouſe* a Cook, who on the 16th of *February*, Poiſoned a Veſſell of Yeſt that was to be uſed in Porridge, in the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Kitchin, with which 17 Perſons of his Family were mortally infected, and one of the Gentlemen died of it; and ſome poor People that were Charitably fed with the remainder of it, were alſo infected, one woman dying. The Perſon was Apprehended, and by Act of Parliament, Poiſoning was declared *Treaſon*, and *Rouſe* was attainted, and Sentenced to be Boyled to death, which was to be the puniſhment of Poiſoning for all times to come: That the Terror of this unheard-of Puniſhment might ſtrike a Horror in all Perſons at ſuch an unexampled Crime. And the Sentence was Executed in *Smithfield* ſoon after.

One Attainted for Poiſoning.

22. *Hen.* 8. Act. 16.

Hall.

Of this I take Notice, the rather becauſe of *Sander*'s Malice, who ſays, this

1531. this *Rouſe* was ſet on by *Anne Boleyn*, to make away the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, of which there is nothing on Record, nor does any Writer of that time ſo much as inſinuate it. But perſons that are ſet on to commit ſuch Crimes, are uſually, either conveighed out of the way, or ſecretly diſpatched, that they may not be brought to an open Trial. And it is not to be imagined, That a man that was employed by them that might have preferred him, and found himſelf given up and adjudged to ſuch a death, would not have publiſhed their names who ſet him on, to have leſſened his own Guilt, by caſting the load upon them that had both employed and deſerted him. But this muſt paſs among the many other vile Calumnies, of which *Sanders* has been the inventer, or publiſher, and for which he had already anſwered to his Judg.

When the Seſſion of Parliament was over, the King continued to ply the Queen with all the applications he could think of, to depart from her Appeal. He grew very Melancholy, and uſed no ſort of Diverſion, but was obſerved to be very penſive. Yet nothing could prevail with the Queen. She anſwered the Lords of the Council, when they preſſed her much to it, *That ſhe prayed God to ſend the King a quiet Conſcience, but that ſhe was his lawful Wife, and would abide by it, till the Court of* Rome *declared the contrary.* Upon which the King forbore to ſee her, or to receive any Tokens from her, and ſent her word, to chooſe where ſhe had a mind to live, in any of his Mannours. She anſwered, that to which place ſoever ſhe were removed, *nothing could remove her from being his Wife.* Upon this anſwer the King left her at *Windſor*, the 14th of *July*, and never ſaw her more. She removed firſt to *Moor*, then to *Eaſthamſtead*, and at laſt to *Ampthill*, where ſhe ſtayed longer.

Lord *Herbert.*

The King leaves the Queen.

A diſorder among the Clergy of *London* about the Subſidy. *Hall.*

The Clergy went now about the raiſing of the 100000 *l.* which they were to pay in five years; and to make it eaſier to themſelves, the Prelates had a great mind to draw in the Inferiour Clergy to bear a part of the burden. The Biſhop of *London* called a meeting of ſome Prieſts about *London*, on the 1ſt. of *September*, to the Chapter-Houſe at St. *Pauls*: He deſigned to have had at firſt only a ſmall number, among whom he hoped it would eaſily paſs, and that being done by a few, others would more willingly follow. But the matter was not ſo ſecretly carried, but that all the Clergy about the City hearing of it, went thither. They were not a little encouraged by many of the Laity, who thought it no unpleaſant diverſion to ſee the Clergy fall out among themſelves. So when they came to the Chapter-Houſe on the day appointed, the Biſhop's Officers would only admit ſome few to enter, but the reſt forced the door and ruſhed in, and the Biſhop's Servants were beaten and ill uſed. But the Biſhop ſeeing the tumult was ſuch, that it could not be eaſily quieted, told them all, *That as the State of men in this life was frail, ſo the Clergy through frailty and want of wiſdom, had miſdemeaned themſelves towards the King, and had fallen in a Premunire, for which the King of his great Clemency was pleaſed to Pardon them, and to accept of a little, inſtead of the whole of their Benefices, which by the Law had fallen into his hand: Therefore he deſired they would patiently bear their ſhare in this burden.* But they anſwered, They had never medled with any of the Cardinals Faculties, and ſo had not fallen in the *Premunire*; and that their Livings were ſo ſmall, that they could hardly ſubſiſt by them. Therefore ſince the Biſhops and Abbots were only Guilty, and had good Preferments, they only ought

to

to be puniſhed, and pay the Tax; but that for themſelves they needed not the Kings Pardon, and ſo would pay nothing for it. Upon which the Biſhop's Officers threatned them, but they on the other hand (being encouraged by ſome Lay-men that came along with them) perſiſted in their denyal to pay any thing; ſo that from high words the matter came to blows, and ſeveral of the Biſhop's Servants were ill handled by them. But he to prevent a further Tumult, apprehending it might end upon himſelf, gave them good words, and diſmiſſed the meeting with his bleſſing, and promiſed that nothing ſhould be brought in Queſtion that was then done. Yet he was not ſo good as his word, for he complained of it to the Lord Chancellor, who was always a great Favourer of the Clergy; by whoſe order fifteen Prieſts and five Lay-men were committed to ſeveral Priſons; but whether the Inferiour Clergy pay'd their proportion of the Tax or not, I have not been able to diſcover. 1531.

This year the State of Affairs beyond-Sea, changed very conſiderably. The Pope expected not only to recover *Florence* to his Family by the Emperors means, but alſo to wreſt *Modena* and *Reggio* from the Duke of *Ferrara*, to which he pretended, as being Fiefs of the Papacy; and the Emperor having engaged by the former Treaty to reſtore them to him. But now that the Popes pretenſions were appointed to be examined by ſome Judges delegated by the Emperor, they determined againſt the Pope, for the Duke of *Ferrara*: which ſo diſguſted the Pope, that he fell totally from the Emperor, and did unite with the King of *France*, a Match being alſo projected between the Duke of *Orleance* (afterwards *Henry* the 2d) and his Neece *Catharine de Medici*; which did work much on the Popes ambition, to have his Family Allied to ſo mighty a Monarch. So that now he became wholly *French*. The Pope falls off to the *French* Faction.

The *French* King was alſo on account of this Marriage, to reſigne all the pretenſions he had to any Territory in *Italy* to his younger Son; which as it would give leſs Umbrage to the other Princes of *Italy*, who liked rather to have a King's younger Son among them, than either the Emperor or the *French* King; ſo the Pope was wonderfully pleaſed to raiſe another great Prince in *Italy* out of his own Family. On theſe grounds was the Match at this time deſigned, which afterwards took effect; but with this difference, that by the *Dolphin's* death, the Duke of *Orleance* became King of *France*, and his Queen made the greateſt Figure that any Queen of *France* had done for many Ages. A Match projected between the Pope's Neece and the Duke of *Orleance*.

This change in the Popes mind might have produced another in the Kings Affairs, if he had not already gone ſo far, that he was leſs in fear of the Pope than formerly. He found the Credit of his Clergy was ſo low, that to preſerve themſelves from the contempt and fury of the people, they were forced to depend wholly on the Crown. For *Lutheraniſme* was then making a great progreſs in *England*, of which I ſhall ſay nothing here, being reſolved at the end of this Book to give an account of the whole Courſe of it in thoſe years that fall within this time. But what by the means of the new Preachers, what by the ſcandals caſt on the Clergy, they were all at the Kings Mercy; ſo he did not fear much from them, eſpecially in the Southern parts, which were the richeſt and beſt peopled. Therefore the King went on reſolutely. The Pope on the other hand was in great perplexity, he ſaw *England* ready to be loſt, and knew not what to do to reſcue or preſerve it. If he gave way to

1531. what was lately done in the buſineſs of the *Premunire*, he muſt thereby loſe the greateſt advantages he drew from that Nation; and it was not likely that after the King had gone ſo far, he would undo what was done.

The Emperor is engaged in a War with the *Turk*.

The Emperor was more remiſs in proſecuting the Queens Appeal at *Rome*, for at that time the *Turk* with a moſt numerous and powerful Army was making an impreſſion on *Hungary*, (which to the great ſcandal of the *moſt Chriſtian King* was imputed to his Councils and Preſents at the *Port*) and all the Emperor's thoughts were taken up with this. Therefore as he gave the Proteſtant Princes of *Germany* ſome preſent ſatisfaction in Religion and other matters; ſo he ſent over to *England*, and deſired the Kings aſſiſtance againſt that vaſt Army of 300000 men that was falling in upon Chriſtendom. To this the King made a general anſwer, that gave ſome hopes of aſſiſting him. But at the ſame time the Proteſtant Princes, reſolving to draw ſome advantage from that conjuncture of Affairs, and being courted by the *French* King, entred into a League with him, for the defence of the Rights of the Empire. And to make this firmer, the King was invited by the *French* King to joyn in it; to which he conſented, and ſent over to *France* a ſum of Money to be employed for the ſafety of the Empire. And this provoked the Emperor to renew his endeavours in the Court of *Rome* for proſecuting the Queens Appeal.

The *French* King encouraged the King to go on with his Divorce, that he might totally Alienate him from the Emperor. The *French* Writers alſo add another Conſideration, which ſeems unworthy of ſo great a King, that he himſelf being at that time ſo publick a Courtier of Ladies, was not ill pleaſed to ſet forward a thing of that nature. "But though "Princes allow themſelves their pleaſures, yet they ſeldom Govern their "Affairs by ſuch Maxims.

1532. In the beginning of the next year a new Seſſion of Parliament was held, in which the Houſe of Commons went on to complain of many other grievances they lay under from the Clergy, which they put in a writing, and Preſented it to the King. In it they complained of the proceedings in the Spiritual Courts, and eſpecially their calling men before them, *ex officio*, and laying Articles to their charge, without any Accuſer; and then admitting no Purgation, but cauſing the Party Accuſed, either to abjure, or to be burnt; which they found very grievous and intollerable. This was occaſioned by ſome violent proceeding againſt ſome reputed Hereticks, of which an account ſhall be given afterwards. But thoſe complaints were ſtifled, and great miſunderſtandings aroſe between the King and the Houſe of Commons upon this following occaſion.

The Parliament complains of the Eccleſiaſtical Courts.

Hall.

But reject a Bill about Wards.

There was a common practice in *England* of mens making ſuch Setlements of their Eſtates by their Laſt Wills, or other Deeds, that the King and ſome great Lords were thereby defrauded of the advantages they made by *Wards*, *Marriages*, and *Primer Seaſon*. For regulating which, a Bill was brought in to the Houſe of Peers, and aſſented to there; but when it was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, it was rejected by them, and they would neither paſs the Bill, nor any other Qualification of that Abuſe. This gave the King great offence, and the Houſe when they addreſſed to him about the proceedings of the Clergy, alſo prayed, *That he would conſider what Coſt, Charge, and Pains they had been at ſince the beginning of the Parliament, and that it would pleaſe his Grace of his Princely*

The Commons Petition that they may be Diſſolved.

by Benignity to Diſſolve his Court of Parliament, and that his Subjects might return into their Countries. To which the King anſwered, "That for "their complaints of the Clergy, he muſt hear them alſo before he could "give Judgment, ſince in Juſtice he ought to hear both Parties; but "that their deſiring the Redreſs of ſuch Abuſes, was contrary to the other "part of their Petition; for if the Parliament were Diſſolved, how could "thoſe things they complained of be amended? And as they complain- "ed of their long attendance, ſo the King had ſtayed as long, as they had "done, and yet he had ſtill patience, and ſo they muſt have, otherwiſe "their grievances would be without Redreſs. But he did expoſtulate "ſeverely upon their rejecting the Bill about Deeds in prejudice of the "Rights of the Crown. He ſaid, he had offered them a great mitiga- "tion of what by the rigour of the Law he might pretend to; and if they "would not accept of it, he would try the outmoſt ſeverity that the Law "allowed, and would not offer them ſuch a favour again. Yet all this did not prevail, for the Act was rejected, and their complaint againſt the Clergy was alſo laid aſide, and the Parliament was Prorogued till *April* next. 1532. The King's Anſwer.

In this Parliament the Foundation of the Breach that afterwards followed with *Rome*, was laid, by an Act for reſtraining the payment of *Annates* to that Court, which ſince it is not Printed with the other Statutes, ſhall be found in the end of this Volume: The ſubſtance of it is as follows.

That great Sums of Money had been conveyed out of the King- "dom, under the Title of *Annates* or firſt Fruits to the Court of *Rome*, "which they extorted by reſtraint of Bulls and other writs; that it "happened often by the frequent deaths of Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops, "to turn to the utter undoing of their Friends, who had advanced "thoſe Sums for them. Theſe *Annates* were founded on no Law, for "they had no other way of obliging the Incumbents of Sees to pay "them, but by reſtraining their Bulls. The Parliament therefore "conſidering that theſe were firſt begun to be payed, to defend Chri- "ſtendome againſt Infidels, but were now turned to a duty claimed "by that Court againſt all Right and Conſcience, and that vaſt Sums "were carryed away upon that account, which from the Second year of "King *Henry* the 7th to that preſent time amounted to 800000 Ducats, "beſides many other heavy Exactions of that Court, did declare that the "King was bound by his Duty to Almighty God, as a good Chriſtian "Prince to hinder theſe oppreſſions. And that the rather, becauſe "many of the Prelates were then very Aged, and like to die in a ſhort "time, whereby vaſt Sums of Money ſhould be carryed out of *En-* "*gland*, to the great Impoveriſhing of the Kingdom. And therefore "all payments of firſt Fruits to the Court of *Rome* were put down, "and for ever reſtrained, under the pains of the forfeiture of the Lands, "Goods, and Chattels of him that ſhould pay them any more, together "with the Profits of his See, during the time that he was veſted with it. "And in caſe Bulls were reſtrained in the Court of *Rome*, any perſon "preſented to a Biſhoprick, ſhould be notwithſtanding Conſecrated by "the Arch-Biſhop of the Province; or if he were preſented to an "Arch-Biſhoprick, by any two Biſhops in the Kingdom, whom the "King ſhould appoint for that end; and that being ſo Conſecrated, "they An Act againſt *Annates*. Collect. *Numb.* 41.

1533. "they ſhould be Inveſted, and enjoy all the Rights of their Sees in full "and ample manner: yet that the Pope and Court of *Rome* might "have no juſt cauſe of Complaint, the perſons preſented to Biſhopricks "are allowed to pay them 5 *lib.* for the Hundred, of the clear Profits "and Revenues of their ſeveral Sees. But the Parliament not willing "to go to extremities, Remitted the final ordering of that Act to the "King, that if the Pope would either charitably and reaſonably put "down the payment of *Annates*, or ſo moderate them, that they might "be a tolerable burden, the King might at any time before *Eaſter* 1533. "or before the next Seſſion of Parliament, declare by his Letters Pa-"tents whether the premiſes or any part of them ſhould be obſerved "or not, which ſhould give them the full force and Authority of a "Law. And that if upon this Act the Pope ſhould vex the King, or "any of his Subjects by Excommunications or other Cenſures, theſe not-"withſtanding the King ſhould cauſe the Sacraments, and other Rites "of the Church to be adminiſtred, and that none of theſe Cenſures "might be publiſhed or Executed.

This Bill began in the Houſe of Lords, from them it was ſent to the Commons, and being agreed to by them, received the Royal Aſſent, but had not that final Confirmation mentioned in the Act before the 9th of *July* 1533. and then by Letters Patents (in which the Act is at length recited) it was confirmed.

Parl. Rolls.

The Pope writes to the King about the Queens Appeal.

But now I come to open the final Concluſion of the Kings Suit at *Rome*. On the 25th of *January* "the Pope wrote to the King, that he "heard reports, which he very unwillingly believed, that he had put "away his Queen, and kept one *Anne* about him as his Wife; which "as it gave much Scandal, ſo it was an high Contempt of the Apo-"ſtolick See, to do ſuch a thing while his Suit was ſtill depending, "notwithſtanding a Prohibition to the contrary. Therefore the Pope "remembring his former merits, which were now like to be clouded "with his preſent Carriage, did exhort him to take home his Queen, "and to put *Anne* away; and not to continue to provoke the Empe-"ror and his Brother by ſo high an Indignity, nor to break the Gene-"ral peace of Chriſtendome, which was its only ſecurity againſt the "Power of the *Turk*. What anſwer the King made to this I do not find, but inſtead of that I ſhall ſet down the Subſtance of a Diſpatch, which the King ſent to *Rome* about this time, drawn from a Copy of it, to which the date is not added. But it being an anſwer to a Let-ter he received from the Pope the 7th of *October*, it ſeems to have been written about this time, and it concluding with a Credence to an Ambaſſador, I judge it was ſent by Doctor *Bennet*, who was diſpatch-ed to *Rome* in *January* 1532. to ſhew the Pope the Opinions of Learn-ed men, and of the Univerſities, with their Reaſons. The Letter will be found in the end of this Volume, the Contents of it are to this pur-poſe.

L. *Herbert.*

Collect. *Numb.* 42.

A Diſpatch of the King to the Pope.

"The Pope had writ to the King, in order to the clearing all his "ſcruples, and to give him quiet in his Conſcience; of which the King "takes notice, and is ſorry that both the Pope and himſelf were ſo "deceived in that matter; the Pope by truſting to the judgments of "others, and writing whatever they ſuggeſted; and the King by de-"pending ſo much on the Pope, and in vain expecting remedy from "him

"him ſo long. He imputes the miſtakes that were in the Popes Let- 1533.
"ters, (which he ſays had things in them contrary both to Gods Law
"and Mans Law,) to the Ignorance and raſhneſs of his Councellors:
"for which himſelf was much to be blamed, ſince he reſted on their
"advice, and that he had not carryed himſelf as became Chriſts Vi-
"car, but had dealt both unconſtantly and deceitfully: for when the
"Kings cauſe was firſt opened to him, and all things that Related to it
"were explained; he had Granted a Commiſſion, with a promiſe
"not to recall it, but to confirm the Sentence which the Legates ſhould
"give: and a Decretal was ſent over defining the cauſe. If theſe
"were juſtly granted, it was unjuſtice to revoke them, but if they
"were juſtly revoked, it was unjuſt to grant them. So he preſſes the
"Pope, that either he could grant theſe things, or he could not. If
"he could do it, where was the Faith which became a Friend, much
"more a Pope ſince he had broke theſe promiſes: But if he ſaid he could
"not do them, had he not then juſt cauſe to diſtruſt all that came
"from him, when at one time he condemned what he had allowed at
"another. So that the King ſaw clearly he did not Conſider the eaſe
"of his Conſcience, but other worldly reſpects; that had put him
"on Conſulting ſo many Learned men, whoſe judgments differed
"much from thoſe few that were about the Pope, who thought the
"Prohibition of ſuch Marriages was onely poſitive, and might be di-
"ſpenſed with by the Pope: whereas all other Learned men thought
"the Law was Moral and indiſpenſable. He perceived the Apoſtolick
"See was deſtitute of that Learning, by which it ſhould be directed:
"and the Pope had oft profeſſed his own Ignorance, and that he ſpake
"by other mens mouths; but many Univerſities in *England*, *France*,
"and *Italy* had declared the Marriage unlawful, and the Diſpenſation
"null. None honoured the Apoſtolick See more than he had done,
"and therefore he was ſorry to write ſuch things if he could have
"been ſilent. If he ſhould obey the Popes Letters, he would offend
"God and his own Conſcience, and give ſcandal to thoſe who con-
"demned his Marriage: he did not willingly diſſent from him with-
"out a very urgent cauſe, that he might not ſeem to deſpiſe the A-
"poſtolick See; therefore he deſired the Pope would forgive the free-
"dom that he uſed, ſince it was the Truth that drew it from him. And
"he added, that he intended not to Impugn the Popes Authority fur-
"ther, except he compelled him; and what he did was only to bring
"it within its firſt and Ancient Limits, to which it was better to re-
"duce it, than to let it always run on headlong and do amiſs; therefore
"he deſired the Pope would Conform himſelf to the opinions of ſo
"many Learned men, and do his Duty and Office. The Letter ends
"with a Credence to the Ambaſſador.

The Pope ſeeing his Authority was declining in *England*, reſolved now to do all he could to recover it, either by force or Treaty: and ſo ordered a Citation to be made of the King to appear in Perſon or by Proxie at *Rome*, to anſwer to the Queens appeal: upon which Sir *Edward Karne* was ſent to *Rome*, with a new Character of *Excuſatour*.

"His Inſtructions were to take the beſt Counſel for pleading an Ex- Sir *Edward*
"cuſe of the Kings appearance at *Rome*. Firſt, upon the grounds that *Karne* ſent to
"might be found in the Canon Law; and theſe not being ſufficient, *Rome*.

"he

1532. "he was to Inſiſt on the Prerogatives of the Crown of *England.* Doctor *Bonner* went with him, who had expreſſed much zeal in the Kings cauſe, though his great zeal was for Preferment, which by the moſt ſervile ways he always Courted. He was a forward bold man, and ſince there were many Threatnings to be uſed to the Pope and Cardinals, he was thought fitteſt for the employment, but was neither Learned nor diſcreet.

His Negotiation there taken from the Original Letters. *Cott. lib. Vitell. B.* 13.

They came to *Rome* in *March*, where they found great heats in the Conſiſtory about the Kings buſineſs. The Imperialiſts preſſed the Pope to proceed, but all the wiſe and indifferent Cardinals were of another mind. And when they underſtood what an Act was paſſed about *Annates*; they ſaw clearly, that the Parliament was reſolved to adhere to the King in every thing he intended to do againſt their Intereſts. The Pope expoſtulated with the Ambaſſadors about it, but they told him the Act was ſtill in the Kings Power; and except he provoked him, he did not intend to put it in execution. The Ambaſſadors finding the Cardinal of *Ravenna* of ſo great reputation, both for Learning and Vertue, that in all matters of that kind his opinion was heard as an Oracle, and gave Law to the whole Conſiſtory; they reſolved to gain him by all means poſſible. And Doctor *Bennet* made a ſecret addreſs to him, and offered him what Biſhoprick either in *France* or *England* he would deſire, if he would bring the Kings matter to a good iſſue. He was at firſt very ſhie, at length he ſaid he had been oft deceived by many Princes, who had made him great Promiſes, but when their buſineſs was ended, never thought of performing them; therefore he would be ſure: and ſo drave a Bargain, and got under Doctor *Bennets* hand a promiſe, (of which a Copy being ſent to the King, written by *Bennet* himſelf, will be found at the end of this Volume;) Bearing, that he having Powers from the King for that effect, dated the 29th of *December* laſt, did promiſe the Cardinal for his help in the Kings affair, Monaſteries or other Benefices in *France*, to the value of 6000 Ducates a year: and the firſt Biſhoprick that fell vacant in *England*; and if it were not *Ely*, that when ever that See was vacant, upon his reſigning the other, he ſhould be provided with the Biſhoprick of *Ely*; dated at *Rome* the 7th of *February* 1532. This I ſet down as one of the moſt Conſiderable Arguments that could be uſed to ſatisfie the Cardinals Conſcience about the juſtice of the Kings cauſe. This Cardinal was the fitteſt to work ſecretly for the King, for he had appeared viſible againſt him. I find alſo by other Letters, that both the Cardinals of *Ancona* and *Monte* (afterwards Pope *Julius* the 3d) were prevailed with, by arguments of the ſame nature, though I cannot find out what the Bargains were. *Providellus*, that was accounted the greateſt Canoniſt in *Italy*, was brought from *Bononia*, and entertained by the Ambaſſadors, to give Counſel in the Kings cauſe, and to plead his Excuſe from appearing at *Rome*. The plea was ſummed up in 28 Articles, which were offered to the Pope; and he admitted them to be examined in the Conſiſtory, appointing three of them to be opened at a Seſſion. But the Imperialiſts oppoſed that, and after fifteen of them had been heard, procured a new order that they ſhould be heard in a Congregation of Cardinals before the Pope; pretending that a Conſiſtory ſitting

The Cardinal of *Ravenna* corrupted by Bribes. Collect. *Numb.* 43.

Collect. *Numb.* 44.

but

but once a week, and having a great deal of other Buſineſs, it would be long before the matter could be brought to any iſſue. So *Karne* was ſerved with a new order to appear in the Congregation the 3d. of *April* with this Certification, That if he appeared not they would proceed. Upon which he proteſted, that he would adhere to the former Order: yet being warned the ſecond time, he went firſt and proteſted againſt it, which he got entered in the Datary. This being conſidered in the Congregation, they renewed the Order of hearing it in the Conſiſtory on the 10th. of *April*, and then *Providellus* opened three Concluſions. Two of them related to *Karne*'s Powers, the third was concerning the Safety of the place to both parties. But the Imperialiſts and the Queens Council being diſſatisfied with this Order would not appear. Upon which *Karne* complained of their Contumacy, and ſaid, By that it was viſible they were diſtruſtful of their Cauſe. On the 14th. of *April* a new intimation was made to *Karne* to appear on the 17th. with his Advocates, to open all the reſt of the Concluſions, but he according to the firſt Order would onely plead to three of them, and ſelected the 19, 20, and 21; (what theſe related to I find not.) Upon which *Providellus* pleaded and anſwered the Objections that did ſeem to militate againſt them, but neither would the Imperialliſts appear that Seſſion. 1532. Collect. *Numb.* 45.

In *June* news were brought to *Rome*, which gave the Pope great offence: A Prieſt had preached for the Popes Authority in *England*, and was for that caſt into priſon. And another Prieſt being put in priſon by the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, upon ſuſpition of Hereſie, had appealed to the King as the Supreme Lord: upon which he was taken out of the Archbiſhops hands, and being examined in the Kings Courts was ſet at liberty. This the Pope reſented much, but the Embaſſadors ſaid, all ſuch things might have been prevented, if the King had got Juſtice at the Popes hands.

The King alſo at this time deſired a Bull for a Commiſſion to erect ſix new Biſhopricks, to be endowed by Monaſteries that were to be ſuppreſſed. This was expedited and ſent away at this time: And the old Cardinal of *Ravenna* was ſo jealous, that the Embaſſadors were forced to promiſe him the Biſhoprick of *Cheſter*, (one of the new Biſhopricks) with which he was well ſatisfied, having ſeen by a particular ſtate of the Endowment that was deſigned for it, what advantage it would yield him. But he had declared himſelf ſo openly before againſt the Reaſons for the Excuſe, that he could not ſerve the King in that matter, but in the main Cauſe he undertook to do great ſervice, and ſo did the Cardinals *De Monte* and *Ancona*. A Bull for erecting new Biſhopricks.

Upon the 27th. of *June* the Debate was brought to a Concluſion about the Plea Excuſatory; and when it was expected, that the Pope ſhould have given ſentence againſt the Articles, he admitted them all *Si & prout de jure*. Upon which the Imperialliſts made great Complaints: The Cardinals grew weary of the length of the Debate, ſince it took up all their time; but it was told them, the matter was of great importance, and it had been better for them not to have proceeded ſo precipitately at firſt, which had now brought them into this trouble, and that the King had been at much pains and trouble on their account; therefore it was unreaſonable for them to complain, who were put to no other trouble, but to ſit in their Chairs two or three hours in a week to hear the Kings De-

1532. Defences. The Imperialliſts had alſo occaſioned the Delays, though they complained of them; by their Cavils, and Allegations of Laws and Deciſions that never were made, by which much time was ſpent. But it was objected, That the Kings Excuſe for not coming to *Rome*, becauſe it was too remote from his Kingdom, and not ſafe, was of no force, ſince the place was ſafe to his Proxy. And the Cardinal of *Ravenna* preſſed the Embaſſadors much to move the King, inſtead of the Excuſatory Proceſs to ſend a Proxy, for examining and diſcuſſing the Merits of the Cauſe, in which it would be much eaſier to advance the Kings matter; and that he having appeared againſt the King in this Proceſs, would be the leſs ſuſpected in the other.

The Pope deſires the King would ſubmit to him. Collect. *Numb.* 46.

The buſineſs being further conſidered in three Seſſions of the Conſiſtory, it was reſolved, that ſince the Vacation was coming on, they would neither allow of, nor reject the Kings Excuſatory Plea; but the Pope and College of Cardinals would write to the King, intreating him to ſend a Proxy for judging the Cauſe againſt the Winter. And with this *Bonner* was ſent over, with Inſtructions from the Cardinals that were gained to the King, to repreſent to him that his Excuſatory Plea could not be admitted; for ſince the Debate was to be, whether the Pope could grant the Diſpenſation or not, it could not be committed to Legats, but muſt be judged by the Pope and the Conſiſtory. He was alſo ordered to aſſure the King, that the Pope did now lean ſo much to the *French* Faction, that he needed not fear to refer the matter to him.

A Seſſion of Parl.

But while theſe things were in debate at *Rome*, there was another Seſſion of Parliament in *April*; and then the King ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and gave him the Anſwer which the Clergy had drawn to the Addreſſes they made in the former Seſſion about their Courts. The King himſelf ſeemed not at all pleaſed with it, but what the Houſe did in it does not appear, further than that they were no way ſatisfied with it. But there happened another thing that offended the King much: One *Temſe* of the Houſe of Commons moved, that they ſhould addreſs to the King to bring the Queen back to the Court, and ran out upon the Inconveniences that were like to follow if the Queen were put away, particularly the ill conſequence of the Illegitimation of the Princeſs. Upon this the King took occaſion (when he gave them the Clergies Anſwer) to tell them, that he wondered at that motion made in their Houſe, for the matter was not to be determined there. It touched his Soul; he wiſhed his Marriage were good, but the Doctors and Learned men had determined it to be null and deteſtable; and therefore he was obliged in Conſcience to abſtain from her, which he aſſured them flowed from no Luſt nor fooliſh Appetite. He was then 41 years old, and at that Age thoſe Heats abate. But except in *Spain* or *Portugal* it had not been heard of, that a man married two Siſters; and that he never heard, that any Chriſtian man before himſelf had married his Brothers Wife: Therefore he aſſured them his Conſcience was troubled, which he deſired them to report to the Houſe. In this Seſſion the Lord Chancellour came down to the Commons, with many of the Nobility about him, and told them the King had conſidered the Marches between *England* and *Scotland*, which were uninhabited on the *Engliſh* ſide, but well peopled on the *Scottiſh*; and that laid *England* open

One moves for bringing the Queen to Court.

At which the King is offended.

to

to the Incurſion of the *Scots*; therefore the King intended to build Houſes there, for planting the *Engliſh* ſide. This the Lords liked very well, and thought it convenient to give the King ſome Aids for the Charges of ſo neceſſary a Work, and therefore deſired the Commons to conſult about it. Upon which the Houſe voted a Subſidy of a Fifteenth: But before the Bill could be finiſhed the Plague broke out in *London*, and the Parliament was prorogued till *February* following. On the 11th of *May* (three days before the Prorogation) the King ſent for the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and told him, "That he found upon In- "quiry, that all the Prelats, whom he had looked on as wholly his Sub- "jects, were but half-Subjects; for at their Conſecration they ſwore "an Oath quite contrary to the Oath they ſwore to the Crown; ſo "that it ſeemed they were the Popes Subjects rather than his. Which "he referred to their care, that ſuch order might be taken in it, that the "King might not be deluded. Upon which the two Oaths that the Clergy ſwore to the King and the Pope, were read in the Houſe of Commons, but the Conſequence of them will be better underſtood by ſetting them down.

1532.

A Subſidy is voted.

The King remits the Oaths which the Clergy ſwore to be conſidered by the Commons.

The Oath to the Pope.

"I *John* Biſhop or Abbot of *A*, from this hour forward ſhall be faith- "ful and obedient to S. *Peter*, and to the holy Church of *Rome*, and to "my Lord the Pope and his Succeſſors canonically entering. I ſhall "not be of counſel nor conſent, that they ſhall loſe either Life or Mem- "ber, or ſhall be taken, or ſuffer any violence or any wrong by any "means. Their Counſel to me credited by them, their Meſſengers or "Letters I ſhall not willingly diſcover to any perſon. The Papacy of "*Rome*, the Rules of the holy Fathers, and the Regality of S. *Peter*, I "ſhall help, and maintain, and defend againſt all men. The Legat of "the See Apoſtolick going and coming I ſhall honourably entreat. The "Rights, Honours, Privileges, Authorities of the Church of *Rome*, and "of the Pope and his Succeſſors, I ſhall cauſe to be conſerved, defend- "ed, augmented, and promoted. I ſhall not be in Council, Treaty, or "any act in the which any thing ſhall be imagined againſt him or the "Church of *Rome*, their Rights, Seats, Honours, or Powers. And if I "know any ſuch to be moved or compaſſed, I ſhall reſiſt it to my pow- "er, and as ſoon as I can I ſhall advertiſe him, or ſuch as may give him "knowledge. The Rules of the holy Fathers, the Decrees, Ordinances, "Sentences, Diſpoſitions, Reſervations, Proviſions, and Command- "ments Apoſtolick, to my power I ſhall keep, and cauſe to be kept of "others. Hereticks, Schiſmaticks, and Rebels to our Holy Father and "his Succeſſors I ſhall reſiſt and perſecute to my power. I ſhall come to "the Synod when I am called, except I be letted by a Canonical Im- "pediment. The Threſholds of the Apoſtles I ſhall viſit yearly perſo- "nally, or by my Deputy. I ſhall not alienate or ſell my Poſſeſſions with- "out the Popes counſel. So God help me and the Holy Evange- "liſts.

Their Oath to the Pope.

1432.

The Oath to the King.

Their Oath to the King.

"I *John* Biſhop of *A*, utterly renounce and clearly forſake all ſuch "Clauſes, Words, Sentences, and Grants, which I have or ſhall have "hereafter of the Popes Holineſs, of and for the Biſhoprick of *A*, that "in any wiſe hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to "your Highneſs, your Heirs, Succeſſors, Dignity, Privilege, or Eſtate "Royal. And alſo I do ſwear, that I ſhall be faithful and true, and "faith and truth I ſhall bear to you my Sovereign Lord, and to your "Heirs Kings of the ſame, of Life and Limb, and yearly Worſhip above "all Creatures, for to live and die with you and yours againſt all peo- "ple. And diligently I ſhall be attendant to all your needs and buſineſs "after my wit and power, and your Counſel I ſhall keep and hold, know- "ledging my ſelf to hold my Biſhoprick of you onely, beſeeching you "of Reſtitution of the Temporalties of the ſame; promiſing as before "that I ſhall be a faithful, true and obedient Subject to your ſaid High- "neſs, Heirs, and Succeſſors, during my Life; and the Services and "other things due to your Highneſs for the Reſtitution of the Tempo- "ralties of the ſame Biſhoprick, I ſhall truly do and obediently perform. "So God me help and all Saints.

The Contradiction that was in theſe was ſo viſible, that it had ſoon produced a ſevere Cenſure from the Houſe, if the Plague had not hindered both that and the Bill of Subſidy. So on the 14th. of *May* the Parliament was prorogued. Two days after Sir *Thomas More* Lord Chancellour, having oft deſired leave to deliver up the Great Seal, and be diſcharged of his Office, obtained it; and Sir *Thomas Audley* was made Lord Chancellour. *More* had carried that Dignity with great temper, and loſt it with much joy. He ſaw now how far the Kings Deſigns went; and though he was for cutting off all the Illegal Juriſdiction, which the Popes exerciſed in *England*, and therefore went cheerfully along with the Sute of *Præmunire*; yet when he ſaw a total Rupture like to follow, he excuſed himſelf, and retired from Buſineſs with a Greatneſs of Mind, that was equal to what the ancient Philoſophers pretended in ſuch caſes. He alſo diſliked *Anne Boleyne*, and was proſecuted by her Father, who ſtudied to faſten ſome Criminal Imputations on him about the diſcharge of his Imployment; but his Integrity had been ſuch, that nothing could be found to blemiſh his Reputation.

More laid down his Office.

In *September* following the King created *Anne Boleyne* Marchioneſs of *Pembroke*, to bring her by degrees up to the Heighth for which he had deſigned her. And in *October* he paſſed the Seas, and had an Enterview with the *French* King; where all the moſt obliging Complements that were poſſible paſſed on both ſides with great Magnificence, and a firm Union was concerted about all their Affairs. They publiſhed a League that they made to raiſe a mighty Army next year againſt the *Turk*; but this was not much conſidered, it being generally believed that the *French* King and the *Turk* were in a good Correſpondence. As for the matter of the Kings Divorce, *Francis* encouraged him to go on in it, and in his intended Marriage with *Anne Boleyne*, promiſing if it were queſtion-

An Enterveiw with the *French* King.

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ed to aſſiſt him in it: And as for his appearance at *Rome*, as it was certain he could not go thither in Perſon, ſo it was not fit to truſt the ſecrets of his Conſcience to a Proxie. The *French* King ſeemed alſo reſolved to ſtop the payments of Annates and other Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, and ſaid he would ſend an Ambaſſador to the Pope, to ask Redreſs of theſe, and to proteſt, that if it were not granted, they would ſeek other remedies by Provincial Councils; And ſince there was an interview deſigned between the Pope and the Emperor at *Bononia* in *December*, the *French* King was to ſend two Cardinals thither to procure Judges for ending the buſineſs in *England*. There was alſo an interview propoſed between the Pope and the *French* King, at *Nice* or *Avignon*. To this the King of *England* had ſome Inclinations to go for ending all differences, if the Pope were well diſpoſed to it. 1532.

Upon this Sir *Thomas Eliot* was ſent to *Rome* with anſwer to a meſſage the Pope had ſent to the King, from whoſe Inſtructions both the ſubſtance of the meſſage and of the anſwer may be gathered. "The Pope "had offered to the King, that if he would name any indifferent place out "of his own Kingdom, he would ſend a Legate and two Auditors of the "*Rota* thither, to form the Proceſs, reſerving only the Sentence to himſelf. The Pope alſo propoſed a Truce of three or four years, and promiſed that in that time he would call a general Council. For this meſſage the King ſent the Pope thanks, but for the Peace he could receive "no propoſitions about it without the concurrence of the *French* King; "and though he did not doubt the juſtice of a general Council, yet conſidering the ſtate of the Emperor's Affairs at that time, with the *Lutherans*, he did not think it was then ſeaſonable to call one. That as for "ſending a Proxy to *Rome*, if he were a private Perſon he could do it, "but it was a part of the Prerogative of his Crown, and of the Priviledges "of his Subjects, That all Matrimonial Cauſes ſhould be originally "judged within his Kingdom by the *Engliſh* Church, which was conſonant to the general Councils and Cuſtoms of the ancient Church, "whereunto he hoped the Pope would have regard: And that for keeping up his Royal Authority, to which he was bound by Oath, he could "not without the conſent of the Realm, ſubmit himſelf to a Forreign "Juriſdiction; hoping the Pope would not deſire any violation of the "Immunities of the Realm, or to bring theſe into publick Contention, "which had been hitherto enjoyed without intruſion or moleſtation. The "Pope had confeſſed that without an urgent cauſe, the Diſpenſation "could not be granted. This the King laid hold on, and ordered his Ambaſſador to ſhow him that there was no War nor appearance of any "between *England* and *Spain* when it was granted. To verifie that, he "ſent an atteſted Copy of the Treaty between his Father and the Crown "of *Spain* at that time; By the words of which it appeared that it was "then taken for granted, that Prince *Arthur* had Conſummated the "Marriage, which was alſo proved by good witneſſes. In fine, ſince the "thing did ſo much concern the Peace of the Realm, it was fitter to judg "it within the Kingdom than any where elſe; therefore he deſired the "Pope would remit the diſcuſſing of it to the Church of *England*, and "then confirm the Sentence they ſhould give. To the obtaining of this, "the Ambaſſador was to uſe all poſſible diligence, yet if he found real "intentions in the Pope to ſatisfie the King, he was not to inſiſt on that

Eliot ſent to *Rome* with Inſtructions. *Cott. Lib. Vit.* B. 13.

1532. "as the Kings final Reſolution: And to let the Cardinal of *Ravenna* ſee, "that the King intended to make good what was promiſed in his name, "the Biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield* falling vacant, he ſent him the "offer of it, with a promiſe of the Biſhoprick of *Ely* when it ſhould be "void.

The King Married *Anne Boleyn*, Nov. 14. *Cowper*, *Holinſhies* and *Sanders*.

Soon after this he Married *Anne Boleyn*, on the 14th of *November*, upon his landing in *England*, but *Stow* ſays without any ground, that it was on the 25th of *January*. *Rowland Lee* (who afterward got the Biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Liechfield*) officiate in the Marriage. It was done ſecretly in the preſence of the Duke of *Norfolk* and her Father, her Mother, and Brother, and Dr. *Cranmer*. The grounds on which the King did this, were, That his former Marriage being of it ſelf null, there was no need of a Declarative Sentence after ſo many Univerſities and Doctors had given their judgments againſt it. Soon after the Marriage ſhe was with-Child, which was looked on as a ſignal Evidence of her Chaſtity, and that ſhe had till then kept the King at a due diſtance.

An enterview between Pope and Emperor.

But when the Pope and the Emperor met at *Bononia*, the Pope expreſſed great Inclinations to favour the *French* King, from which the Emperor could not remove him, nor engage him to accept of a Match for his Neece *Katherine de Medici* with *Francis Sforza* Duke of *Milan*. But the Pope promiſed him all that he deſired as to the King of *England*, and ſo that matter was ſtill carried on.

Some overtures about the Divorce. Lord *Herbert*.

Dr. *Bennet* made ſeveral propoſitions to end the matter, either that it ſhould be judged in *England*, according to the Decree of the Council of *Nice*, and that the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* with the whole Clergy of his Province ſhould determine it, or that the King ſhould name one, either Sir *Thomas More* or the Biſhop of *London*, the Queen ſhould name another, the *French* King ſhould name a third, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to be the fourth; or that the cauſe ſhould be heard in *England*, and if the Queen did Appeal, it ſhould be referred to three Delegates, one of *England*, another of *France*, and a third to be ſent from *Rome*, who ſhould ſit and judge the Appeal in ſome indifferent place. But the Pope would hearken to none of theſe Overtures, ſince they were all directly contrary to that height of Authority, which he reſolved to maintain: Therefore he ordered *Capiſucci* the Dean of the *Rota*, to cite the King to anſwer to the Queens Appeal. *Karne* at *Rome* proteſted againſt the Citation, ſince the Emperor's Power was ſo great about *Rome*, that the King could not expect juſtice there; and therefore deſired they would deſiſt, otherwiſe the King would Appeal to the Learned men in Univerſities; and ſaid there was a nullity in all their proceedings, ſince the King was a Soveraign Prince, and the Church of *England* a free Church, over which the Pope had no juſt Authority.

1533. A Seſſion of Parliament.

But while this depended at *Rome*, another Seſſion of Parliameot was held in *England*, which began to ſit on the 4th of *February*. In this the Breach with *Rome* was much forwarded by the Act they paſſed againſt all Appeals to *Rome*.

An Act againſt Appeals to *Rome*. 24. *Hen.* 8. Act 22.

"The Preamble bears, that the Crown of *England* "was Imperial, and that the Nation was a compleat Body within it ſelf, "with a full Power to give juſtice in all caſes Spiritual as well as Temporal; and that in the Spiritualty as there had beed at all times, ſo "there were them men of that ſufficiency and integrity, that they might "declare and determine all doubts within the Kingdom; and that ſeve-

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"ral Kings, as *Edward* the 1ſt, *Edward* the 3d, *Richard* the 2d, and *Henry* 1533.
"the 4th, had by ſeveral Laws preſerved the Liberties of the Realm,
"both Spiritual and Temporal, from the annoyance of the See of *Rome*;
"and other forreign Potentates; yet many inconveniences had ariſen
"by Appeals to the See of *Rome* in Cauſes of Matrimony, Divorces,
"and other caſes, which were not ſufficiently provided againſt by
"theſe Laws; by which not only the King and his Subjects were put to
"great charges, but juſtice was much delayed by Appeals, and *Rome*
"being at ſuch a diſtance, Evidences could not be brought thither nor
"Witneſſes ſo eaſily as within the Kingdom: Therefore it was Enacted,
"that all ſuch Cauſes, whether relating to the King, or any of his Subjects,
"were to be determined within the Kingdom in the ſeveral Courts to
"which they belonged, notwithſtanding any Appeals to *Rome*, or Inhi-
"bitions and Bulls from *Rome*; whoſe Sentences ſhould take effect, and
"be fully Executed by all Inferior Miniſters; and if any Spiritual Per-
"ſons refuſed to Execute them becauſe of Cenſures from *Rome*, they
"were to ſuffer a years Impriſonment, and fine and ranſom at the Kings
"will; and if any Perſons in the Kings Dominions procured or executed
"any Proceſs or Cenſures from *Rome*, they were declared liable to the
"pains in the Statute of *Proviſors* in the 16th of *Rich.* the 2d. But that Ap-
"peals ſhould only be from the Arch-Deacon or his Official to the Biſhop
"of the Dioceſs, or his Commiſſary, and from him to the Arch-Biſhop
"of the Province, or the Dean of the Arches, where the final Determi-
"nation was to be made without any further Proceſs, and in every Pro-
"ceſs concerning the King or his Heirs and Succeſſors, an Appeal ſhould
"lie to the upper Houſe of Convocation, where it ſhould be finally De-
"termined, never to be again called in queſtion.

As this Bill paſſed, the ſenſe of both Houſes of Parliament about the Kings Marriage did clearly appear, but in the Convocation the buſineſs was more fully debated. The Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* was at this time deſtitute of its Head and principal Member. For *Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was dead ſince *Auguſt* laſt year. He was a great Canoniſt, an able States-man, a dextrous Courtier, and a favourer of Learned men. He always hated Cardinal *Wolſey*, and would never ſtoop to him, eſteeming it below the Dignity of his See. He was not ſo peeviſhly engaged to the Learning of the Schools as others were, but ſet up and encouraged a more generous way of Knowledge; yet he was a ſevere perſecutor of them whom he thought Hereticks, and enclined to believe idle and Fanatical people, as will afterwards appear, when the Impoſtures of the Maid of *Kent* ſhall be related.

Warhams Death, *Aug.* 23.

The King ſaw well of how great importance it was to the deſignes he was then forming, to fill that See, with a Learned, Prudent, and reſolute man; but finding none in the Epiſcopal Order that was qualified to his mind, and having obſerved a native ſimplicity joyned with much courage, and tempered with a great deal of wiſdom, in Dr. *Cranmer*, who was then Negotiating his buſineſs among the Learned men of *Germany*, he of his own accord without any adreſſes from *Cranmer*, deſigned to raiſe him to that Dignity, and gave him notice of it, that he might make haſt and come home to enjoy that reward which the King had appointed for him. But *Cranmer* having received this, did all he could to excuſe himſelf from the burden which was coming upon him; and therefore he returned

The King reſolves to promote *Cranmer*.

Fox.

1533. turned very ſlowly to *England*, hoping that the Kings thoughts cooling, ſome other perſon might ſtep in between him and a Dignity, of which having a juſt and primitive ſenſe, he did look on it with fear and apprehenſion, rather than joy and deſire. This was ſo far from ſetting him back, that the King (who had known well what it was to be importuned by ambitious and aſpiring Churchmen, but had not found it uſual that they ſhould decline and fly from Preferment) was thereby confirmed in his high opinion of him; and neither the delays of his Journey, nor his Intreaties to be delivered from a Burden, which his Humility made him imagine himſelf unable to bear, could divert the King. So that though ſix moneths elapſed before the thing was ſettled, yet the King perſiſted in his Opinion, and the other was forced to yield.

Cranmers Bulls from *Rome.* In the end of *January* the King ſent to the Pope for the Bulls for *Cranmers* Promotion; and though the Statutes were paſſed againſt procuring more Bulls from *Rome*, yet the King reſolved not to begin the breach till he was forced to it by the Pope. It may be eaſily imagined, that the Pope was not hearty in this Promotion, and that he apprehended ill conſequences from the Advancement of a Man, who had gone over many Courts of Chriſtendom, diſputing againſt his Power of Diſpenſing, and had lived in much Familiarity with *Oſiander* and the *Lutherans* in *Germany*: Yet on the other hand he had no mind to precipitate a Rupture with *England*; therefore he conſented to it, and the Bulls were expedited, though inſtead of *Annates* there was onely 900 Ducats paid for them.

They were the laſt Bulls that were received in *England* in this Kings Reign; and therefore I ſhall give an account of them, as they are ſet down in the beginning of *Cranmers* Regiſter. By one Bull he is upon the Kings Nomination, promoted to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, which is directed to the King. By a ſecond directed to himſelf, he is made Archbiſhop. By a third he is abſolved from all Cenſures. A fourth is to the Suffragans. A fifth to the Dean and Chapter. A ſixth to the Clergy of *Canterbury*. A ſeventh to all the Laity in his See. An eighth to all that held Lands of it, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as Archbiſhop. All theſe bear Date the 21th. of *February*, 1533. By a ninth Bull dated the 22th. of *February* he was ordained to be conſecrated, taking the Oath that was in the *Pontifical*. By a tenth Bull dated the ſecond of *March* the Pall was ſent him. And by an eleventh of the ſame Date the Archbiſhop of *York* and the Biſhop of *London* were required to put it on him. Theſe were the ſeveral Artifices to make Compoſitions high, and to enrich the Apoſtolick Chamber, for now that about which S. *Peter* gloried, that he had none of it, (*neither ſilver nor gold*) was the thing in the world for which his Succeſſors were moſt careful.

When theſe Bulls were brought into *England*, *Thomas Cranmer* was on the 13th. of *March* conſecrated by the Biſhops of *Lincoln*, *Exeter*, and *S. Aſaph*. But here a great Scruple was moved by him concerning the Oath that he was to ſwear to the Pope, which he had no mind to take; and Writers near that time ſay, the diſlike of that Oath was one of the motives that made him ſo unwillingly accept of that Dignity. He declared, that he thought there were many things ſettled by the Laws of the Popes, which ought to be reformed, and that the Obliga-

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tion which that Oath brought upon him, would bind him up from doing his Duty both to God, the King, and the Church. But this being communicated to ſome of the Canoniſts and Caſuiſts, they found a temper that agreed better with their Maxims, than *Cranmers* ſincerity; which was, that before he ſhould take the Oath, he ſhould make a good and formal Proteſtation, That he did not intend thereby to reſtrain himſelf from any thing that he was bound to either by his Duty to God, or the King, or the Countrey; and that he renounced every thing in it that was contrary to any of theſe. This Proteſtation he made in S. *Stephens* Chapel at *Weſtminſter*, in the hands of ſome Doctors of the Canon Law before he was conſecrated, and he afterwards repeated it when he took the Oath to the Pope; by which if he did not wholly ſave his Integrity, yet it was plain he intended no Cheat, but to act fairly and above board. 1533. His Proteſtation about his Oath to the Pope.

As ſoon as he was conſecrated, and had performed every thing that was neceſſary for his Inveſtiture, he came and ſate in the Upper Houſe of Convocation. There were there at that time hot and earneſt Debates upon theſe two Queſtions; Whether it was againſt the Law of God, and Indiſpenſable by the Pope, for a man to marry his Brothers Wife, he being dead without Iſſue, but having conſummated the Marriage? And whether Prince *Arthur* had conſummated his Marriage with the Queen? As for the firſt, it was brought firſt into the Lower Houſe of Convocation, and when it was put to the Vote, 14 were for the Affirmative, 7 for the Negative; one was not clear, and another voted the Prohibition to be Moral, but yet diſpenſable by the Pope. In the Upper Houſe it was long debated, *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London* arguing for the Affirmative, and *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter* for the Negative. The Opinions of 19 Univerſities were read for it, and the one Houſe being as full as the other was empty, 216 being preſent either in perſon or by Proxy, it was carried in the Affirmative *Nemine contradicente*; thoſe few of the Queens party that were there it ſeems going out. For the other Queſtion about the Matter of Fact, it was remitted to the Faculty of the Canon Law, (it being a matter that lay within their Studies) whether the Preſumptions were violent, and ſuch as in the courſe of Law muſt be look'd on as good Evidences of a thing that was ſecret, and was not capable of formal proof? They all except five or ſix were for the Affirmative, and all the Upper Houſe confirmed this, the Biſhop of *Bath and Wells* onely excepted. *Antiq. Brit. in vita Cranmer.*

In this account it may ſeem ſtrange, that there were but 23 perſons in the Lower Houſe of Convocation, and 216 in the Upper Houſe. It is taken from an unqueſtioned Authority, ſo the Matter of Fact is not to be doubted. The moſt Learned Sir *Henry Spelman* has in no place of his Collection of our Councils, conſidered the Conſtitution of the two Houſes of Convocation; and in none of our Records have I been able to diſcover of what perſons they were made up in the Times of Popery: and therefore ſince we are left to conjecture, I ſhall offer mine to the learned Reader. It is, that none ſate in the Lower Houſe, but thoſe who were deputed by the inferiour Clergy; and that Biſhops, Abbots Mitered and not Mitered, and Priors, Deans and Archdeacons, ſate then in the Upper Houſe of Convocation. To which I am induced by theſe two Reaſons: It is probable that all who were declared *Prelates* by

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1532. the Pope, and had their Writ to ſit in a General Council, had likewiſe a right to come to the Upper Houſe of Convocation, and ſit with the other Prelates. And we find in the Tomes of the Councils, that not onely Abbots and Priors, but Deans and Archdeacons were ſummoned to the fourth Council in the *Lateran*, and to that at *Vienna*. Another Reaſon is, that their ſitting in two Houſes (for in all other Nations they ſit together) looks as if it had been taken from the Conſtitution of our Parliament, in which all that have Writs perſonally ſit in the Lords Houſe; and thoſe who come upon an Election ſit in the Lower Houſe. So it is not improbable, that all who were ſummoned perſonally ſate in the Upper Houſe, and thoſe who were returned with an Election, ſate in the Lower Houſe of Convocation.

This Account of that Convocation I take from that Collection of the *Britiſh* Antiquities, which is believed to have been made by *Matthew Parker*, who lived at that time, and was afterwards Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*. But the Convocation Books being burnt, there are no Records to be appealed to; yet it is not to be ſuppoſed, that in a Matter of Fact that was ſo publick and well known, any man (eſpecially one of that high Rank) would have delivered Falſhoods, while the Books were yet extant that would have diſproved them.

New Endeavours to make the Queen ſubmit.

The Church of *England* having in her Repreſentative made ſuch a full Deciſion, nothing remained but to give Judgment, and to declare the Marriage Null. The thing was already determined, onely the Formality of a Sentence Declarative was wanting. But before they proceeded to that, a new Meſſage was ſent to the Queen, to lay all that had paſſed before her, and to deſire her to acquieſce in the Opinions of ſo many Univerſities and Learned Men. But ſhe ſtill perſiſted in her Reſolution to own her Marriage, and to adhere to her Appeal till the Pope ſhould judge in it. And when it was told her, that the King would ſettle the Joynture that ſhe was to have by his Brother, and that the Honour of Princeſs of *Wales* ſhould ſtill be paid her, ſhe rejected it. But the new Queen was now with child, and brought forth Queen *Elizabeth* the 7th. of *September* this year; from which looking backwards nine moneths, to the beginning of *December*, it ſhews that ſhe muſt have been married at or before that time: for all the Writers of both ſides agree, that ſhe was married before ſhe conceived with child. The King therefore thought not fit to conceal it much longer, ſo on *Eaſter* Eve ſhe was declared Queen of *England*. It ſeems it was not thought needful at that time to proceed to any further Sentence about the former Marriage, otherwiſe I cannot ſee what made it be ſo long delayed, ſince the thing was in their power now, as well as after. And it was certainly a prepoſterous Method to judge the firſt Marriage Null, after the ſecond was publiſhed. So that it ſeems more probable, they did not intend any Sentence at all, till afterwards perhaps upon Adverſements from beyond Sea, they went on to a formal Proceſs. Nor is it unlikely that the King remembering the old Advice that the Pope ſent him, once to marry a ſecond Wife, and then to ſend for a Commiſſion to try the matter, which the Pope was willing to confirm, though he would not ſeem to allow it originally, reſolved to follow this Method; for the Pope was now cloſing with *Francis*, from which Union the King had reaſon to expect great Advantages.

But in vain.

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Whatſoever were the Reaſons of the Delay, the Proceſs was framed in this Method. Firſt, *Cranmer* wrote to the King, that the World had been long ſcandalized with his Marriage, and that it lay on him as his Duty to ſee it tried and determined; therefore craved his Royal Leave to proceed in it. Which being obtained, both the King and Queen were cited to appear before the Archbiſhop, at *Dunſtable* the 20th. of *May*, and the Archbiſhop went thither with the Biſhops of *London*, *Winchester* (*Gardiner*,) *Bath and Wells*, and *Lincoln*, and many Divines and Canoniſts. That place was choſen becauſe the Queen lay then very near it at *Ampthill*, and ſo ſhe could not pretend ignorance of what was done; and they needed not put many days in the Citation; but might end the Proceſs ſo much the ſooner. On the 10th. of *May* the Archbiſhop ſate in Court, and the King appeared by Proxy, but the Queen appeared not. Upon which ſhe was declared *Contumax*, and a ſecond Citation was iſſued out, and after that a third: But ſhe intended not to appear, and ſo ſhe was finally declared *Contumax*. Then the Evidences that had been brought before the Legates, of the Conſummation of the Marriage with Prince *Arthur*, were read. After that the Determinations of the Univerſities, and Divines, and Canoniſts, were alſo produced and read. Then the Judgments of the Convocations of both Provinces were alſo read, with many other Inſtruments, and the whole Merits of the Cauſe were opened. Upon which after many Seſſions, on the 23th. of *May* Sentence was given with the Advice of all that were there preſent, declaring it onely to have been a Marriage *de facto*, but not *de jure*, pronouncing it Null from the beginning. One thing is to be obſerved, That the Archbiſhop in the Sentence is called, *The Legate of the Apoſtolick See*. Whether this went of courſe as one of his Titles, or was put in to make the Sentence firmer, the Reader may judge. Sentence being given, the Archbiſhop with all the reſt returned to *London*; and five days after on the 28th. of *May*, at *Lambeth*, by another Judgment he in general words (no Reaſons being given in the Sentence) confirmed the Kings Marriage with the new Queen *Anne*, and the firſt of *June* ſhe was crowned Queen.

1533.

Cranmer proceeds to a Sentence of Divorce, taken from the Originals. *Cott. lib. Otho C.* 10.

Collect. *Numb.* 47.

When this great Buſineſs, which had been ſo long in agitation, was thus concluded, it was variouſly cenſured as men ſtood affected. Some approved the Kings Proceedings as Canonical and Juſt, ſince ſo many Authorities, which in the intervall of a General Council were all that could be had, (except the Pope be believed *Infallible*) had concurred to ſtrengthen the Cauſe; and his own Clergy had upon a full and long examination judged it on his ſide. Others, who in the main agreed to the Divorce, did very much diſlike the Kings ſecond Marriage before the firſt was diſſolved; for they thought it againſt the common courſe of Law, to break a Marriage without any publick Sentence; and ſince one of the chief politick Reaſons that was made uſe of in this Suit, was to ſettle the Succeſſion of the Crown, this did embroil it more, ſince there was a fair colour given to except to the Validity of the ſecond Marriage, becauſe it was contracted before the firſt was annulled. But to this others anſwered, That the firſt Marriage being judged by the Interpreters of the Doctrine of the Church, to have been Null from the beginning, there was no need of any Sentence, but onely for Form. And all concluded, it had been better there had been no Sentence at all, than one ſo late.

The Cenſures paſt at that time.

1533. Some excepted to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury's* being Judge, who by his former Writings and Diſputes had declared himſelf partial. But to this it was anſwered, That when a man changes his Character, all that he did in another Figure is no juſt Exception: ſo Judges decide Cauſes in which they formerly gave Counſel; and Popes are not bound to the Opinions they held when they were Divines or Canoniſts. It was alſo ſaid, That the Archbiſhop did onely declare in Legal Form, that which was already judged by the whole Convocation of both Provinces. Some wondered at the Popes ſtifneſs, that would put ſo much to hazard, when there wanted not as good Colours to juſtifie a Bull, as they had made uſe of to excuſe many other things. But the Emperors Greatneſs, and the fear of giving the *Lutherans advantages* in diſputing the Popes Authority, were on the other hand ſo prevalent Conſiderations, that no wonder they wrought much on a Pope, who pretended to no other knowledge but that of Policy; for he had often ſaid, *He underſtood not the matter*, and therefore left it in other mens hands. All perſons excuſed Queen *Katharine* for ſtanding ſo ſtifly to her ground; onely her denying ſo confidently that Prince *Arthur* conſummated the Marriage, ſeems not capable of an Excuſe. Every body admired Queen *Annes* Conduct, who had managed ſuch a Kings Spirit ſo long, and had neither ſurfeited him with great freedom, nor provoked him by the other Extreme: for the King, who was extremely nice in theſe matters, conceived ſtill an higher Opinion of her; and her being ſo ſoon with child after the Marriage, as it made people conclude ſhe had been chaſte till then, ſo they hoped for a Bleſſing upon it, ſince there were ſuch early appearances of Iſſue. Thoſe that favoured the Reformation expected better days under her Protection, for they know ſhe favoured them: But thoſe who were in their hearts for the Eſtabliſhed Religion did much diſlike it; and many of the Clergy, eſpecially the Orders of Monks and Friars, condemned it both in their Sermons and Diſcourſes.

But the King little regarding the Cenſures of the Vulgar, ſent Embaſſadors to all the Courts of *Europe*, to give notice of his new Marriage, and to juſtifie it by ſome of thoſe Reaſons, which have been opened in the former parts of this Hiſtory. He alſo ſent the Lord *Mountjoy* to the Divorced Queen, to let her know what was done, and that ſhe was no more to be treated as *Queen*, but as *Princeſs Dowager*. He was to mix Promiſes with Threatnings, particularly concerning her Daughters being put next the Queens Iſſue in the Succeſſion. But the afflicted Queen would not yield, and ſaid ſhe would not damn her Soul, nor ſubmit to ſuch an Infamy: That ſhe was his Wife, and would never call her ſelf by any other Name, whatever might follow on it, ſince the Proceſs ſtill depended at *Rome*. That Lord having written a Relation of what had paſſed between him and her, ſhewed it to her; but ſhe daſhed with a Pen all thoſe places in which ſhe was called Princeſs Dowager; and would receive no Service at any ones hands, but of thoſe who called her Queen: and ſhe continued to be ſtill ſerved as Queen by all about her. Againſt which though the King uſed all the Endeavours he could, not without both threatning and violence to ſome of the Servants, yet he could never drive her from it: and what he did in that, was thought far below that Height of Mind which appeared in his other Actings; for ſince he had ſtript her of the real Great-

Cott. lib. Otho. C. 10.

Greatneſs of a Queen, it ſeemed too much, to vex her for keeping up the Pageantry of it. 1533.

But the news of this made great impreſſions elſewhere. The Emperor received the Kings juſtification very coldly, and ſaid he would conſider what he was to do upon it, which was looked on as a Declaration of War. The *French* King, though he expreſſed ſtill great Friendſhip to the King, yet was now reſolved to link himſelf to the Pope; for the crafty Pope apprehending that nothing made the King of *England* ſo confident, as that he knew his Friendſhip was neceſſary to the *French* King, and fearing they had reſolved to proceed at once to the putting down the Papal Authority in their Kingdoms, (which it appears they had once agreed to do,) reſolved by all means to make ſure of the *French* King, which as it would preſerve that Kingdom in his obedience, ſo would perhaps frighten the King of *England* from proceeding to ſuch extremities; ſince that Prince, in whoſe conjunction he truſted ſo much, had forſaken him: Therefore the Pope did ſo vigorouſly purſue the Treaty with *Francis*, that it was as good as ended at this time, and an Interview was projected between them at *Marſeilles*. The Pope did alſo grant him ſo great Power over his own Clergy, that he could ſcarce have expected more, if he had ſet up a Patriarch in *France*; ſo that *Francis* did reſolve to go on in the deſigns, which had been concerted between him and the King of *England*, no further; but ſtill he conſidered his alliance ſo much, that he promiſed to uſe his moſt effectual interceſſion with the Pope to prevent all Cenſures and Bulls againſt the King; and if it were poſſible to bring the matter to an Amicable concluſion. And the Emperor was not ill-pleaſed to ſee *France* and *England* divided. Therefore though he had at firſt oppoſed the Treaty between the Pope and *Francis*, yet afterwards he was not troubled that it took effect, hoping that it would diſ-unite thoſe two Kings, whoſe conjunction had been ſo troubleſome to him.

The Pope unites himſelf to the *French* King.

But when the news was brought to *Rome* of what was done in *England*, with which it was alſo related that Books were coming out againſt the *Popes Supremacy*, all the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction preſſed the Pope to give a definitive Sentence, and to proceed to Cenſures againſt the King. But the more moderate Cardinals thought, *England* was not to be thrown away with ſuch precipitation: And therefore a temper was found, that a Sentence ſhould be given upon what had been attempted in *England*, by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* (which in the Stile of the Canon-Law were called the *Attentates*,) for it was pretended that the matter depending in the Court of *Rome*, by the Queens Appeal and the other ſteps that had been made, it was not in the Arch-Biſhop's Power to proceed to any Sentence. Therefore in general it was declared, that all that had been attempted or done in *England* about the Kings Suit of Divorce was null, and that the King by ſuch attempts was liable to Excommunication, unleſs he put things again in the ſtate they were in, and that before *September* next, and that then they would proceed further; and this Sentence was affixed in *Dunkirk* ſoon after.

And condemns the Kings proceedings in *England*.

The King reſolving to follow the thing as far as it was poſſible, ſent a great Embaſſy to *Francis*, who was then on his Journey to *Marſeilles*, to diſſuade the Interview and Marriage, till the Pope gave the King ſatisfaction. But the *French* King was engaged in honour to go forward; yet he proteſted

1533. teſted he would do all that lay in his Power to compoſe the matter, and that he would take any injury that were done to the King as highly, as if it were done to himſelf; and he deſired the King would ſend ſome to *Marſeilles*, who thereupon ſent *Gardiner* and Sir *Francis Brian*.

Queen *Elizabeth* Born, *Sep.* 7. But at this time the Queen brought forth a Daughter, who was Chriſtened *Elizabeth* (the renowned Queen of *England*,) the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* being her God-Father. She was ſoon after declared Princeſs of *Wales*; though Lawyers thought that againſt Law, for ſhe was only *Heir preſumptive*, but not *apparent* to the Crown, ſince a Son coming after, he muſt be preferred. Yet the King would juſtifie what he had done in his Marriage with all poſſible reſpect, and having before declared the Lady *Mary* Princeſs of *Wales*, he did now the ſame in favour of the Lady *Elizabeth*.

An Interview between the Pope and *French* King at *Marſeilles*. The Interview between the Pope and the *French* King was at *Marſeilles* in *October*, where the Marriage was made up between the Duke of *Orleance* and *Katharine de Medici*; to whom beſides 100000 Crowns Portion, the Principality of many Towns in *Italy*, as *Milan*, *Reggio*, *Piſa*, *Legorn*, *Parma*, and *Piacenza*, and the Dutchy of *Urbin* were given. To the former, the Pope pretended in the Right of the Popedom, and to the laſt in the Right of the Houſe of *Medici*. But the *French* King was to clear all thoſe Titles by his Sword. As for the Kings buſineſs, the Pope referred it to the Conſiſtory. But it ſeems there was a ſecret Tranſaction between him and *Francis*, that if the King would in all other things return to his wonted obedience to the Apoſtolick See, and ſubmit the matter to the judgment of the Conſiſtory, (excepting only to the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction as partial and incompetent judges,) the Deciſion ſhould be made to his hearts content. This I collect from what will afterwards appear. The King upon the Sentence that was paſſed againſt him, ſent *Bonner* to *Marſeilles*, who procuring an Audience of the Pope, delivered to him the Authentick Inſtrument of the Kings Appeal from him to the next general Council lawfully called. At this the Pope was much incenſed, but ſaid he would conſider of it in Conſiſtory; and having conſulted about it there, he anſwered that the Appeal was unlawful, and therefore he rejected it; and for a general Council, the calling of it belonged to him, and not to the King. About the ſame time the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* being threatned with a Proceſs from *Rome*, put in alſo his Appeal to the next general Council. Upon which *Bonner* delivered the threatnings that he was ordered to make, with ſo much vehemency and fury, that the Pope talked of throwing him in a Cauldron of melted Lead, or of Burning him alive; and he apprehending ſome danger made his eſcape. About the middle of *November* the Interview ended, the Pope returning to *Rome*, and the *French* King to *Paris*, a firm Alliance being eſtabliſhed between them. But upon the Duke of *Orleance* his Marrying the Pope's Neece, I ſhall add one obſervation, that will neither be unpleaſant nor impertinent. The Duke of *Orleance* was then but Fourteen years and Nine Months old, being born on the laſt of *March*, 1518. and yet was believed to have conſummated his Marriage the very firſt night after: ſo the Popes Hiſtorians tell us with much Triumph; though they repreſented that improbable, if not impoſſible in Prince *Arthur*, who was nine Months elder when he died.

The Pope promiſes to give Sentence for the King of *England*'s Divorce.

Fidel. ſerv. Infidc. ſubdit. Reſponſio.

Bzovius.

The *French* King prevails with the King of *England* to ſubmit to the Pope. Upon the *French* Kings return from *Marſeilles*, the Biſhop of *Paris* was

was ſent over to the King; which (as may be reaſonably collected,) followed upon ſome Agreement made at *Marſeilles*, and he prevailed with the King to ſubmit the whole matter to the Pope and the Conſiſtory, on ſuch terms that the Imperialiſts ſhould not be allowed a Voice, becauſe they were Parties, being in the Emperor's Power. None that has obſerved the genius of this King, can think that after he had proceeded ſo far, he would have made this Submiſſion without very good aſſurances; and if there had not been great grounds to expect good effects from it, the Biſhop of *Paris* would not in the middle of Winter have undertaken a Journey from *England* to *Rome*. But the King, it ſeems, would not abaſe himſelf ſo far as to ſend any Submiſſion in writing, till he had fuller aſſurances. The Lord *Herbert* has publiſhed a Letter (which he tranſcribed from the Original, written by the Arch-Biſhop of *York* and the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, to the King the 11th of *May*, 1534.) giving an account of a Conference they had with Queen *Katharine*; in which, among other motives they uſed, this was one, to perſwade her to comply with what the King had done: *That the Pope had ſaid at* Marſeilles, *that if the King would ſend a Proxy to* Rome, *he would give the Cauſe for him againſt the Queen, becauſe he knew his Cauſe was good and juſt.* Which is a great preſumption, that the Pope did really give ſome engagements to the *French* King about the King's buſineſs. 1533.

When the Biſhop of *Paris* came to *Rome*, the Motion was liked, and it was promiſed, that if the King ſent a promiſe of that under his Hand, with an Order to his Proxies to appear in Court, there ſhould be Judges ſent to *Cambray* to form the Proceſs, and then the matter ſhould be Determined for him at *Rome*. This was ſent to the King, with the Notice of the day that was prefixed for the return of his anſwer, and with other Motives which muſt have been very great, ſince they prevailed ſo much. For in anſwer there was a Courier diſpatcht from the King, with a formal promiſe under his Hand. And now the matter ſeemed at a point, the *French* Intereſt was great in the Court of *Rome*; four new Cardinals had been made at *Marſeilles*, and there were ſix of that Faction before, which with the Popes Creatures, and the indifferent or venal Voices, ballanced the Imperial Faction, ſo that a wound that was looked on as fatal, was now almoſt healed. But God in his wiſe and unſearchable Providence had deſigned to draw other great ends out of this Rupture, and therefore ſuffered them that were the moſt concerned to hinder it, to be the chief inſtruments of driving it on. For the Cardinals of the Imperial Faction were now very active, they liked not the Preſident of excluding the Cardinals of the Nations concern'd, out of any buſineſs. But above all things they were to hinder a Conjunction between the Pope and the King of *England*; for the Pope being then allied to *France*, there was nothing the Emperor feared more than the cloſing the Breach with *England*, which would make the union againſt him ſo much ſtronger. Therefore when the day that had been prefixed for the return of the Courier from *England*, was elapſed, they all preſſed the Pope to proceed to a Sentence Definitive and to Cenſures. *Bellay* the Biſhop of *Paris* repreſented the injuſtice of proceeding with ſo much Precipitation, ſince where there were Seas to croſs, in ſuch a Seaſon, many accidents might occaſion the delay of the Expreſs. The King of *England* had followed this Suit ſix years, and had patience ſo long; therefore he deſired the delay of ſix days,

Which was well received at *Rome*.

Hiſt. Council of *Trent* by *Padre Paulo*.

But the Imperialiſts oppoſed it.

1531. dayes, and if in that time no return came, they might proceed. But the Imperialiſts repreſented, that thoſe were only delays to gain time; and that the King of *England* was ſtill proceeding in his contempt of the Apoſtolick See, and of the Cardinals, and publiſhing Books and Libels againſt them. This ſo wrought on the angry Pope, that without conſulting his ordinary prudence, he brought the buſineſs into the Conſiſtory, where the Plurality of voices carryed it to proceed to a Sentence. And though the Proceſs had been carryed on all that winter in their uſual Forms, yet it was not ſo ripe, but by the Rules of the Conſiſtory, there ought to have been three Seſſions before Sentence was given. But they concluded all in one day, and ſo on the 23d of *March*, the Marriage between the King and Queen *Katharine* was declared good, and the King required to take her as his wife; otherwiſe Cenſures were to be denounced againſt him.

And with great preparation procure a ſentence againſt the King.

Two days after that, the Courier arrived from *England*, with the Kings Submiſſion under his hand in due Form, and earneſt Letters from the *French* King to have it accepted, that ſo the buſineſs might be compoſed. When this was known at *Rome*, all the indifferent and wiſe Cardinals (among whom was *Farneſe*, that was afterwards Pope *Paul* the 3d.) came to the Pope, and deſired that it might be again conſidered before it went further. So it was brought again into the Conſiſtory. But the ſecret reaſon of the Imperialiſts oppoſing it, was now more preſſing, ſince there was ſuch an appearance of a ſettlement, if the former Sentence were once recalled. Therefore they ſo managed the matter, that it was confirmed a-new by the Pope and the Conſiſtory, and they ordered the Emperor to execute the Sentence.

The King reſolves to aboliſh the Popes Power in *England*.

The King was now in ſo good hope of his buſineſs, that he ſent Sr. *Edward Karne* to *Rome* to proſecute his Suit; who, on his way thither, met the Biſhop of *Paris*, coming back with this Melancholick account of his unproſperous Negotiation. When the King heard it, and underſtood that he was uſed with ſo much ſcorn and contempt at *Rome*, being alſo the more vexed, becauſe he had come to ſuch a ſubmiſſion, he reſolved then to break totally from *Rome*. And in this, he was before hand with that Court. For judging it the beſt way to procure a peace, to manage the War vigorouſly, he had held a Seſſion of Parliament from the 15th of *January*, till the 30th of *March*, in which he had procured a great Change of the whole Conſtitution of the Government of the Church. But before I give an account of that, I ſhall firſt open all the Arguments and reaſons, upon which I find they proceeded in this Matter.

Which had been much diſputed there

The Popes Power had been then for 4 years together much examined and diſputed in *England*; in which they went by theſe ſteps, one leading to another. They firſt controverted his Power of Diſpenſing with the Law of God. From that they went to examine what Juriſdiction he had in *England*, upon which followed the Convicting the Clergy of a *Premunire* with their Submiſſion to the King. And that led them to controvert the Popes right to *Annates*, and other Exactions, which they alſo condemned. The Condemning all appeals to *Rome* followed that naturally. And now ſo many branches of that Power were cut off, the Root was next ſtruck at, and the

Foundations

Foundations of the Papal Authority were examined. For near a year together there, had been many publick debates about it; and both in the Parliament and Convocation the thing was long disputed, and all that could be alledged on both sides was Considered. The Reader will be best able to judge of their reasons, (and thereby of the ripeness of their judgments, when they Enacted the Laws that passed in this Parliament,) when he sees a full account of them; which I shall next set down, not drawn from the Writings and Apologies that have been published since, but from these that came out about that time. For then were written the *Institution for the Necessary Erudition of a Christian man*, Concluded in the Convocation, and published by Authority; and another Book, *De Differentia Regiæ & Ecclesiasticæ Potestatis*. The former of these was called the Bishops, and the latter the Kings Book. *Gardiner* also wrote a Book, *De vera Obedientia*, to which *Bonner* prefixed a Preface upon the same Subject. *Stokesly* Bishop of *London*, and *Tonstal* Bishop of *Duresme*, wrote a long Letter in defence of the Kings Proceedings in this matter to *Reginald*, (soon after, Cardinal) *Pool*: from these writings, and the Sermons preached by some Bishops at this time, with other Authentick pieces. I have Extracted the Substance of the Arguments upon which they grounded their Laws, which I shall divide in two heads. The one of the reasons for rejecting the Popes pretended Power. The other for setting up the Kings Supremacy with the Explanations and Limitations of it. 1532. *Pelerine Inglesi. Hall.*

"First, of the Popes Power, they declared that they found no ground "for it in the Scripture. All the Apostles were made equal by Christ, "when he committed the Church to their care in Common. And "he did often declare, there was no Superiority of one above ano-"ther. St. *Paul* claimed an equality with the chief Apostles both "*Peter*, *James*, *and John*; and when he thought St. *Peter* blame-"worthy, he *withstood him to his face*. But whatsoever Preheminence "St. *Peter* might have, that was only Personal, and there was no rea-"son to affix it to his Chair at *Rome*, more than at *Antioch*. But if "any See be to be preferred before another, it should be *Jerusalem* "where *Christ* dyed, and out of which the Faith was propagated over "all Nations, Christ commanding his Disciples to begin their Preach-"ing in it; so that it was truly the *Mother Church*, and is so called by "St. *Paul*, whereas in the Scripture, *Rome* is called *Babylon*, according "to *Tertullian* and St. *Jerome*. The Arguments upon which it was rejected.

"For the places brought from Scripture in favor of the Papacy, "they judged that they did not prove any thing for it. That *Thou "art Peter*, and *upon this Rock I will build my Church*, if it prove any "thing in this matter, would prove too much; even that the Church "was founded on St. *Peter*, as he was a private person, and so on "the Popes in their Personal Capacity. But both St. *Ambrose*, St. "*Jerome*, and St. *Austin*, think, that by the *Rock*, the Confession he "had made was only to be meant. Others of the Fathers thought "by the *Rock*, *Christ* himself was meant; who is the only true Foun-"dation of the Church; though in another sense all the Apostles are "also called Foundations by St. *Paul*. That, *Tell the Church*, is thought "by *Gerson* and *Æneas Silvius*, (afterwards Pope *Pius* the 2d.) ra-

"ther

1533. "ther to make againſt the Pope and for a General Council. And "the Fathers have generally followed St. *Chryſoſtome* and St. *Auſtin*, "who thought that, *the giving of the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*, "and the Charge, *Feed my Sheep*, were addreſſed to St. *Peter*, in "behalf of all the reſt of the Apoſtles. And that, *I have prayed for "thee, that thy Faith fail not*, was only Perſonal, and related to his "Fall, which was then Imminent. It is alſo clear by St. *Paul*, that "every Apoſtle had his peculiar Province, beyond which he was "not to Stretch himſelf; and St. *Peters* Province was the Circumci- "ſion, and his, the Uncircumciſion, in which he plainly declares his "Equality with him.

"This was alſo clear from the conſtant Tradition of the Church. "St. *Cyprian* was againſt Appeals to *Rome*, and would not ſubmit to "P. *Stephens* definition in the point of Re-baptizing of Hereticks; and "expreſly ſays, *That all the Apoſtles were equal in Power, and that all "the Biſhops were alſo equal, ſince the whole Office and Epiſcopate was "one entire thing, of which every Biſhop had a compleat and equall ſhare.* "And though ſome places are brought out of him concerning the "Unity of the Roman Church, and of other Churches with it; yet "thoſe places have no relation to any Authority that the *Roman* "Church had over other Churches, but were occaſioned by a Schiſm "that *Novatian* had made there at *Rome*, being Elected in oppoſition "to the Biſhop that was rightly choſen: and of that unity only St. "*Cyprian* writes in thoſe places. But from all his Epiſtles to the Bi- "ſhops of *Rome*, it is viſible he look't on himſelf as their Equal, "ſince he calls them *Brother*, *Collegue*, and *Fellow-Biſhop*. And what- "ſoever is ſaid by any Ancient Writer of St. *Peters* Chair, is to be "underſtood of the pure Goſpel, which he delivered, as St. *Auſtin* "obſerves, that by *Moſes Chair*, is to be underſtood *The delivering of "Moſes Law*. But though St. *Peter* ſate there, the ſucceeding Popes "have no more right to pretend to ſuch Authority, than the Kings "of *Spain* to claim the *Roman* Empire, becauſe he that is now their "King, is Emperor. When *Conſtantine* turned Chriſtian, the Digni- "ty of the chief City of the Empire made *Rome* to be accounted "the firſt See, but by the General Council of *Nice* it was declared, "that the Patriarches of *Alexandria* and *Antioch* had the ſame Autho- "rity over the Countries round about them, that he of *Rome* had "over thoſe that lay about that City. It is true, at that time the "*Arrian* Hereſie, having ſpread Generally over the *Eaſtern* Churches, "from which the *Weſtern* were free; the oppreſſed Catholick Biſhops "of the *Eaſt* made Appeals to *Rome*, and extolled that See by a na- "tural Maxime in all men, who magnifie that from which they have "Protection. But the Second general Council took care, that that "ſhould not grow a Preſident, for they Decreed that every Province "ſhould be governed by its own Synod, and that Biſhops when they "were accuſed, muſt firſt be judged by the Biſhops of their own Pro- "vince, and from them they might appeal to the Biſhops of the Dio- "ceſs but no higher appeal was allowed: and by that Council it ap- "pears; what was the Foundation of the greatneſs of the Biſhop of "*Rome*, for when *Conſtantinople* was made the Seat of the Empire "and *New Rome*, it had the ſame Privileges that *Old Rome* had, and

"was

"was ſet next to it in order and dignity. In a Council at *Milevi* in 1534.
"which St. *Auſtin* ſate, they appointed that every Clerk, that ſhould
"appeal to any Biſhop beyond the Sea, ſhould be excommunicated.
"And when *Fauſtianus* was ſent by the Pope to the *African* Church-
"es, to claim the Right of receiving appeals, and pretended a Ca-
"non of the Council of *Nice* for it, the Pretenſion was rejected by
"the *African* Fathers, who acknowledged no ſuch Right, and had ne-
"ver heard of that Canon. Upon which they ſent to the *Eaſtern*
"Churches, and ſearch was every-where made for the Copies of the
"Canons of that Council, but it was found that it was a Forgery.
"From whence two things were obſervable: The one, that the
"Church in that Age had no Tradition of any Divine Inſtitution for
"the Authority of that See, ſince as the Popes, who claimed it, ne-
"ver pretended to any ſuch thing; ſo the *African* Biſhops by their
"rejecting that Power, ſhew, that they knew nothing of any Divine
"Warrant, all the Conteſt being only about a Canon of the Church.
"It alſo appeared how early the Church of *Rome* aſpired to Power, and
"did not ſtick at making uſe of Forged writings to ſupport it. But Pope
"*Agatho* more modeſtly writing to the Emperor in his own name,
"and in the name of all the Synods that were Subject to his See, calls
"them *a few Biſhops in the Northern and Weſtern Parts.* When after-
"wards the Patriarch of *Conſtantinople* was declared by the Emperor
"*Mauritius*, *The Univerſal Biſhop*, *Gregory the great* did exclaim againſt
"the Ambition of that Title, as being equal to the Pride of *Lucifer*, and
"declared, that he who aſſumed it was the Forerunner of *Antichriſt*;
"ſaying, that none of his Predeceſſors had ever claimed ſuch a Pow-
"er. And this was the more obſervable, ſince the *Engliſh* were Con-
"verted by thoſe whom he ſent over; ſo that this was the Doctrine of
"that See, when this Church received the Faith from it.

"But it did not continue long within thoſe limits; for *Boniface*
"the Third aſſumed that Title, upon the Grant of *Phocas*. And as
"that *Boniface* got the Spiritual Sword put in his hand, ſo the Eighth
"of that name pretended alſo to the Temporal Sword; but they owe
"theſe Powers to the Induſtry of thoſe Popes, and not to any Do-
"nation of *Chriſts*. The Popes when they are Conſecrated promiſe
"to obey the Canons of the Eight firſt General Councils, which if
"they obſerve, they will receive no Appeals, nor pretend to any high-
"er Juriſdiction than theſe give to them, and the other Patriarchs e-
"qually.

"As for the Decrees of Latter Councils, they are of leſs Authori-
"ty. For thoſe Councils conſiſted of Monks and Friers in great part,
"whoſe exemptions obtained from *Rome* obliged them to ſupport the
"Authority of that Court; and thoſe who ſate in them knew little
"of the Scriptures, Fathers, or the Tradition of the Church, being
"only converſant in the Diſputes and Learning of the Schools. And
"for the *Florentine* Council, the *Eaſtern* Churches, who ſent the *Greek*
"Biſhops that ſate there, never received their Determination, neither
"then, nor at any time ſince.

"Many places were alſo brought out of the Fathers to ſhow, that they
"did not look on the Biſhops of *Rome* as ſuperior to other Biſhops;
"and that they underſtood not thoſe places of Scripture, which were

1534 "afterwards brought for the Popes Supremacy, in that ſenſe; ſo that "if Traditon be the beſt Expounder of Scripture, thoſe latter gloſſes "muſt give place to the more ancient. But that paſſage of St. *Je-* "*rome*, in which he equals the Biſhops of *Eugubium* and *Conſtantino-* "*ple* to the Biſhop of *Rome*, was much made uſe of, ſince he was "a Presbyter of *Rome*, and ſo likely to underſtand the Dignity of his "own Church beſt. There were many things brought from the "Conteſts that other Sees had with *Rome*, to ſhow, that all the "Priviledges of that and other Sees, were only founded on the "practice and Canons of the Church, but not upon any Divine War- "rant. *Conſtantinople* pretended to equal priviledges. *Ravenna*, *Mi-* "*lan*, and *Aquileia*, pretended to a Patriarchal Dignity and Exemptи- "on. Some Arch-Biſhops of *Canterbury* contended, that Popes could "do nothing againſt the Laws of the Church; ſo *Laurence* and *Dun-* "*ſtan*. *Robert Groſteſt* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, aſſerted the ſame, and many "Popes confeſſed it. And to this day no Conſtitution of the Popes "is binding in any Church, except it be received by it; and in the "daily practice of the Canon Law, the cuſtoms of Churches are plead- "ed againſt Papal Conſtitutions; which ſhows their Authority can- "not be from God, otherwiſe all muſt ſubmit to their Laws. And "from the latter Conteſts up and down *Europe*, about giving Inve- "ſtitures, receiving appeals, admitting of Legates, and Papal Con- "ſtitutions, it was apparent, that the Papal Authority was a Tyra- "ny, which had been managed by cruel and fraudulent Arts, but "was never otherwiſe received in the Church, than as a Conqueſt to "which they were conſtrained to yield. And this was more fully "made out in *England*, from what paſſed in *William* the Conque- "ror, and *Henry* the 2d's time, and by the Statutes of *Proviſors* in "many Kings Reigns, which were ſtill renewed, till within an hun- "dred years of the preſent time.

Upon theſe grounds they Concluded, that the Popes Power in *England* had no Foundation, neither in the Law of God, nor in the Laws of the Church or of the Land.

The Arguments for the Kings Supremacy.

"As for the Kings Power over Spiritual perſons, and in Spiritual "cauſes, they proved it from the Scriptures. In the old Teſtament "they found the Kings of *Iſrael* intermedled in all matters Eccleſia- "ſtical. *Samuel*, though he had been Judge, yet acknowledged *Sauls*

From the old Teſtament.

"Authority: So alſo did *Abimelech* the High-Prieſt, and appeared be- "fore him when cited to anſwer upon an Accuſation. And *Samuel* "(1 *Sam.* 15. 18.) ſayes, *he was made the head of all the Tribes. Aa-* "*ron*, in that, was an Example to all the following High-Prieſts who "ſubmitted to *Moſes*. *David* made many Laws about ſacred things, "ſuch as, the Order of the Courſes of the Prieſts and their Worſhip; "and when he was dying, he declared to *Solomon* how far his Au- "thority extended. He told him, 1 *Chron.* 28. 21. *That the Courſes of* "*the Prieſts and all the people were to be wholly at his commandment*: pur- "ſuant to which *Solomon*, 2 *Chron.* 8. 14, 15. did appoint them *their* "*charges in the ſervice of God, and both the Prieſts and Levites departed* "*not from his commandment in any matter*: and though he had turn- "ed out *Abiather* from the High-Prieſthood, yet they made no oppo- "ſition: *Jehoſophat*, *Hezekiah* and *Joſias* made likewiſe Laws about "Eccleſiaſtical Matters.

"In

"In the New Teſtament, Chriſt himſelf was obedient, he payed "Taxes, he declared that he pretended to no earthly Kingdom, he "charged the people to *render to Cæſar the things that were Cæſars*, "and his Diſciples not to affect temporal dominion, as the Lords "of the Nations did. And though the Magiſtrates were then Hea- "thens, yet the Apoſtles wrote to the Churches to obey Magiſtrates, "to ſubmit to them, to pay Taxes, they call the King *Supream* and "ſay he is Gods Miniſter to encourage them that do well, and to pu- "niſh the evil doors, which is ſaid of all perſons without exception, "and every Soul is charged to be ſubject to the Higher Power. 1533. And the New

"Many paſſages were cited out of the Writings of the Fathers, "ſhow, that they thought Church-men, were included in theſe pla- "ces as well as other perſons, ſo that the Tradition of the Church "was for the Kings Supremacy: and by one place of Scripture the "King is called *Supream*, by another he is called *Head*, and by a third "*every Soul muſt be ſubject to him*, which laid together, make up this "concluſion, *That the King is the Supream Head over all perſons.* In "the primitive Church, the Biſhops in their Councils made rules for "ordering their Dioceſes, which they only called *Canons* or *Rules*, "nor had they any compulſive Authority, but what was derived from "the Civil Sanctions.

"After the Emperors were Chriſtians, they made many Laws a- "bout ſacred things, as may be ſeen in the *Codes*; and when *Juſtinian* "digeſted the *Roman* Law, he added many *Novel Conſtitutions* about "Eccleſiaſtical perſons and cauſes. The Emperors called general Coun- "cils, preſided in them, and confirmed them. And many Letters "were cited of Popes to Emperors, to call Councils, and of the Coun- "cils to them to Confirm their Decrees. The Election of the Popes "themſelves, was ſometimes made by the Emperors, and ſome- "times confirmed by them. Pope *Hadrian* in a Synod decreed, "that the Emperor ſhould chooſe the Pope: And it was a late and "unheard of thing, before the dayes of *Gregory* the 7th, for Popes "to pretend to depoſe Princes, and give away their Dominions. This "they compared to the pride of *Anti-Chriſt* and *Lucifer*. And the Pra- ctiſes of the primitive Church.

"They alſo argued from Reaſon, that there muſt be but one Su- "pream; and that the King being Supream over all his Subjects, "Clergy-men muſt be included, for they are ſtill Subjects. Nor can "their being in Orders, change that former relation, founded upon the "Law of Nature and Nations, no more than Wives or Servants, by "becoming Chriſtians, were not, according to the Doctrine of the A- "poſtles, diſcharged from the Duties of their former Relations. And from Reaſon.

"For the great Objection from thoſe Offices that are peculiar to their "Functions, It was anſwered, that theſe notwithſtanding the King might "well be Supream Head; for in the Natural body, there were many "vital motions that proceeded not from the Head, but from the Heart, "and the other inward parts and veſſels; and yet the Head was ſtill "the chief ſeat and root of Life: So though there be peculiar functi- "ons appropriated to Church-men, yet the King is ſtill Head, having "Authority over them, and a Power to direct and coerce them in "theſe.

"From that, they proceeded to ſhow, that in *England*, the Kings "have And from the Laws of *England*.

1534. "have allwayes aſſumed a Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical matters. They "began with the moſt Ancient Writing that relates to the Chriſtian "Religion in *England* then extant, Pope *Eleutherius* Letter to King "*Lucius*, in which he is twice called by him *Gods Vicar in his King-* "*dom*, and he writ in it, *that it belong'd to his Office, to bring his Sub-* "*jects to the Holy Church*, and to maintain, protect, and govern them "in it. Many Laws were cited, which *Canutus*, *Ethelred*, *Edgar*, "*Edmond*, *Athelſtan* and *Ina* had Enacted concerning Church-men, "many more Laws ſince the Conqueſt were alſo made, both againſt "appeals to *Rome*, and Biſhops going out of the Kingdom without the "Kings leave.

"The whole buſineſs of the Articles of *Clarendon*, and the Con- "teſts that followed between King *Henry* the 2d, and *Thomas Becket* "were alſo opened. And though a Biſhops Paſtoral care be of Di- "vine Inſtitution, yet as the Kings of *England* had divided Biſhopricks "as they pleaſed, ſo they alſo converted Benefices from the Inſtituti- "on of the Founders, and gave them to Cloiſters and Monaſteries "as King *Edgar* did; all which was done by the Conſent of their "Clergy and Nobility, without dependance on *Rome*; They had alſo "granted theſe Houſes Exemption from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction, ſo *Ina* "exempted *Glaſtenbury*, and *Offa*, St. *Albans*, from their Biſhops viſi- "tation: and this continued even till the dayes of *William* the Con- "queror, for he to perpetuate the Memory of the Victory he ob- "tained over *Harald*, and to endear himſelf to the Clergy, founded "an Abbey in the Field where the Battel was fought, and called it "*Battel-Abbey*, and in the Charter he granted them, theſe words are "to be found. *It ſhall be alſo free and quiet for ever, from all ſubje-* "*ction to Biſhops, or the Dominion of any other perſons, as Chriſts Church* "*in* Canterbury *is*. Many other things were brought out of King "*Alfreds* Laws, and a ſpeech of King *Edgars*, with ſeveral Letters "written to the Popes from the Kings, the Parliaments, and the Cler- "gy of *England*, to ſhow, that their Kings did always make Laws a- "bout Sacred matters, and that their Power reach't to that, and to "the perſons of Church-men, as well as to their other Subjects.

The Qualification of that Supremacy.

But at the ſame time that they pleaded ſo much for the Kings Supremacy, and Power of making Laws for reſtraining and Coercing his Subjects, it appeared that they were far from veſting him with ſuch an abſolute Power, as the Popes had pretended to, for they thus defined the extent of the Kings Power. *To them ſpecially and principally, it pertaineth to defend the Faith of Chriſt and his Religion, to conſerve and maintain the true Doctrine of Chriſt, and all ſuch as be true Preachers and ſetters forth thereof; and to aboliſh Abuſes, Hereſies, and Idolatries, and to puniſh with corporal pains ſuch as of malice be the occaſion of the ſame. And finally to overſee and cauſe that the ſaid Biſhops and Prieſts do execute their paſtoral office truly and faithfully, and ſpecially in theſe points, which by Chriſt and his Apoſtles was given and Committed to them; and in caſe they ſhall be negligent in any part thereof, or would not diligently execute the ſame, to cauſe them to redouble and ſupply their lack: and if they obſtinately withſtand their Princes kind monition, and will not amend their faults, then and in ſuch caſe to put others in their rooms and places. And God hath alſo commanded the ſaid Biſhops*

Neceſſary Erudition upon the Sacrament of Orders.

ſhops and Prieſts to obey with all humbleneſs and Reverence, both Kings, and Princes, and Governors, and all their Laws; not being contrary to the Laws of God, whatſoever they be: and that not only propter Iram *but alſo* propter Conſcientiam, *that is to ſay, not only for fear of puniſhment, but alſo for Diſcharge of Conſcience.* 1534.

Thus it appears, that they both limited obedience to the Kings Laws, with the due Caution of their not being contrary to the Law of God, and acknowledged the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction in the diſcharge of the Paſtoral Office, committed to the Paſtors of the Church by Chriſt and his Apoſtles; and that the Supremacy then pretended to, was no ſuch Extravagant Power as ſome imagine.

"Upon the whole matter, it was Concluded, that the Popes Pow-
"er in *England* had no good Foundation, and had been managed
"with as much Tyranny, as it had begun with Uſurpation, the Ex-
"actions of their Courts were every-where heavy, but in no place ſo
"intolerable as in *England*: and though many complaints were made
"of them in theſe laſt 300 years, yet they got no eaſe, and all
"the Laws about Proviſors were ſtill defeated and made ineffectual;
"Therefore they ſaw it was impoſſible to moderate their proceedings;
"ſo that there was no other Remedy, but to extirpate their pre-
"tended Authority, and thenceforth to acknowledge the Pope only
"Biſhop of *Rome*, with the juriſdiction about it, defined by the An-
"cient Canons: and for the King to re-aſſume his own Authority, and
"the Prerogatives of his Crown, from which the Kings of *England*
"had never formally departed, though they had for this laſt Hundred
"years connived at an Invaſion and Uſurpation upon them, which
"was no longer to be endured.

The neceſſity of extirpating the Popes Power.

Theſe were the Grounds of caſting off the Pope's Power, that had been for two or three years ſtudied, and enquired into by all the Learned men in *England*; and had been debated both in Convocation and Parliament, and except *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, I do not find that any Biſhop appeared for the Popes Power; and for the Abbots and Priors, as they were generally very ignorant, ſo what the Cardinal had done in ſuppreſſing ſome Monaſteries, and what they now heard, that the Court had an eye on their Lands, made them to be as complyant as could be. But *Fiſher* was a man of great reputation, and very ancient, ſo that much pains was taken to ſatisfie him. A week before the Parliament ſat down, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* propoſed to him, that he and any Five Doctors, ſuch as he ſhould chooſe, and the Biſhop of *London*, and Five Doctors with him might confer about it, and examine the Authorities of both ſides, that ſo there might be an Agreement among them, by which the ſcandal might be removed, which otherwiſe would be taken from their Janglings and Conteſts among themſelves. *Fiſher* accepted of this, and *Stokeſley* wrote to him on the 8th of *January*, that he was ready whenever the other pleaſed, and deſired him to name time and place, and if they could not agree the matter among themſelves, he moved to refer it to two Learned men whom they ſhould chooſe, in whoſe determination they would both acquieſce. How far this overture went, I cannot diſcover, and perhaps *Fiſhers* ſickneſs hindred the progreſs of it. But now on the 15th of *January*, the Parliament ſat down: by the Journals I find

Pains taken to ſatisfie *Fiſher* about it.

The Original is in the *Cott.* lib. *otho* C. 10.

no

1534. no other Biſhops preſent but the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Lincoln*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Landaffe* and *Carliſle*. There were alſo twelve Abbots preſent, but upon what pretences the reſt excuſed their attendance, I do not know; perhaps ſome made a difference between ſubmitting to what was done, and being active and concurring to make the change. During the Seſſion a Biſhop preached every Sunday at *Pauls*-Croſs, and declared to the people, That the Pope had no Authority at all in *England*. In the two former Seſſions the Biſhops had preached, that the general Council was above the Pope, but now they ſtruck a note higher. This was done to let the people ſee, what juſtice and reaſon was in the Acts that were then paſſing, to which I now turn, and ſhall next give an account of this great Seſſion of Parliament, which I ſhall put rather in the natural Method according to the matter of the Acts, than in the order of time as they paſſed.

On the 9th of *March* a Bill came up from the Commons for diſcharging the Subjects of all dependance on the Court of *Rome*, it was read the firſt time in the Houſe of Lords the 13th of *March*, and on the 14th was read the ſecond time, and Committed. The Committee reported it on the 19th, by which it appears there was no ſtiff nor long oppoſition, and he that was likeſt to make it, was both obnoxious and abſent, as will afterwards appear. On the 19th it was read the third time, and on the 20th the fourth time, and then paſſed without any proteſtation. Some Proviſo's were added to it by the Lords, to which the Commons agreed, and ſo it was made ready for the Royal aſſent.

Journal, Procer.

The Act for taking away the Popes Power.

"In the Preamble the intolerable exactions for *Peter*-pence, Proviſi-
"ons, Penſions, and Bulls of all ſorts are complained of, which were
"contrary to all Laws, and grounded only on the Popes Power of Diſ-
"penſing, which was uſurped. But the King and the Lords and Com-
"mons within his own Realm had only power to conſider, how any of
"the Laws are to be Diſpenſed with or Abrogated; and ſince the King
"was acknowledged the Supreme Head of the Church of *England* by
"the Prelates and Clergy, in their Convocations, Therefore it was En-
"acted that all Payments made to the Apoſtolick Chamber, and all Pro-
"viſions, Bulls, or Diſpenſations ſhould from thenceforth ceaſe. But
"that all Diſpenſations or Licences for things that were not contrary
"to the Law of God, but only to the Law of the Land, ſhould be
"granted within the Kingdom, by, and under the Seals of the two Arch-
"Biſhops in their ſeveral Provinces; who ſhould not preſume to grant
"any contrary to the Laws of Almighty God, and ſhould only grant
"ſuch Licences as had been formerly in uſe to be granted, but give no
"Licence for any new thing till it were firſt examined by the King and
"his Council whether ſuch things might be diſpenſed with; and that
"all Diſpenſations which were formerly taxed at, or above 4 *l.* ſhould
"be alſo confirmed under the Great-Seal. Then many clauſes follow
"about the Rates of Licences and the ways of procuring them. It was
"alſo declared, that they did not hereby intend to vary from Chriſt's
"Church about the Articles of the Catholick Faith of Chriſtendom, or
"in any other things declared by the Scriptures, and the word of God
"neceſſary for their Salvation; confirming withal the exemptions of
"Monaſteries formerly granted by the Biſhop of *Rome*, exempting them
"ſtill from the Arch-Biſhops Viſitations; declaring that ſuch Abbeys
whoſe

It is the Act 21 in the Statute Book, 27 in the Record, and 8 in the Journal.

"whoſe Elections were formerly confirmed by the Pope, ſhall be now "confirmed by the King; who likewiſe ſhall give Commiſſion under "his Great-Seal for viſiting them, providing alſo that Licences and o- "ther Writs obtained from *Rome* before the 12 of *March* in that year "ſhould be valid and in force, except they were contrary to the Laws "of the Realm; giving alſo to the King and his Council power to or- "der and reform all Indulgences and Priviledges (or the abuſes of them) "which had been granted by the See of *Rome*. The offenders againſt "this Act were to be puniſhed according to the Statutes of Proviſors "and Premunire. 1534.

This Act, as it gave great eaſe to the Subject, ſo it cut off that baſe trade of Indulgences about Divine Laws, which had been ſo gainful to the Church of *Rome*, but was of late fatal to it. All in the Religious Houſes ſaw their Priviledges now ſtruck at, ſince they were to be reformed as the King ſaw cauſe, which put them in no ſmall confuſion. Thoſe that favoured the Reformation rejoyced at this Act, not only becauſe the Popes Power was rooted out, but becauſe the Faith that was to be adhered to, was to be taken from thoſe things, which the Scriptures declared neceſſary to Salvation; ſo that all their fears were now much qualified, ſince the Scripture was to be the ſtandard of the Catholick Faith. On the ſame day that this Bill was paſſed in the Houſe of Lords, another Bill was read for confirming the Succeſſion to the Crown in the Iſſue of the Kings preſent Marriage with Queen *Anne*. It was read the ſecond time on the 21 of *March*, and Committed. It was reported on the 23th, and read the third time and paſſed, and ſent down to the Commons, who ſent it back again to them on the 26th, ſo ſpeedily did this Bill go through both Houſes without any oppoſition. The judgments paſt on that Act.

"The Preamble of it was, The diſtractions that had been in *England* "about the Succeſſion to the Crown, which had occaſioned the effuſi- "on of much Blood, with many other miſchiefs, all which flowed from "the want of a clear Deciſion of the true Title, from which the Popes "had Uſurped a Power of inveſting ſuch as pleaſed them in other Prin- "ces Kingdoms, and Princes had often maintained ſuch Donations for "their other ends; therefore to avoid the like inconveniences, the "Kings former Marriage with the Princeſs *Katharine*, is judged con- "trary to the Laws of God, and void and of no effect, and the Sentence "paſſed by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* annulling it, is confirmed, and "the Lady *Katharine* is thenceforth to be reputed only Princeſs Dow- "ager and not Queen, and the Marriage with Queen *Anne* is eſtabli- "ſhed and confirmed: and Marriages within the degrees Prohibited by "*Moſes* (which are enumerated in the Statute) are declared to be un- "lawful, according to the judgment of the Convocations of this Realm, "and of the moſt famous Univerſities and Learned men abroad, any Diſ- "penſations to the contrary notwithſtanding, which are alſo declared "null, ſince contrary to the Laws of God; and all that were Married "within theſe degrees are appointed to be Divorced, and the Children "begotten in ſuch Marriages were declared Illegitimate: And all the "Iſſue that ſhould be between the King and the preſent Queen is de- "clared Lawful, and the Crown was to deſcend on his Iſſue Male by "her, or any other Wife; or in default of Iſſue Male, to the Iſſue Female "by the Queen; and in default of any ſuch to the right Heirs of the Act about the Succeſſion to the Crown, 22 in the Statute Books, 34 in the Record, 26 in the Journal.

"Kings

1534. "Kings Highneſs for ever: and any that after the 1ſt of *May* ſhould ma-
"liciouſly divulge any thing to the ſlander of the Kings Marriage, or of
"the Iſſue begotten in it, were to be adjudged for miſpriſion of Trea-
"ſon, and to ſuffer Impriſonment at the Kings will, and forfeit all their
"Goods and Chattels to him: And if the Queen out-lived the King,
"ſhe is declared Regent till the Iſſue by her were of Age, if a Son 18,
"and if a Daughter 16 years of Age; and all the Kings Subjects were
"to Swear that they would maintain the Contents of this Act, and
"whoever being required, did refuſe it, was to be judged guilty of
"miſpriſion of Treaſon, and puniſhed accordingly. The Oath it ſeems was likewiſe agreed on in the Houſe of Lords, for the Form of it is ſet down in their Journal as follows.

The Oath about the Succeſſion. "Ye ſhall Swear to bear Faith, Truth, and Obedience alonely to the
"Kings Majeſty, and to his Heirs of his body of his moſt dear and en-
"tirely beloved lawful Wife Queen *Anne*, begotten and to be begotten.
"And further, to the Heirs of our ſaid Soveraign Lord according to the
"limitation in the Statute made for ſurety of his Succeſſion in the
"Crown of this Realm mentioned and contained, and not to any other
"within this Realm, nor Forreign Authority or Potentate. And in
"caſe any Oath be made, or hath been made, by you to any Perſon or
"Perſons, that then ye to repute the ſame as vain and annihilate. And
"that to your cunning, wit, and uttermoſt of your Power, without
"guile, fraud, or other undue means, ye ſhall obſerve, keep, maintain,
"and defend the ſaid Act of Succeſſion, and all the whole Effects and
"Contents thereof, and all other Acts and Statutes made in Confirma-
"tion, or for Execution of the ſame, or of any thing therein contained.
"And this ye ſhall do againſt all manner of Perſons of what Eſtate,
"Dignity, Degree, or condition ſoever they be; and in no wiſe to do
"or attempt, nor to your power ſuffer to be done or attempted, direct-
"ly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or appartly, to the let,
"hindrance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part of the ſame,
"by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. So help you
"God, and all Saints, and the holy Evangeliſts.

And thus was the Kings Marriage confirmed. But when the Commons returned this Bill to the Lords, they ſent them another with it, concerning the proceedings againſt Hereticks. There had been complaints made formerly, as was told before, of the ſevere and intolerable proceedings in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts againſt Hereticks: And on the 4th of *February*, the Commons ſent up a complaint made by one *Thomas Philips* againſt the Biſhop of *London*, for uſing him cruelly in Priſon, upon the ſuſpition of Hereſie; but the Lords doing nothing in it, on the 1ſt of *March* the Houſe of Commons ſent ſome of their number to the Biſhop, requiring him to make anſwer to the complaints exhibited againſt him, who acquainted the Houſe of Lords with it the next day: but as they had formerly laid aſide the complaint as not worthy of their time, ſo they all with one conſent anſwered, That it was not fit for any of the Peers to appear or anſwer at the Barr of the Houſe of Commons. Upon this the Houſe of Commons finding they could do nothing in that particular caſe, reſolved to provide an effectual remedy for ſuch abuſes for the future: And therefore ſent up a Bill about the puniſhment of Hereticks, which was read that day for the firſt time, and the ſecond and third time on the 27th and 28th, in which it paſſed. "The

Journal Procer.

"The Act was a repeal of the Statute of the 2d. of *Henry* the 4th, by "which Biſhops upon ſuſpition of Hereſie might commit any to Priſon, "*as was before told*, but in that Act there was no Declaration made, "what was Hereſie, except in the general words of what was contrary "to Scriptures, or *Canonical Sanctions*. This was liable to great Ambigu- "ity, by which men were in much danger, and not ſufficiently in- "ſtructed what was Hereſie. They alſo complained of their proceedings "without Preſentment or Accuſation, contrary to what was practiſed "in all other caſes, even of Treaſon it ſelf; and many *Canonical Sancti-* "*ons* had been eſtabliſhed only by Popes without any Divine Precept, "therefore they repealed the Act of *Henry* the 4th; but left the Sta- "tutes of *Richard* the 2d, and *Henry* the 5th ſtill in force, with the fol- "lowing Regulation: That Hereticks ſhould be proceeded againſt upon "Preſentments, by two Witneſſes at leaſt, and then be Committed, but "brought to anſwer to their Enditements in open Court; and if they "were found guilty, and would not abjure, or were relapſe, to be ad- "judged to death; the Kings Writ *De Hæretico comburendo* being firſt "obtained. It was alſo declared, that none ſhould be troubled upon "any of the Popes Canons or Laws, or for ſpeaking or doing againſt "them. It was likewiſe provided that men Committed for Hereſie "might be Bailed.

1534. Act about puniſhing Hereticks, 14 in the Statute Book, 33 in the Record, 31 in the Journal.

It may eaſily be imagined how acceptable this Act was to the whole Nation, ſince it was ſuch an effectual limitation of the Eccleſiaſtical Power, in one of the uneaſieſt parts of it; and this Regulation of the Arbitrary proceedings of the Spiritual Courts, was a particular bleſſing to all that favoured Reformation. But as the Parliament was going on with theſe good Laws, there came a Submiſſion from the Clergy then ſitting in Convocation, to be paſſed in Parliament. With what oppoſi- tion it went through the two Houſes of Convocation, and the Houſe of Commons, is not known; for as the Regiſters of the Convocation are burnt, ſo it does not appear that there were any Journals kept in the Houſe of Commons at that time. On the 27th of *March* it was ſent up to the Lords, and ſince the Spiritual Lords had already conſented to it, there was no reaſon to apprehend any oppoſition from the Temporal Lords. The Seſſion was now near an end, ſo they made haſte and read it twice that day, and the third time the next day, and paſſed it. The Contents of it were: "The Clergy acknowledged that all Convocati- "ons had been and ought to be aſſembled by the Kings Writ; and pro- "miſed *in verbo Sacerdotii*, that they would never make nor execute "any new Canons or Conſtitutions, without the Royal aſſent to them; "and ſince many Canons had been received that were found prejudicial "to the Kings Prerogative, contrary to the Laws of the Land, and hea- "vy to the Subjects, That therefore there ſhould be a Committee of "thirty two Perſons, ſixteen of the two Houſes of Parliament, and as "many of the Clergy to be named by the King, who ſhould have full "power to abrogate or confirm Canons as they found it expedient; the "Kings aſſent being obtained. This was confirmed by Act of Parliament, "and by the ſame Act all appeals to *Rome* were again condemned. If "any party found themſelves agrieved in the Arch-Biſhops Courts, an "appeal might be made to the King in the Court of Chancery; and "the Lord-Chancellor was to grant a Commiſſion under the Great-

The ſubmiſſion made by the Clergy to the King, 19 in the Statute Book, 25 in the Record.

534. "Seal for ſome Delegates, in whoſe determination all muſt acquieſce. "All exempted Abbots were alſo to appeal to the King; and it con- "cluded with a Proviſo, that till ſuch Correction of the Canons was "made, all thoſe which were then received ſhould ſtill remain in force, "except ſuch as were contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Realms, "or were to the damage or hurt of the Kings Prerogative.

This Proviſo ſeemed to have a fair colour, that there might ſtill be ſome Canons in force to govern the Church by; but ſince there was no day prefixed to the Determination of the Commiſſion, this Proviſo made that the Act never took effect; for now it lay in the Prerogative, and in the Judges breaſt, to declare what Canons were contrary to the Laws, or the Rights of the Crown: and it was judged more for the Kings Greatneſs to keep the matter undetermined, than to make ſuch a Collection of Eccleſiaſtical Laws as ſhould be fixed and unmoveable. The laſt of the publick Acts of this Seſſion that related to the Church, was about the Election and Conſecration of Biſhops. On the 4th of *February* the Commons ſent up a Bill to the Lords about the Conſecration of Biſhops; it lay on the Table till the 27th of *February*, and was then caſt out, and a new one drawn. On what reaſon it was caſt out, is not mentioned, and the Journal does not ſo much as ſay that it was once read. The new Bill had its ſecond reading the 3d of *March*, and on the 5th it was ordered to be Engroſs'd; and on the 9th it was read the third time, and agreed to, and ſent down to the Commons, who returned it to the Lords on the 16th of *March*. "The firſt part of it is "a confirmation of their former Act againſt *Annates*, to which they ad- "ded, that Biſhops ſhould not be any more preſented to the Biſhop of "*Rome*, or ſue out any Bulls there, but that all Biſhops ſhould be pre- "ſented to the Arch-Biſhop, and Arch-Biſhops to any Arch-Biſhop in "the Kings Dominions, or to any four Biſhops whom the King ſhould "name; and that when any See was vacant, the King was to grant a "Licence for a new Election, with a Letter miſſive, bearing the name "of the Perſon that was to be choſen: and twelve days after theſe were "delivered, an Election was to be returned by the Dean and Chapter, "or Prior and Convent, under their Seals. Then the Perſon Elected "was to ſwear Fealty to the King, upon which a Commiſſion was to "be iſſued out, for Conſecrating and Inveſting him with the uſual Ce- "remonies; after which he was to do Homage to the King, and be re- "ſtored both to the Spiritualities and Temporalities of his See, for "which the King granted Commiſſions during the vacancy; and whoſo- "ever refuſed to obey the Contents of the Act, or acted contrary to it, "were declared within the Statute of *Premunire*. There paſſed a pri- vate Act for depriving the Biſhops of *Salisbury* and *Worceſter*, who were Cardinal *Campegio* and *Jerome de Ghinuccii*; the former deſerved greater ſeverities at the Kings hand, but the latter ſeems to have ſerved him faithfully, and was recommended both by the King and the *French* King about a year before to a Cardinals Hat. "The Preamble of the Act "bears, that perſons promoted to Eccleſiaſtical Benefices ought to re- "ſide within the Kingdom for preaching the Laws of Almighty God, "and for keeping Hoſpitality; and ſince theſe Prelates did not that, but "lived at the Court of *Rome*, and neglected their Dioceſſes, and made "the Revenues of them be carried out of the Kingdoms, contrary to the "in-

Journal Procer.

Act about Election of Biſhops, 20 in Statute-Book, 26 in the Record.

Collect. *Numb.* 48.

"intentions of the Founders, and to the prejudice of the Realm, 3000 *l.* 1534.
"being at leaſt carried yearly out of the Kingdom; therefore their Dio-
"ceſſes were declared vacant.

But now I come to the Act of the Attainder of *Elizabeth Barton* and her Complices, which I ſhall open fully, ſince it was the firſt ſtep that was made to Rebellion, and the firſt occaſion of putting any to death upon this quarrel; and from it one will clearly ſee, the *Genius* of that part of the Clergy that adhered to the Intereſts of the Court of *Rome*. On the 21th of *February* the Bill was ſent up to the Lords, and read the firſt time; on the 26th it was read the ſecond time, and committed; then the Witneſſes and other Evidences were brought before them, but chiefly ſhe with all her Complices, who confeſſed the Crimes charged on her. It was reported and read the 6th of *March* the third time, and then the Lords addreſſed to the King to know his pleaſure, whether Sir *Thomas More*, and others mentioned in the Act as *Complices*, or at leaſt *Concealers*, might not be heard to ſpeak for themſelves in the Star-Chamber: As for the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* he was ſick, but he had written to the Houſe all that he had to ſay for his own excuſe. What preſumptions lay againſt Sir *Thomas More*, I have not been able to find out, only that he wrote a Letter to the Nun, at which the King took great exceptions; yet it appears he had a mean opinion of her, for in diſcourſe with his beloved Daughter Miſtreſs *Roper*, he called her commonly the ſilly Nun. But for juſtifying himſelf, he wrote a full account of all the entercourſe he had with the Nun and her Complices to *Cromwell*; but tho by his other printed Letters, both to *Cromwell* and the King, it ſeems ſome ill impreſſions remained in the Kings mind about it, he ſtill continued to juſtifie not only his intentions, but his actions in that particular. One thing is not unworthy of obſervation, that *Raſtall*, who publiſhed his Works in Queen *Maries* time, printed the ſecond Letter he wrote to *Cromwell*, yet did not publiſh that account which he ſent firſt to him concerning it, to which *More* refers himſelf in all his following Letters; though it is more like a Copy of that would have been preſerved, than of thoſe other Letters that refer to it. But perhaps it was kept up on deſign; for in Queen *Maries* time they had a mind to magnifie that ſtory of the Nuns, ſince ſhe was thought to have ſuffered on her Mothers account: and among the other things ſhe talked, one was that the Lady *Mary* ſhould one day Reign in *England*, for which *Sanders* has ſince thought fit to make a Propheteſs of her. And it is certain, *More* had a low opinion of her, which appears in many places of his printed Letters; but that would have been much plainer, if that full account he wrote of that Affair had been publiſhed; and therefore that one of their Martyrs might not leſſen the eſteem of another, it was fit to ſuppreſs it. Whether my conjectures in this be well grounded, or not, is left to the Readers judgment. In concluſion, *More*'s juſtifications ſeconded with the good Offices that the Lord Chancellour *Audley*, and *Cromwell* did him, (who as appears by his Leters ſtood his Friends in that matter) did ſo work on the King, that his name was put out of the Bill, and ſo the Act was agreed on by both Houſes, and the Royal aſſent followed. The matter was this, "*Elizabeth Barton* of *Kent*, in the Pariſh of *Aldington*, "being ſick and diſtempered in her brain, fell in ſome Trances, (it

The Act about the Maid of *Kent*, and her Complices.

12 in Statute Book, 31 in the Record, 7 in the Journal.

See his Works, pag. 1435.

1534. "ſeems by the Symptoms they were Hyſterical fits) and ſpoke many "words that made great impreſſions on ſome about her, who thought "her Inſpired of God, and *Richard Maſter*, Parſon of the Pariſh, "hoping to draw great advantages from this, went to *Warham* "Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and gave him a large account of her "Speeches, who ordered him to attend her carefully, and bring "him a further report of any new Trances, ſhe might afterwards fall in. "But ſhe had forgot all ſhe had ſaid in her fits, yet the crafty Prieſt "would not let it go ſo, but perſwaded her, that what ſhe had ſaid, "was by the Inſpiration of the *Holy Ghoſt*, and that ſhe ought to "own that it was ſo. Upon which he taught her to counterfeit ſuch "traunces, and to utter ſuch ſpeeches as ſhe had done before; ſo "that after a whiles Practice, ſhe became very ready at it. The "thing was much noiſed abroad, and many came to ſee her, but the "Prieſt had a mind to raiſe the reputation of an Image of the Bleſſed "*Virgin*, that was in a Chappel within his Pariſh, that ſo Pilgrima- "ges being made to it, he might draw theſe advantages from it, that "others made from their famed Images, but choſe for his Aſſoci- "ate one Doctor *Bocking*, a Canon of Chriſt-Church in *Canterbury*: "Upon which they inſtructed her to ſay in her Counterfeited traun- "ces, that the Bleſſed Virgin had appeared to her, and told her ſhe "could never recover, till ſhe went and viſited her Image in that "Chappel. They had alſo taught her in her fits to make ſtrange "motions with her body, by which ſhe was much diſfigured, and "to ſpeak many Godly words againſt Sin, and the new Doctrines, "which were called Hereſies, as alſo againſt the Kings ſuit of Divorce. "It was alſo noiſed abroad, on what day ſhe intended to go and viſit "the Image of the Virgin, ſo that about 2000 people were gather- "ed together, and ſhe being brought to the Chappel, fell into her "fits and made many ſtrange Grimaces and alterations of her body, "and ſpake many words of great piety, ſaying, that by the Inſpira- "tion of God, ſhe was called to be a Religious Woman, and that "*Bocking* was to be her Ghoſtly Father. And within a little while "ſhe ſeemed by the interceſſion of our Lady, to be perfectly recover- "ed of her former diſtempers, and ſhe afterwards profeſſed a Religi- "ous Life. There were alſo violent ſuſpitions of her incontinency, "and that *Bocking* was a Carnal, as well as a Spiritual Father. She "fell in many raptures, and pretended ſhe ſaw ſtrange Viſions, heard "Heavenly Melody, and had the Revelation of many things that "were to come, ſo that great credit was given to what ſhe ſaid, and "people generally looked on her as a Propheteſs, and among thoſe "the late Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was led away with the reſt. "A Book was Writ of her Revelations and Prophecies by one *Deer-* "*ing* another Monk, who was taken in to the Conſpiracy with many "others. It was alſo given out that *Mary Magdalen* gave her a Let- "ter that was Writ in Heaven, which was ſhewed to many, being all "Writ in Golden Letters. She pretended when the King was laſt at "*Calais*, that he being at Maſs, an Angel brought away the Sacra- "ment and gave it to her, being then inviſibly preſent, and that ſhe "was preſently brought over the Sea to her Monaſtery again. But "the deſign of all theſe traunces was to alienate the people from their

duty

"duty to the King, for the Maid gave it out, that God revealed to 1534.
"her, that if the King went on in the Divorce and Marryed another
"Wife, *he ſhould not be King a Month longer, and in the reputation of*
"*Almighty God not one howr longer, but ſhould die a villains Death.*
"This, ſhe ſaid was revealed to her in anſwer to the prayers ſhe had
"put up to God, to know whether he approved of the Kings proceed-
"ings or not? which coming to the knowledge of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*
"and ſome others, who adhered to the Queens intereſts, they had
"frequent meetings with the Maid, and concealed what ſhe ſpake
"concerning the King, and ſome of them gave ſuch credit to what ſhe
"ſaid, that they practiſed on many others to draw them from their
"allegeance, and prevailed with ſeveral of the Fathers and Nuns of
"*Sion*, of the *Charter-Houſe* in *London* and *Shene*, and of the Obſer-
"vants of *Richmont*, *Greenwich* and *Canterbury*, with a great many o-
"ther perſons.

The Inſolence of ſome of the Friars.

This appeared moſt ſignally at *Greenwich*, where the King lived moſt in Summer, for one *Peto* being to preach in the Kings Chappel, denounced heavy judgments upon him to his face, and told him, *that many lying prophets had deceived him, but he as a true* Michajah *warned him that the dogs ſhould lick his blood as they had done* Ahabs (for that prophecy about *Ahab* was his Text) with many other bitter words, and Concluded, *that it was the greateſt miſery of Princes, to be daily ſo abuſed by flatterers as they were.* The King bore it patiently, and expreſſed no ſigns of any commotion, but to undeceive the people, he took care that Doctor *Corren* or *Curwin* ſhould preach next Sunday, who juſtified the Kings proceedings, and condemned *Peto* as a Rebel, a Slanderer, a Dog, and a Traytor. *Peto* was gone to *Canterbury*, but another obſervant Frier of the ſame Houſe, *Elſton* interrupted him: and ſaid he was one of the lying Prophets, that ſought by Adultery to eſtabliſh the Succeſſion to the Crown, and that he would juſtifie all that *Peto* had ſaid, and ſpeak many other things with great vehemency, nor could they ſilence him, till the King himſelf commanded him to hold his peace. And yet all that was done either to him, or *Peto*, was, that being called before the Privie Council, they were rebuked for their inſolence, by which it appears, that King *Henry* was not very eaſily inflamed againſt them, when a crime of ſo high a Nature was ſo ſlightly paſſed over. *Stow.*

"Nor was this all, but the Fathers that were in the Conſpiracy,
"had confederated to publiſh theſe Revelations in their Sermons, up
"and down the Kingdom. They had alſo given Notice of them to the
"Popes Ambaſſadors, and had brought the Maid to declare her Reve-
"lations to them, they had alſo ſent an account to Queen *Katharine*
"for encouraging her to ſtand out and not ſubmit to the Laws, of
"which Confederacy *Thomas Abel* was likewiſe one. The thing that
was in ſo many hands could not be a ſecret, therefore the King who had *Stow.*
deſpiſed it long, ordered that in *Nouember* the former year the Maid and her Complices, *Richard Maſter*, Doctor *Bocking*, *Richard Deering*, *Henry Gold*, a Parſon in *London*, *Hugh Rich* an obſervant Frier, *Richard Risby*, *Thomas Gold* and *Edward Twaites* Gentlemen, and *Thomas Laurence* ſhould be brought into the Star-Chamber, where there was a great appearance of many Lords, they were examined upon

the

1534. the premiſes, and did all without any rack or torture confeſs the whole Conſpiracy, and were adjudged to ſtand in *Pauls* all the Sermon time; and after Sermon, the Kings Officers were to give every one of them his Bill of Confeſſion to be openly read before the people, which was done next Sunday, the Biſhop of *Bangor* preaching, they being all ſet in a Scaffold before him. This publick manner was thought upon good grounds, to be the beſt way to ſatisfie the people of the Impoſture of the whole matter, and it did very much convince them, that the cauſe muſt needs be bad, where ſuch methods were uſed to ſupport it. From thence they were carryed to the Tower, where they lay till the Seſſion of Parliament, but when they lay there, ſome of their Complices ſent meſſages to the Nun, to encourage her to deny all that ſhe had ſaid; and it is very probable, that the reports that went abroad of her being forced or cheated into a Confeſſion, made the King think it neceſſary to proceed more ſeverely againſt her. The thing being conſidered in Parliament, it was judged a Conſpiracy againſt the Kings Life and Crown. So the *Nun* and *Maſter*, *Bocking*, *Deering*, *Rich*, *Risby* and *Henry Gold* were Attainted of high Treaſon. And the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Thomas Gold*, *Thomas Laurence*, *Edward Twaites*, *John Adeſon*, and *Thomas Abell*, were judged guilty of miſpriſion of Treaſon, and to forfeit their goods and Chattels to the King, and to be impriſoned during his pleaſure, and all the Books that were written of her Revelations, were ordered to be ſent in, to ſome of the chief Officers of State, under the pains of Fine and Impriſonment. It had been alſo found, that the Letter which ſhe pretended to have got from *Mary Magdalen* was written by one *Hankherſt* of *Canterbury*, and that the door of the *Dormitorie*, which was given out to be made open by miracle, that ſhe might go into the Chappel for Converſe with God, was opened by ſome of her Complices, for beaſtly and carnal ends. But in the Concluſion of the Act, all others who had been corrupted in their Allegiance by theſe impoſtures, except the perſons before named, were at the earneſt interceſſion of Queen *Anne*, pardoned.

The two Houſes of Parliament (having ended their buſineſs) were prorogued on the 29th of *March*, to the 3d of *November*, and before they broke up, all the Members of both Houſes, that they might give a good example to the Kings other Subjects, ſwore the Oath of Succeſſion, as appears from the Act made about it in the next Seſſion of Parliament. The Execution of theſe perſons was delayed for ſome time, it is like, till the King had a return from *Rome*, of the Meſſenger he had ſent thither with his Submiſſion.

Soon after that, on the 20 of *April*, the *Nun* and *Bocking*, *Maſter*, *Deering*, *Risby* and *Gold* (*Rich* is not named being perhaps either dead or pardoned) were brought to *Tiburn*. The *Nun* ſpake theſe words. *Hither I am come to die, and I have not been only the cauſe of mine own death, which moſt juſtly I have deſerved, but alſo I am the cauſe of the death of all thoſe perſons, which at this time here ſuffer. And yet to ſay the truth, I am not ſo much to be blamed, conſidering that it was well known to theſe learned men, that I was a poor wench without Learning, and therefore they might eaſily have perceived, that the things that were done by me, could not proceed in no ſuch ſort; but their capacities*

The *Nuns* ſpeech at her death.

Hall.

and

and Learning could right well judge, from whence they proceeded, and that they were altogether feigned; but becauſe the thing which I feigned was profitable to them, therefore they much praiſed me, and bore me in hand, that it was the Holy-Ghoſt and not I, that did them; and then I being puffed up with their praiſes, fell into a certain pride and fooliſh fantaſie with my ſelf, and thought I might feign what I would, which thing hath brought me to this caſe: and for the which now, I cry God and the King's Highneſs moſt heartily Mercy, and deſire you, all good people, to pray to God to have mercy on me, and on all them that here ſuffer with me, 1534.

On all this I have dwelt the longer, both becauſe theſe are all called Martyrs by *Sanders*, and that this did firſt provoke the King againſt the Regular Clergy, and drew after it all the ſeverities that were done in the reſt of his Reign. The foulneſs and the wicked deſigns of this Impoſture, did much alienate people from the Intereſt of *Rome*, and made the other Acts both paſs more eaſily, and be better received by the people. It was alſo generally believed, that what was now diſcovered was no new practice, but that many of the Viſions and Miracles, by which Religious Orders had raiſed their Credit ſo high, were of the ſame Nature: and it made way for the deſtroying of all the Monaſteries in *England*, though all the ſeverity which at this time followed on it, was that the *Obſervant* Friers of *Richmont*, *Greenwich*, *Canterbury*, *Newark*, and *Newcaſtle* were removed out of their Houſes, and put with the other *Gray-Friers*, and *Auguſtin-Friers* were put in their Houſes. *Stow.*

But becauſe of the great name of *Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and ſince this was the firſt ſtep to his ruin, it is neceſſary to give a fuller account of his carriage in this matter. When the cheat was firſt diſcovered, *Cromwell* then Secretary of State, ſent the Biſhops Brother to him, with a ſharp reproof for his carriage in that buſineſs; but withal adviſed him to write to the *King*, and acknowledge his offence, and deſire his pardon, which he knew the *King*, conſidering his Age and ſickneſs, would grant. But he wrote back, excuſing himſelf, that all he did, was only to try, whether her Revelations were true? He confeſſed, he conceived a great opinion of her Holineſs, both from common Fame, and her entring into Religion; from the report of her Ghoſtly Father, whom he eſteemed Learned and Religious, and of many other Learned and Vertuous Prieſts; from the good opinion the late Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* had of her, and from what is in the Prophet *Amos*, *That God will do nothing without revealing it to his Servants.* That upon theſe grounds, he was induced to have a good opinion of her; and that to try the truth about her, he had ſometimes ſpoken with her, and ſent his Chaplains to her, but never diſcovered any falſehood in her. And for his concealing what ſhe had told him about the King, which was laid to his charge, he thought it needleſs for him to ſpeak of it to the King, ſince ſhe had ſaid to him, that ſhe had told it to the King her ſelf: She had named no perſon who ſhould kill the King, which by being known, might have been prevented. And as in Spiritual things, every Church-man was not bound to denounce judgments againſt thoſe that could not bear it; ſo in temporal things, the caſe might be the ſame; and the King had on other occaſions ſpoken ſo ſharply to him, that

Fiſher gently dealt with.

But is obſtinate and intractable.

1534. that he had reaſon to think, the King would have been offended with him for ſpeaking of it, and would have ſuſpected that he had a hand in it; therefore he deſired for the paſſion of Chriſt to be no more troubled about that matter, otherwiſe he would ſpeak his Conſcience freely. To all which, *Cromwell* wrote a long Letter, which the Reader will find in the Collection, copied from the rude draught of it, written with his own hand. In which he charges the Matter upon him heavily, and ſhews him, that he had not proceeded, as a grave *Prelate* ought to have done; for he had taken all that he had heard of her upon truſt, and had examined nothing; that if every perſon that pretends to Revelations were believed on their own words, all Government would be thereby deſtroyed. He had no reaſon to conclude from the Prophecie of *Amos*, that every thing that is to fall out, muſt be revealed to ſome Prophet, ſince many notable things had fallen out, of which there was no Revelation made before hand. But he told him the true reaſon that made him give credit to her, was, the matter of her Prophecies: to which he was ſo addicted, as he was to every other thing in which he once entred, that nothing could come amiſs that ſerved to that end. And he appealed to his Conſcience, whether if ſhe had prophecied for the King, he would have given ſuch eaſie credit to her, and not have examined the matter further. Then he ſhowes how guilty he was, in not revealing what concerned the Kings Life, and how frivolous all his excuſes were. And after all, tells him, that though his excuſing the matter had provoked the King, and that if it came to a Tryal, he would certainly be found guilty; yet again he adviſes him to beg the Kings pardon for his Negligence, and offence in that matter; and undertakes that the King would receive him into his favour, and that all matters of diſpleaſure paſt'd before that time, ſhould be forgiven and forgotten. This ſhows that though *Fiſher* had in the progreſs of the Kings cauſe, given him great offence, yet he was ready to paſs it all over, and not to take the advantage, which he now had againſt him. But *Fiſher* was ſtill obſtinate and made no ſubmiſſion, and ſo was included within the Act for miſpriſion of Treaſon; and yet I do not find, that the King proceeded againſt him upon this Act, till by new provocations he drew a heavier ſtorm of indignation upon himſelf.

Collect. *Numb.* 49. *Cott.* Lib. *Cleopatee.* E. 4.

When the Seſſion of Parliament was at an end, Commiſſioners were ſent every-where, to offer the Oath of the Succeſſion to the Crown, to all, according to the Act of Parliament, which was univerſally taken by all ſorts of perſons. *Gardiner* wrote from *Wincheſter* the 6th of *May* to *Cromwell*, that in the preſence of the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord *Audley*, and many other Gentlemen, all Abbots, Priors, Wardens, with the Curates of all Pariſhes and Chappels within the Shire, had appeared and taken the Oath very obediently; and had given in a liſt of all the Religious perſons in their Houſes of 14 years of Age and above, for taking whoſe Oaths ſome Commiſſioners were appointed. The forms in which they took the Oath are not known, and it is no wonder, for though they were enrolled, yet in Queen *Maries* time there was a Commiſſion given to *Bonner* and others, to examine the Records and raze out of them all things, that were

The Oath for the Succeſſion generally ſworn. *Orig. Cott.* Lib. *Otho.* C. 10.

were done either in contempt of the See of *Rome*, or to the defamation of Religious Houſes, purſuant to which, there are many things taken out of the Rolls, which I ſhall ſometimes have occaſion afterwards to take notice of; yet ſome Writings have eſcaped their diligence, ſo there remains but two of the Subſcriptions of Religious Orders, both bearing date the 4th of *May* 1534. One is by the Prior and Convent of *Langley Regis*, that were Dominicans, the Franciſcans of *Aileſbury*, the Dominicans of *Dunſtable*, the Franciſcans of *Bedford*, the Carmelites of *Hecking* and the Franciſcans *de Mare*. The other is by the Prioreſs and Convent of the Dominican Nuns at *Deptford*. 1534.

"In theſe, beſides the renewing their allegiance to the King, they "ſwear the Lawfulneſs of his Marriage with Queen *Anne*, and that "they ſhall be true to the Iſſue begotten in it, that they ſhall al- "ways acknowledge the King, Head of the Church of *England*: "and that the Biſhop of *Rome* has no more Power, than any other "Biſhop has in his own Dioceſs, and that they ſhould ſubmit to all "the Kings Laws, notwithſtanding the Popes cenſures to the con- "trary. That in their Sermons they ſhould not pervert the Scrip- "tures, but preach Chriſt and his Goſpel ſincerely according to the "Scriptures, and the Tradition of Orthodox and Catholick Doctors, "and in their Prayers that they ſhould pray firſt for the King, as Supreme "Head of the Church of *England*, then for the Queen and her iſſue, "and then for the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and the other ranks of "the Clergy. To this theſe Six Priors ſet their hands with the Seals of their Convents, and in their Subſcriptions declared, that they did it freely and uncompelled, and in the name of all the Brethren in the Convent.

Collect. *Numb.* 50. *Rot. clauſ.*

Thoſe laſt clauſes are not in the other Writing.

But Sr. *Thomas More* and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, refuſed to take the Oath as it was conceived: Whoſe Fall being ſo remarkable, I ſhall ſhew the ſteps of it. There was a meeting of the Privy Council at *Lambeth*, to which many were cited to appear, and take the Oath. Sr. *Thomas More* was firſt called, and the Oath was tendred to him under the great Seal, then he called for the Act of Succeſſion, to which it related, which was alſo ſhewed him: having conſidered of them, he ſaid he would neither blame theſe that made the Act, nor thoſe that Swore the Oath, but for his part, though he was willing to Swear to the Succeſſion, if he might be ſuffered to draw an Oath concerning it, yet for the Oath that was offered him, his Conſcience ſo moved him, that he could not without hazarding his Soul take it. Upon this, the Lord Chancellour told him, that he was the firſt who had refuſed to Swear it, and that the King would be highly offended with him for denying it, and ſo he was deſired to withdraw and conſider better of it. Several others were called upon, and did all take the Oath, except the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, who anſwered upon the matter as *More* had done. When the Lords had diſpatched all the reſt, *More* was again brought before them: they ſhewed him how many had taken it, he anſwered, he judged no man for doing it, only he could not do it himſelf. Then they asked the reaſons why he refuſed it? He anſwered, he feared it might provoke the King more againſt him, if he ſhould offer reaſons which would be called a diſputing againſt Law: but when he was further preſſed to give his reaſons,

More and *Fiſher* refuſe the Oath.

See his works p. 1428.

1534. ſons, he ſaid if the King would command him to do it, he would put them in Wriring.

The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* urged him with this Argument, that ſince he ſaid he blamed no other perſon for taking it, it ſeemed he was not perſwaded it was a Sin, but was doubtful in the matter: but he did certainly know, he ought to obey the King, and the Law, ſo there was a certainty on the one hand, and only a doubt on the other; therefore he was obliged to do that about which he was certain, notwithſtanding theſe his doubtings. This did ſhake him a little, eſpecially (as himſelf writes) *coming out of ſo Noble a Prelates mouth*: but he anſwered, that, though he had examined the matter very carefully, yet his Conſcience leaned poſitively to the other ſide; and he offered to purge himſelf by his Oath, that it was purely out of a Principle of Conſcience, and out of no light Fantaſie or Obſtinacy that he thus refuſed it. The Abbot of *Weſtminſter* preſſed him, that however the matter appeared to him, he might ſee his Conſcience was Erroneous, ſince the great Council of the Realm was of another mind, and therefore he ought to change his Conſcience. (A Reaſoning very fit for ſo rich an Abbot, which diſcovers of what temper his Conſcience was) But to this *More* anſwered, that if he were alone againſt the whole Parliament, he had reaſon to ſuſpect his own underſtanding; but he thought he had the whole Council of Chriſtendome on his ſide, as well as the great Council of *England* was againſt him. Secretary *Cromwell*, who (as *More* writes) *tenderly favoured him*, ſeeing his ruin was now inevitable, was much affected at it; and proteſted with an Oath, he had rather his own only Son had loſt his head, than that he ſhould have refuſed the Oath. Thus both he and the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* refuſed it, but both offered to Swear another Oath for the Succeſſion of the Crown to the iſſue of the Kings preſent Marriage, becauſe that was in the Power of the Parliament to determine it. *Cranmer*, who was a moderate and wiſe man, and foreſaw well the ill effects that would follow on contending ſo much, with perſons ſo highly eſteemed over the World, and of ſuch a temper, that ſeverity would bend them to nothing, did by an earneſt Letter to *Cromwell* dated the 27th of *April* move, that what they offered might be accepted; for if they once Swore to the Succeſſion, it would quiet the Kingdom, for they acknowledging it, all other perſons would acquieſce and ſubmit to their Judgments. But this ſage advice was not accepted.

Weavers Monuments, page 504 and 506.

The King was much irritated againſt them, and reſolved to proceed with them according to Law, and therefore they were both indicted upon the Statute, and Committed Priſoners to the Tower. And it being apprehended, that if they had Books and Paper given them, they would write againſt the Kings Marriage or his Supremacy, theſe were denyed them. The Old *Biſhop* was hardly uſed, his Biſhoprick was ſeized on, and all his goods taken from him, only ſome old rags were left to cover him; and he was neither ſupplyed well in diet nor other neceſſaries, of which he made ſad complaints to *Cromwell*. But the remander of this Tragical buſineſs, which left one of the greateſt blots on this Kings proceedings, falling within the limits of the next Book, I haſte on to the Concluſion of this.

And are proceeded againſt.

The

1534. Another Seſſion of Parliament.

The Separation from *Rome* was made in the former Seſſion of Parliament, but the Kings Supremacy was not yet fully ſetled. This was reſerved for the next Seſſion that ſate in *November* from the 3d of that month, to the 18th of *December*, about which we can have no light from the Journals, they being loſt. The firſt Act Confirmed what had been already acknowledged by the Clergy, that the King was the Supream Head in Earth, of the Church of *England*, "which was to be annexed to his other Titles: it was alſo enacted "that the King and his heirs and Succeſſors ſhould have Power to vi- "ſit and reform all Hereſies, Errors, and other Abuſes, which in the "Spiritual juriſdiction, ought to be reform'd.

The Kings Supremacy declared.

By the Second Act they Confirmed the Oath about the Succeſſion, concerning which ſome doubts had been made, becauſe there was no Oath ſpecified in the former Act: though both Houſes had taken it: it was now Enacted, that all the Subjects were obliged to take it when offered to them, under the pains contained in the Act paſſ'd in the former Seſſion. By the Third Act, the firſt Fruits and Tenths of all Eccleſiaſtical Benefices were given to the King, as the Supream Head of the Church. The Clergy were eaſily prevailed on, to conſent to the putting down of the *Annates*, pay'd to the Court of *Rome*, for all men readily concur to take off any Impoſition; but at that time it had perhaps abated much of their heartineſs, if they had imagined that theſe duties ſhould have been ſtill payed, therefore that was kept up till they had done all that was to be done againſt *Rome*. And now as the Commons and the Secular Lords would no doubt eaſily agree to lay a taxe on the Clergy, ſo the others having no forreign ſupport, were not in a condition to wreſtle againſt it.

The Oath about the Succeſſion confirmed.

The firſt Fruits of Benefices given to the King.

In the Thirteenth Act, among other things that were made Treaſon, one was the denying the King the Dignity, Title or name, of his Eſtate Royal: or the calling the King Heretick, Schiſmatick, Tyrant, Infidel, or Uſurper of the Crown. This was done to reſtrain the Inſolencies of ſome Friars, and all ſuch offenders were to be denyed the Priviledge of Sanctuaries. By the Fourteenth Act, proviſion was made for Suffragan Biſhops, which as is ſaid, *had been accuſtomed to be had within this Realm, for the more ſpeedy adminiſtration of the Sacraments, and other good wholeſom and devout things, and laudable ceremonies, to the encreaſe of Gods honour, and for the commodity of good and devout people*, therefore they appointed for Suffragans Sees, the Towns of *Thetford*, *Ipſwich*, *Colcheſter*, *Dover*, *Gilford*, *Southampton*, *Taunton*, *Shafibury*, *Malton*, *Marleborough*, *Bedford*, *Leiceſter*, *Gloceſter*, *Shrewsbury*, *Briſtol*, *Penreth*, *Bridgewater*, *Nottingham*, *Grantham*, *Hull*, *Huntington*, *Cambridge*, and the Towns of *Pereth* and *Berwick*, St. *Germans* in *Cornwall*, and the Iſle of *Wight*. For theſe Sees the Biſhop of the Dioceſs was to preſent two to the King, who might chooſe either of them, and preſent the perſon ſo named, to the Arch-Biſhop of the Province, to be Conſecrated; after which, they might exerciſe ſuch juriſdiction as the Biſhop of the Dioceſs ſhould give to them, or as Suffragans had been formerly uſed to do, but their Authority was to laſt no longer than the Biſhop continued his Commiſſion to them. But that the Reader may more clearly ſee how this Act was executed, he ſhall find in the Collection, a Writ for making

Sundry things are declared Treaſon.

An Act for Suffragan Biſhops.

Collect. *Numb.* 51.

1534. a Suffragan Biſhop. Theſe were believed to be the ſame with the *Chorepiſcopi* in the Primitive Church, which as they were begun before the firſt Council of *Nice*, ſo they continued in the Weſtern Church till the Ninth Century, and then a Decretal of *Damaſus* being forged, that condemned them, they were put down every-where by degrees, and now revived in *England*. Then followed the grant of a Subſidy to the King: It was now Twelve years ſince there was any Subſidy granted. A Fiveteenth and a Tenth were given, to be payed in Three years, the final payment being to be at Allhallontide, in the year 1537. The Bill began with a moſt Glorious Preamble "of the Kings high Wiſdom and Policy in the Government of "the Kingdom theſe Twenty Four years in great wealth and quiet- "neſs, and the great charges he had been at in the laſt War with "*Scotland*, in fortifying *Callais*, and in the War of *Ireland*, and that "he intended to bring the wilful, wild, and unreaſonable, and ſavage "people of *Ireland*, to Order and Obedience, and intended to build "Forts on the Marches of *Scotland*, for the ſecurity of the Nation, to "amend the Haven of *Calais*, and make a new one at *Dover*. By all "which they did perceive the entire love and zeal which the King bore "to his People, and that he ſought not their wealth and quietneſs, on- "ly for his own time, being a Mortal man, but did provide for it in "all time coming, therefore they thought that of very equity, rea- "ſon, and good Conſcience, they were bound to ſhow like corre- "ſpondence of zeal, gratitude and kindneſs. Upon this the King ſent a general pardon with ſome exceptions, ordinary in ſuch caſes. But *Fiſher* and *More*, were not only excluded from this pardon by general Clauſes, but by two particular Acts they were attainted of miſpriſion of Treaſon. By the Third Act according to the Record, *John* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Chriſtopher Plummer*, *Nicholas Wilſon*, *Edward Powel*, *Richard Fetherſton*, and *Miles Willyr* Clerks, were attainted for refuſing the Oath of Succeſſion, and the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter*, with the Benefices of the other Clerks were declared void from the 2d of *January* next, yet it ſeems few were fond of ſucceeding him in that See, for *John Hilſey* the next Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was not Conſecrated before the year 1537. By the Fourth Act Sr. *Thomas More* is by an Invidious Preamble charged with ingratitude, for the great favours he had received from the King, and for ſtudying to ſow and "make ſedition among the Kings Subjects, and refuſing to take the "Oath of Succeſſion, therefore they declared the Kings Grants to him "to be void, and attaint him of miſpriſion of Treaſon.

Act 26. *Rot. Parl.* A Subſidy granted.

More and *Fiſher* attainted. Act. 3. and 4. *Rot. Parl.*

This ſeverity though it was blamed by many, yet others thought it was neceſſary in ſo great a Change; ſince the Authority of theſe two men was ſuch, that if ſome ſignal notice had not been taken of them, many might by their endeavors, eſpecially encouraged by that Impunity, have been corrupted in their affections to the King. Others thought the proſecuting them in ſuch a manner, did rather raiſe their reputation higher, and give them more credit with the people, who are naturally enclined to pity thoſe that ſuffer, and to think well of thoſe opinions, for which they ſee men reſolved, to endure all extremities. But others obſerved the juſtice of God, in retaliating thus upon them their own ſeverities to others, for as *Fiſher* did grievouſly proſecute

The Proceedings againſt them variouſly cenſured.

proſecute the preachers of *Luthers* Doctrine, ſo *Mores* hand had been very heavy on them as long as he had Power, and he had ſhewed them no mercy, but the extremity of the Law, which himſelf now felt to be very heavy. Thus ended this Seſſion of Parliament, with which this Book is alſo to conclude, for now I come to a Third period of the Kings Reign, in which he did Govern his Subjects without any Competitor, but I am to ſtop a little, and give an account of the Progreſs of the Reformation in theſe years that I have paſt through. 1534.

The progreſs of the Reformation.

The Cardinal was no great perſecutor of Hereticks, which was generally thought to flow from his hatred of the Clergy, and that he was not ill pleaſed to have them depreſſed. During the agitation of the Kings proceſs, there was no proſecution of the Preachers of *Luthers* Doctrine, whether this flowed from any Intimation of the Kings pleaſure to the Biſhops or not, I cannot tell, but it is very probable it muſt have been ſo, for theſe opinions were received by many, and the Popiſh Clergy were ſo inclined to ſeverity, that as they wanted not Occaſions, ſo they had a good mind to uſe thoſe Preachers cruelly, ſo that it is likely the King reſtrained them, and that was always mixed with the other threatnings to work upon the Pope, that Hereſie would prevail in *England*, if the King got not juſtice done him, ſo that till the Cardinal fell, they were put to no further trouble.

But as ſoon as *More* came into favour, he preſſed the King much, to put the Laws againſt Hereticks in execution, and ſuggeſted that the Court of *Rome* would be more wrought upon, by the Kings ſupporting the Church, and defending the Faith vigorouſly, than by threatnings: and therefore a long Proclamation was iſſued out againſt the Hereticks, many of their Books were prohibited, and all the Laws againſt them were appointed to be put in execution, and great care was taken to ſeize them as they came into *England*, but many eſcaped their diligence. *Fox.*

Tindal and others at *Antwerp.*

There were ſome at *Antwerp*, *Tindal*, *Joye*, *Conſtantine*, with a few more, that were every year writing and printing new Books chiefly againſt the corruptions of the Clergy, the Superſtition of pilgrimages, of worſhiping Images, Saints, and Relicks, and againſt relying on theſe things, which were then called in the common ſtyle, *Good works*, in oppoſition to which they wrote much about Faith in Chriſt with a true Evangelical obedience, as the only mean by which men could be ſaved. The Book that had the greateſt Authority and influence, was *Tindals* Tranſlation of the new Teſtament, of which the Biſhops made great complaints, and ſaid, it was full of errors. But *Tonſtall* then Biſhop of *London*, being a man of invincible moderation, would do no body hurt, yet endeavoured as he could, to get their Books into his hands: So being at *Antwerp* in the year 1529. as he returned from his Embaſſie at the Treaty of *Cambray*, he ſent for one *Packington* an *Engliſh* Merchant there, and deſired him to ſee how many New Teſtaments of *Tindals* Tranſlation he might have for Money. *Packington*, who was a ſecret favourer of *Tindal*, told him, what the Biſhop propoſed. *Tindal* was very glad of it, for being convinced of ſome faults in his work, *Halle.*

1534. work, he was deſigning a new and more correct Edition; but he was poor, and the former Impreſſion not being ſold off, he could not go about it: ſo he gave *Packington* all the Copies that lay in his hands, for which the Biſhop payed the price, and brought them over, and burnt them publickly in *Cheapſide*. This had ſuch an hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of God, that people from thence concluded there muſt be a viſible contrariety, between that book and the Doctrines of thoſe who ſo handled it; by which both their prejudice againſt the Clergy, and their deſire of reading the New Teſtament was encreaſed. So that next year, when the Second Edition was finiſhed, many more were brought over, and *Conſtantine* being taken in *England*, the Lord Chancellor in a private examination, promiſed him that no hurt ſhould be done him if he would reveal who encouraged and ſupported them at *Antwerp*; which he accepted of, and told that the greateſt encouragement they had, was from the Biſhop of *London*, who had bought up half the Impreſſion. This made all that heard of it laugh heartily, though more judicious perſons diſcerned the great temper of that Learned Biſhop in it. When the Clergy condemned *Tindals* Tranſlation of the New Teſtament, they declared they intended to ſet out a true Tranſlation of it; which many thought, was never truly deſigned by them, but only pretended, that they might reſtrain the Curioſity of ſeeing *Tindals* work, with the hopes of one that ſhould be Authorized: and as they made no progreſs in it, ſo at length on the 24th of *May*, *Anno* 1530. there was a paper drawn and agreed to by Arch-Biſhop *Warham*, Chancellor *More*, Biſhop *Tonſtall*, and many Canoniſts and Divines, which every Incumbent was commanded to read to his Pariſh, as a warning to prevent the Contagion of Hereſie. The Contents of which were, that the King having called "together many of the Prelates, with other Learned men out of "both Univerſities, to examine ſome Books lately ſet out in the *Engliſh* tongue, they had agreed to condemn them, as containing ſe-"veral points of Hereſie in them; and it being propoſed to them, "whether it was neceſſary to ſet forth the Scriptures in the vulgar "tongue, they were of opinion, that though it had been ſometimes "done, yet it was not neceſſary, and that the King did well, not to "ſet it out at that time in the *Engliſh* tongue. So by this all the hopes of a Tranſlation of the Scriptures vaniſhed.

The New Teſtament burnt.

The laſt Paper in Sr. *Henry Spelmans* 2d vol.

There came out another Book which took mightily, it was entituled *The Supplication of the Beggars*, written by one *Simon Fiſh* of *Grayes-Inn*. In it the Beggars complained to the King, that they were reduced to great miſery, the Alms of the people being intercepted by companies of ſtrong and idle Friars; for ſuppoſing that each of the Five Mendicant Orders, had but a Peny a quarter from every houſhold, it did riſe to a vaſt Sum, of which the Indigent and truly Neceſſitous Beggars were defrauded. Their being unprofitable to the Common-wealth, with ſeveral other things, were alſo complained of. He alſo taxed the Pope for Cruelty and Covetouſneſs, that did not deliver all perſons out of Purgatory, and that none but the Rich who payed well for it, could be diſcharged out of that Priſon. This was written in a witty and taking Style, and the King had it put in his

Supplication of the Beggars.

his hands by *Anne Boleyn*, and lik'd it well, and would not ſuffer any thing to be done to the Author. 1534.

Chancellor *More* was the moſt zealous Champion the Clergy had, for I do not find that any of them wrote much, only the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* wrote for Purgatory; but the reſt left it wholly to him, either becauſe few of them could write well, or that he being much eſteemed, and a diſintereſſed perſon, things would be better received from him, than from them who were look'd on as Parties. So he anſwered this Supplication by another, in the name of the ſouls that were in Purgatory; repreſenting the miſeries they were in, and the great relief they found by the Maſſes the Friers ſaid for them, and brought in every mans Anceſtours calling earneſtly upon him to befriend thoſe poor Friars now, when they had ſo many Enemies. He confidently aſſerted, it had been the Doctrine of the Church for many Ages, and brought many places out of the Scriptures to prove it, beſides ſeveral reaſons that ſeemed to confirm it. This, being writ of a Subject that would allow of a great deal of popular and moving Eloquence, in which he was very eminent, took with many. *More* anſwers it.

But it diſcovered to others what was the Foundation of thoſe Religious Orders, and that if the belief of Purgatory were once rooted out, all that was built on that Foundation muſt needs fall with it. So *John Frith* wrote an anſwer to *More*'s Supplication, to ſhew, that there was no ground for Purgatory in Scripture; and that it was not believed in the Primitive Church. He alſo anſwered the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Book, and ſome Dialogues that were written on the ſame Subject, by *Raſtal* a Printer, and Kinſman of *Mores*: He diſcovered the fallacy of their reaſonings, which were built on the weakneſs, or defects of our Repentance in this Life; and that therefore there muſt be another ſtate in which we muſt be further purified. To this he anſwered, That our ſins were not pardoned for our Repentance, or the Perfection of it, but only for the Merits and Sufferings of Chriſt; and that if our Repentance is ſincere, God accepts of it; and ſin being once pardoned, it could not be further puniſhed. He ſhewed the difference between the puniſhments we may ſuffer in this Life, and thoſe in Purgatory; the one are either Medicinal Corrections for Reforming us more and more, or for giving Warning to others: The other are terrible Puniſhments without any of theſe ends in them: therefore the one might well conſiſt with the free pardon of ſin, the other could not. So he argued from all theſe places of Scripture, in which we are ſaid to be freely pardoned our ſins by the Blood of Chriſt, that no puniſhment in another ſtate could conſiſt with it: He alſo argued from all thoſe places in which it is ſaid, that we ſhall at the day of Judgment receive according to what we have done in the body, that there was no ſtate of Purgatory beyond this life. For the places brought out of the Old Teſtament, he ſhewed they could not be meant of Purgatory, ſince according to the Doctrine of the School-men there was no going to Purgatory before Chriſt. For the places in the New Teſtament he appealed to *More*'s great Friend, *Eraſmus*, whoſe Expoſition of theſe places differed much from his Gloſſes. That place in the Epiſtle to the *Corinthians* about *the fire*, that was to try every mans work, he ſaid, was plainly Allegorical; and ſince the Foundation, the building of Gold, Silver, and precious Stones; of Wood, *Frith* replies.

Hay

1534. Hay and Stubble, were Figuratively taken, there was no reaſon to take the *fire* in a literal ſenſe: therefore by *fire* was to be underſtood the Perſecution then near at hand; called in other places, *the fiery trial.*

For the Ancient Doctors, he ſhewed, that in the fourth Century, St. *Ambroſe*, *Jerome*, and St. *Auſtin*, the three great Doctors of that Age did not believe it, and cited ſeveral paſſages out of their Writings. It is true, St. *Auſtin* went further than the reſt, for though in ſome paſſages he delivered his Opinion againſt it, yet in other places he ſpake of it more doubtfully as a thing that might be enquired into, but that it could not be certainly known; and indeed before *Gregory* the *Greats* time, it was not received in the Church, and then the *Benedictine* Monks were beginning to ſpread and grow numerous, and they to draw advantages from it, told many ſtories of Viſions and Dreams, to poſſeſs the world with the belief of it; then the trade grew ſo profitable, that ever ſince it was kept up, and improved: and what ſucceeded ſo well with one Society and Order, to enrich themſelves much by it, was an encouragement to others to follow their tract in the ſame way of traffick. This Book was generally well received, and the Clergy were ſo offended at the Author, that they reſolved to make him feel a real fire whenever he was catched, for endeavoring to put out their imaginary one.

That from which *More* and others took greateſt advantage, was, that the new preachers prevailed only on ſimple Tradſemen, and women, and other illiterate perſons: but to this the others anſwered, That the *Phariſees* made the ſame objection to the followers of *Chriſt*, who were Fiſher-men, women, and rude Mechanicks; but Chriſt told them, *that to the poor the Goſpel was preached*; and when the Philoſophers and Jews objected that to the Apoſtles: They ſaid Gods glory did the more appear, ſince not many rich, wiſe, or noble, were called, but the poor and deſpiſed were choſen: that men who had much to loſe, had not that ſimplicity of mind, nor that diſingagement from worldly things, that was a neceſſary diſpoſition to fit them for a Doctrine which was like to bring much trouble and perſecution on them.

The cruel proceedings againſt the Reformers.

Thus I have opened ſome of theſe things, which were at that time diſputed by the pen, in which oppoſition new things were ſtill ſtarted and examined. But this was too feeble a weapon for the defence of the Clergy, therefore they ſought out ſharper tools. So there were many brought into the Biſhops Courts, ſome for teaching their Children the *Lords Prayer*, in Engliſh, ſome for reading the forbidden Books, ſome for harbouring the Preachers, ſome for ſpeaking againſt Pilgrimages, or the worſhipping and adorning of Images, ſome for not obſerving the Church Faſts, ſome for not coming to Confeſſion and the Sacrament, and ſome for ſpeaking againſt the Vices of the Clergy. Moſt of theſe were ſimple and illiterate men, and the terrour of the Biſhops Courts, and Priſons, and of a Faggot in the end, wrought ſo much on their fears and weakneſs, that they generally abjured, and were diſmiſſed. But in the end of the year, 1530. one *Thomas Hitton*, who had been Curate of *Maidſton*, and had left that plaee, going off to *Antwerp*; he bringing over ſome of the Books that were printed there, was taken at *Graveſend*, and brought before *Warham* and *Fiſher*, who, after he had ſuffered much by a long and cruel Impriſonment, condemned him to be Burnt.

More.

Tindal.

The

The moſt eminent perſon that ſuffered about this time, was *Thomas Bilney*, of whoſe Abjuration an account was given in the firſt Book: he after that, went to *Cambridge*, and was much troubled in his Conſcience, for what he had done, ſo that the reſt of that Society at *Cambridge*, were in great apprehenſions of ſome violent effect, which that deſperation might produce, and ſometimes watched him whole nights. This continued about a year, but at length his mind was more quieted, and he reſolved to expiate his Abjuration, by as publick and ſolemn a Confeſſion of the Truth: and to prepare himſelf the better both to defend and ſuffer for the Doctrines, which he had formerly through fear denyed; he followed his Studies for two years. And when he found himſelf well fortified in this reſolution, he took leave of his Friends at *Cambridge*, and went to his own Countrey of *Norfolk*, to whom he thought he owed his firſt endeavours. 1534. *Bilneys* Tryal. *Latimers* Sermons.

He preached up and down the Countrey, confeſſing his former ſin of denying the Faith, and taught the people to beware of Idolatry, or truſting to Pilgrimages, to the Cowle of St. *Francis*, to the Prayers of Saints, or to Images; but exhorted them to ſtay at home, to give much Alms, to believe in Jeſus Chriſt, and to offer up their hearts, wills, and minds, to him in the Sacrament. This being noiſed about he was ſeized on by the Biſhops Officers, and put in Priſon at *Norwich*, and the Writ was ſent for to burn him as a Relapſe, he being firſt condemned and degraded from his Prieſthood: while he was in Priſon the Friars came oft about him to perſwade him to recant again, and it was given out that he did read a Bill of Abjuration. The things objected to him. *Fox.*

More not being ſatisfied to have ſent the Writ for his burning, ſtudied alſo to defame him, publiſhing this to the World; yet in that he was certainly abuſed, for if he had ſigned any ſuch Paper, it had been put in the Biſhops Regiſter, as all things of that nature were; but no ſuch writing was ever ſhewn, only ſome ſaid they heard him read it, and others who denyed there was any ſuch thing, being queſtioned for it, ſubmitted and confeſſed their fault. But at ſuch a time it was no ſtrange thing, if a ly of that nature, was vented with ſo much Authority, that men were afraid to contradict it; and when a man is a cloſe Priſoner, thoſe who only have acceſs to him, may ſpread what report of him they pleaſe, and when once ſuch a thing is ſaid, they never want officious vouchers to ly and ſwear for it. But ſince nothing was ever ſhow'd under his hand, it is clear there was no truth in theſe reports, which were ſpread about to take away the honour of Martyrdom from the new Doctrines. It is true he had never enquired into all the other Tenets of the Church of *Rome*, and ſo did not differ from them about the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament and ſome other things. But when men durſt ſpeak freely, there were ſeveral perſons, that witneſſed the Conſtancy and ſincerity of *Bilney*, in theſe his laſt Conflicts; and among the reſt, *Matthew Parker* afterwards Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, was an eye-witneſs of his ſufferings, which from his relation were publiſhed afterwards: he took his death patiently and conſtantly, and in the little time that was allowed him to live after his Sentence, he was obſerved to be chearful; and the poor Victuals that were brought him, Bread and Ale, he eat up heartily, of which when one took notice, he ſaid he muſt It is given out that he abjured. The falſhood of which afterwards appeared. *Fox.*

1534. keep up that ruinous Cottage till it fell; and often repeated that paſſage in *Iſaiah*, *When thou walk'ſt through the fire thou ſhall not be burnt*; and putting his finger in the flame of the Candle, he told thoſe about him, that he well knew what a pain burning was, but that it ſhould only conſume the Stubble of his Body, and that his Soul ſhould be purged by it.

The manner of his Suffering. When the day of Execution came, being the 10th of *November*, as he was led out, he ſaid to one that exhorted him to be patient and conſtant, that as the Mariners endured the toſſing of the Waves, hoping to arrive at their deſired Port, ſo though he was now entring into a ſtorm, yet he hop'd he ſhould ſoon arrive at the Haven, and deſired their Prayers. When he came to the Stake, he repeated the Creed, to ſhow the People that he dyed in the Faith of the Apoſtles; then he put up his Prayers to God with great ſhow's of inward devotion; which ended, he repeated the 143 *Pſalm*, and paus'd on theſe words of it, *Enter not into Judgment with thy Servant, for in thy ſight ſhall no man living be juſtified*, with deep recollection: and when Doctor *Warner*, that accompanied him to the Stake, took leave of him with many tears, *Bilney* with a chearful countenance exhorted him to feed his flock, that at his Lords coming he might find him ſo doing. Many of the begging Friars deſired him to declare to the people, that they had not procured his death; for that was got among them, and they feared the people would give them no more Alms: ſo he deſired the Spectators not to be the worſe to theſe men for his ſake, for they had not procur'd his death. Then the fire was ſet to, and his Body conſum'd to aſhes.

Thus it appears, both what Opinion the people had of him, and in what charity he dyed even towards his enemies, doing them good for evil; but this, though it perhaps ſtruck terror in weaker minds, yet it no leſs encourag'd others to endure patiently all the ſeverities that were uſ'd to draw them from this Doctrine. Soon after, one *Richard Byfield* ſuffered, he was a Monk of St. *Edmundsbury*, and had been inſtructed by Doctor *Barnes*, who gave him ſome Books; which being diſcovered, he was put in Priſon, but through fear abjured; yet afterward he left the Monaſtery and came to *London*: He went oft over to *Antwerp*, and brought in forbidden Books, which being ſmell'd out, he was ſeized on, and examined about theſe Books; he juſtified them, and ſaid, he thought they were good and profitable, and did openly exclaim againſt the diſſolute lives of the Clergy; ſo being judged Heretick, he was burnt in *Smithfield*, the 11th of *November*.

Byfield's Sufferings.

And *Tewksburies*. In *December*, one *John Tewksbury* a Shop-keeper in *London*, who had formerly abjured, was alſo taken and tryed in Sr. *Thomas Mores* houſe at *Chelſey*, where Sentence was given againſt him by *Stokeſley* Biſhop of *London*, (for *Tonſtall* was tranſlated the former year to *Dureſm*) and was burnt in *Smithfield*. There were alſo three Burnt at *York* this year, two men and one woman.

Theſe proceedings were complain'd of in the following Seſſion of Parliament, as was formerly told, and the Eccleſiaſtical Courts being found both Arbitrary and Cruel, the Houſe of Commons deſired a redreſs of that from the King; but nothing was done about it till

Three

Three years after that, the new Act againſt Hereticks was made, as was already told. The Clergy were not much moved at the addreſs which the Houſe of Commons made, and therefore went on in their extreme Courſes, and to ſtrike a Terror in the Gentry, they reſolved to make an Example of one *James Bainham* a Gentleman of the *Temple*: he was carryed to the Lord Chancellors Houſe, where much pains was taken to perſwade him to diſcover ſuch as he knew in the *Temple*, who favour'd the new Opinions; but fair means not prevailing, *More* made him be whipt in his own preſence, and after that, ſent him to the *Tower*, where he look't on, and ſaw him put to the Rack. Yet it ſeems nothing could be drawn from him, that might be made uſe of, to any other perſons hurt; yet he himſelf afterwards overcome with fear, abjured and did penance, but had no quiet in his Conſcience, till he went publickly to Church, with a New Teſtament in his hand, and confeſs'd with many tears, that he had denyed God, and prayed the people not to do as he had done, and ſaid, that he felt an Hell in his own Conſcience, for what he had done. So he was ſoon after carryed to the *Tower*, (for now the Biſhops, to avoid the Imputation of uſing men cruelly in their Priſons, did put Hereticks in the Kings Priſons) he was charged for having ſaid, "That *Thomas a Becket* was a Murderer, and damned in Hell if he did "not repent, and for ſpeaking contemptouſly of praying to Saints, and "ſaying that the Sacrament of the Altar was only Chriſts Myſti-"cal Body, and that his Body was not chew'd with the Teeth, but "received by Faith. So he was judged an obſtinate and relapſ'd Heretick, and was burnt in *Smithfield* about the end of *April* 1532. There were alſo ſome others burnt a little before this time, of whom a particular account could not be recovered by *Fox* with all his Induſtry. But with *Bainham*, *Mores* perſecution ended, for ſoon after he laid down the great Seal, which ſet the poor Preachers at eaſe.

1534.

Bainham's Sufferings.

Fox.

Crome and *Latimer* were brought before the Convocation and accus'd of Hereſie. They both Subſcribed the Articles offered to them, "That there was a Purgatory: That the Souls in it were profited "by Maſſes ſaid for them; That the Saints are now in Heaven, and "as Mediators pray for us: That men ought to pray to them and ho-"nour them: That Pilgrimages were Pious and Meritorious: That "men who vowed Chaſtity might not Marry without the Popes Diſ-"penſation: That the Keys of binding and looſing were given to St. "*Peter*, and to his Succeſſors, though their lives were bad, and not at "all to the Laity: That men merited by Prayers, Faſting, and other "good Works: That Prieſts prohibited by the Biſhop, ſhould not "preach, till they were purged and reſtored: That the Seven Sacra-"ments conferr'd Grace: That Conſecrations and Benedictions uſed by "the Church were good: That it was good and profitable to ſet up "the Images of Chriſt and the Saints in the Churches, and to adorn "them and burn Candles before them; and that Kings were not ob-"liged to give their people the Scriptures in a vulgar tongue. By theſe Articles it may be eaſily Collected, what were the Doctrines then preach'd by the Reformers. There was yet no diſpute about the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, which was firſt called in queſtion by *Frith*, for the Books of *Zuinglius* and *Oecolampadius* came

Regiſt. *Tonſt.*

Articles which ſome abjured.

1534. later into *England*, and hitherto they had only ſeen *Luthers* works with thoſe written by his followers.

Tracy's Teſtament. But in the year 1532. there was another memorable inſtance of the Clergies cruelty againſt the dead bodies of thoſe whom they ſuſpected of Hereſie. The Common ſtyle of all Wills and Teſtaments at that time was, Firſt, "I bequeath my Soul to Almighty God, and to our "Lady St. *Mary*, and to all the Saints in Heaven: but one *William Tra-* "*cie* of *Worceſterſhire* dying, left a Will of a far different ſtrain, for he "bequeathed his Soul only to God through Jeſus Chriſt, to whoſe "interceſſion alone he truſted, without the help of any other Saint, "therefore he left no part of his goods to have any pray for his Soul. This being brought to the Biſhop of *Londons* Court, he was condemned as an Heretick, and an order was ſent to *Parker* Chancellor of *Worceſter* to raiſe his Body. The Officious Chancellor went beyond his order and burn't the Body; but the Record bears, that though he might by the Warrant he had, raiſe the body according to the Law of the Church, yet he had no Authority to burn it. So two years after *Tracies* heirs ſued him for it, and he was turn'd out of his Office of Chancellor, and fined in 400 Pound.

Regiſt. *Fitz-James.*

Regiſt. *Stokeſ.* Fol. 72.

Harding's Sufferings. There is another Inſtance of the Cruelty of the Clergy this year. One *Thomas Harding* of *Buckinghamſhire*, an Ancient man, who had abjured in the year 1506. was now obſerved to go often into woods, and was ſeen ſometimes reading. Upon which his houſe was ſearch'd, and ſome parcels of the New Teſtament in *Engliſh* were found in it. So he was carryed before *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, who as he was a cruel Perſecutor, ſo being the Kings Confeſſor, acted with the more Authority. This Aged man was judged a Relapſe, and ſent to *Cheſham*, where he lived, to be burn't, which was Executed on *Corpus Chriſti* Eve. At this time there was an Indulgence of 40 dayes pardon proclaimed to all that carryed a Faggot to the burning of an Heretick: So dextrouſly did the Clergy endeavor to infect the Laity with their own cruel Spirit; and that wrought upon this occaſion a ſignal effect, for as the fire was kindled, one flung a Faggot at the old mans head, which daſh't out his brains.

Fox.

1533. In the year 1533. it was thought fit by ſome ſignal evidence to convince the World, that the King did not deſign to change the eſtabliſh'd Religion, though he had then proceeded far in his breach with *Rome*; and the crafty Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, *Gardiner*, as he complyed with the King in his ſecond Marriage and ſeparation from *Rome*, ſo being an inveterate Enemy to the Reformation, and in his heart addicted to the Court of *Rome*, did by this argument often prevail with the King, to puniſh the Hereticks, That it would moſt effectually juſtifie his other proceedings, and convince the World that he was ſtill a good Catholick King; which at ſeveral times drew the King to what he deſired. And at this time, the ſteps the King had made in his Separation from the Pope, had given ſuch heart to the new Preachers, that they grew bolder and more publick in their Aſſemblies.

Friths Sufferings.

John Frith, as he was an excellent Schollar, which was ſo taken notice of, ſome years before, that he was put in the liſt of thoſe whom the Cardinal intended to bring from *Cambridge*, and put in his Col-

ledge

ledge at *Oxford*; ſo he had offended them by ſeveral writings, and by a diſcourſe which he wrote againſt the Corporal preſence of Chriſt, in the Sacrament, had provoked the King, who continued to his death to believe that firmly. "The ſubſtance of his Arguments was, "that Chriſt in the Sacrament gave eternal life, but the receiving "the bare Sacrament did not give eternal life, ſince many took it to "their damnation; therefore Chriſts preſence there, was only felt by "Faith. This he further proved by the Fathers before Chriſt, who "did eat the ſame ſpiritual food, and drink of the Rock, which was "Chriſt, according to St. *Paul*: ſince then, they and we communicate "in the ſame thing, and it was certain that they did not eat Chriſts "Fleſh Corporally, but fed by Faith on a *Meſſias* to come, as Chriſti-"ans do on a *Meſſias* already come: therefore we now do only com-"municate by Faith. He alſo inſiſted much on the ſignification of "the word Sacrament, from whence he concluded, that the Elements "muſt be the Myſtical Signs of Chriſts Body and Blood; for if they "were truly the Fleſh and Blood of Chriſt, they ſhould not be Sacra-"ments: he concluded, that the ends of the Sacrament were theſe three, "by a viſible action to knit the Society of Chriſtians together in one "body, to be a means of conveighing Grace upon our due participa-"ting of them, and to be Remembrances to ſtir up men to bleſs God "for that unſpeakable love, which in the death of Chriſt appeared "to mankind. To all theſe ends the Corporal preſence of Chriſt "availed nothing, they being ſufficiently anſwered by a Myſtical pre-"ſence: yet he drew no other Concluſion from theſe Premiſſes, but "that the belief of the Corporal preſence in the Sacrament, was no "neceſſary Article of our Faith. This either flowed from his not having yet arrived at a ſure perſwaſion in the matter, or that he choſe in that modeſt ſtyle, to encounter an opinion of which the World was ſo fond, that to have oppoſed it in down-right words, would have given prejudices againſt all that he could ſay.

1534

His Arguments againſt the Corporal preſence.

Frith upon a long converſation with one upon this Subject, was deſired to ſet down the heads of it in writing, which he did. The Paper went about and was by a falſe Brother conveyed to Sr. *Thomas More's* hands, who ſet himſelf to anſwer it in his ordinary ſtyle, treating *Frith* with great contempt, calling him alwayes the young man. *Frith* was in Priſon before he ſaw *Mores* Book, yet he wrote a reply to it, which I do not find was then publiſhed; but a Copy of it was brought afterwards to *Cranmer*, who acknowledged when he wrote his Apology againſt *Gardiner*, that he had received great light in that matter from *Friths* Books, and drew moſt of his Arguments out of it. It was afterwards Printed with his works *Anno* 1573. and by it may appear, how much Truth is Stronger than Error. For though *More* wrote with as much Wit and Eloquence as any man in that Age did, and *Frith* wrote plainly without any Art; yet there is ſo great a difference between their Books, that whoever compares them, will clearly perceive the one to be the Ingenious defender of an ill cauſe, and the other a ſimple aſſerter of Truth. *Frith* wrote with all the diſadvantage that was poſſible, being then in the Jayl, where he could have no Books, but ſome Notes he might have collected formerly: he was alſo ſo loaded with Irons, that he could

ſcarce

1534. ſcarce ſit with any eaſe. He began with confirming what he had delivered about the Fathers before Chriſt, their feeding on his Body in the ſame manner that Chriſtians do ſince his death: This he proved from Scripture, and ſeveral places of St. *Auſtins* works; he proved alſo from Scripture, that after the Conſecration, the Elements were ſtill *Bread* and *Wine*, and were ſo called both by our Saviour and his Apoſtles; that our Senſes ſhew they are not changed in their Natures, and that they are ſtill ſubject to Corruption, which can no way be ſaid of the body of Chriſt. He proved that the eating of Chriſts Fleſh in the 6th of St. *John*, cannot be applyed to the Sacrament; ſince the wicked receive it, who yet do not eat the Fleſh of Chriſt, otherwiſe they ſhould have eternal life. He ſhewed alſo, that the Sacrament coming in the room of the Jewiſh Paſchal Lamb, we muſt underſtand Chriſts words, *This is my Body*, in the ſame ſenſe in which it was ſaid, that the Lamb was *the Lords Paſſover*. He confirmed this by many paſſages, cited out of *Tertullian*, *Athanaſius*, *Chryſoſtome*, *Ambroſe*, *Jerome*, *Auſtin*, *Fulgentius*, *Euſebius*, and ſome later writers, as *Beda*, *Bertram* and *Druthmar*, who did all aſſert that the Elements retained their former Natures, and were only the Myſteries, Signs, and Figures of the Body and Blood of Chriſt. But *Gelaſius*'s words ſeemed ſo remarkable, that they could not but determine the Controverſie, eſpecially conſidering he was Biſhop of *Rome*: he therefore writing againſt the *Eutichians*, who thought the humane nature of Chriſt was changed into the Divine, ſays; *that as the Elements of Bread and Wine being Conſecrated to be the Sacraments of the Body and Blood of Chriſt, did not ceaſe to be Bread and Wine in Subſtance, but continued in their own proper natures*; ſo the humane nature of Chriſt continued ſtill, though it was united to the Divine nature: this was a manifeſt Indication of the belief of the Church in that Age, and ought to weigh more than a hundred high Rhetorical Expreſſions. He brought likewiſe ſeveral teſtimonies out of the Fathers to ſhew that they knew nothing of the Conſequences that follow Tranſubſtantiation; of a Body being in more places at once, or being in a place after the manner of a Spirit, or of the worſhip to be given to the Sacrament. Upon this he digreſſes, and ſays, that the *German* Divines believed a Corporal preſence; yet ſince that was only an Opinion that reſted in their minds, and did not carry along with it any Corruption of the worſhip, or Idolatrous practiſe, it was to be born with, and the peace of the Church was not to be broken for it: but the caſe of the Church of *Rome* was very different, which had ſet up groſs Idolatry, building it upon this Doctrine.

Thus I have given a ſhort Abſtract of *Friths* Book, which I thought fit, the rather to do, becauſe it was the firſt Book that was written on this Subject in *England* by any of the Reformers. And from hence it may appear, upon what ſolid and weighty reaſons they then began to ſhake the received Opinion of Tranſubſtantiation: and with how much learning this Controverſie was managed by him, who firſt undertook it.

One thing was ſingular in *Friths* Opinion, that he thought there ſhould be no conteſt made about the manner of Chriſts preſence in the Sacrament; for what ever Opinion men held in Speculation, if

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it went not to a practical error (which was the Adoration of it, for that was Idolatry in his Opinion) there were no diſputes to be made about it, therefore he was much againſt all heats between the *Lutherans* and *Zuinglians*, for he thought in ſuch a matter that was wholly ſpeculative, every man might hold his own Opinion without making a breach of the Unity of the Church about it. 1534.

He was apprehended in *May* 1533. and kept in Priſon till the 20th of *June*, and then he was brought before the Biſhop of *London*, *Gardiner*, and *Longland* ſitting with him. They objected to him his Opinions about the *Sacrament* and *Purgatory*; he anſwered, that for the firſt he did not find *Tranſubſtantiation* in the Scriptures, nor in any approved Authors; and therefore he would not admit any thing as an Article of Faith, without clear and certain grounds: for he did not think the Authority of the Church reached ſo far. They argued with him upon ſome paſſages out of St. *Auſtin* and St. *Chryſoſtome*, to which he anſwered, by oppoſing other places of the ſame Fathers, and ſhew'd how they were to be reconciled to themſelves; when it came to a Concluſion, theſe words are ſet down in the Regiſter as his Confeſſion. Regiſter *Stokeſ.* Fol. 71. and a Letter of his in *Fox.*

"*Frith* thinketh and judgeth that the natural Body of Chriſt, is "not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but in one place only at once. "*Item* he ſaith, that neither part is a neceſſary Article of our Faith, "whether the natural Body be there in the Sacrament or not. His Opinion of the Sacrament.

As for *Purgatory*, he ſaid a man conſiſted of two parts, his Body and Soul; his Body was purged by ſickneſs and other pains, and at laſt by death, and was not by their own Doctrine ſent to Purgatory. And for the Soul, it was purged through the word of God received by Faith. So his Confeſſion was written down in theſe words. *Item* "*Frith* thinketh and judgeth that there is no Purgatory for the Soul "after that it is departed from the Body, and as he thinketh herein, "ſo hath he ſaid, written, and defended, howbeit he thinketh neither "part to be an Article of Faith, neceſſarily to be believed under pain of "Damnation. And of Purgatory.

The Biſhops with the Doctors that ſtood about them, took much pains to make him change; but he told them, that he could not be induced to believe, that theſe were Articles of Faith. And when they threatned to proceed to a Final Sentence, he ſeemed not moved with it, but ſaid, *Let judgment be done in righteouſneſs.* The Biſhops, though none of them were guilty of great tenderneſs, yet ſeem'd to pity him much; and the Biſhop of *London* profeſſed, he gave Sentence with great grief of heart. In the end he was judged an Obſtinate Heretick, and was delivered to the Secular Power: there is one clauſe in this Sentence, which is not in many others, therefore I ſhall ſet it down. He is Condemned.

"Moſt earneſtly requiring in the Bowels of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, "that this Execution and puniſhment worthily to be done upon thee, "may be ſo moderate, that the rigor thereof be not too extreme, "nor yet the gentleneſs too much mitigated, but that it may be to "the Salvation of thy Soul, to the extirpation, terror, and converſi-"on of Hereticks, and to the Unity of the Catholick Faith. This was thought a ſcorning of God and men, when thoſe, who knew that

1534. that he was to be burnt, and intended it ſhould be ſo, yet uſed ſuch an Obteſtation by the Bowels of Jeſus Chriſt, that the rigor might not be extreme. This being certified, the Writ was iſſued out, and as the Regiſter bears, he was burnt in *Smithfield* the 4th of *July*, and one *Anarter Hewet* with him, who alſo denyed the Preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar. This *Hewet* was an Apprentice, and went to the meetings of theſe Preachers, and was twice betrayed by ſome ſpies whom the Biſhops Officers had among them, who diſcovered many. When he was examined, he would not acknowledge the Corporal Preſence, but was illiterate, and reſolved to do as *Frith* did, ſo he was alſo condemned and burnt with him.

His Conſtancy in his Sufferings.

When they were brought to the Stake, *Frith* expreſſed great joy, at his approaching Martyrdom, and in a Tranſport of it, hugged the Faggots in his Arms, as the Inſtruments that were to ſend him to his eternal reſt. One Doctor *Cook* a Parſon of *London* called to the people, that they ſhould not pray for them any more than they would do for a Dog. At which *Frith* ſmiled, and prayed God to forgive him; ſo the fire was ſet to, and they were conſum'd to Aſhes.

This was the laſt Act of the Clergies Cruelty againſt mens lives, and was much condemned: it was thought an unheard-of barbarity, thus to burn a moderate and learned young man, only becauſe he would not acknowledge ſome of their Doctrines to be Articles of Faith; and though his private judgment was againſt their tenet, yet he was not poſitive in it, any further, than that he could not believe the contrary to be neceſſary to Salvation. But the Clergy were now ſo bathed in blood, that they ſeemed to have ſtrip't themſelves of thoſe impreſſions of pity and compaſſion, which are natural to mankind; they therefore held on in their ſevere courſes, till the Act of Parliament did effectually reſtrain them.

Philip's Sufferings.

In the Account that was given of that Act, mention was made of one *Thomas Philips*, who put in his complaint to the Houſe of Commons againſt the Biſhop of *London*. The proceedings againſt him, had been both extreme and illegal; he was firſt apprehended, and put in the *Tower* upon ſuſpition of Hereſie, and when they ſearched him, a Copy of *Tracy's* Teſtament was found about him, and Butter and Cheeſe were found in his Chamber, it being in the time of *Lent*. There was alſo another Letter found about him, exhorting him to be ready to ſuffer conſtantly for the Truth. Upon theſe preſumptions the Biſhop of *London* proceeded againſt him, and required him to abjure. But he ſaid, he would willingly ſwear to be obedient as a Chriſtian man ought, and that he would never hold any Hereſie during his life, nor favour Hereticks; but the Biſhop would not accept of that, ſince there might be Ambiguities in it: therefore he required him to make the Abjuration in common form, which he refuſed to do, and appealed to the King as the Supreme Head of the Church. Yet the Biſhop pronounced him *Contumax*, and did excommunicate him; but whether he was releaſed on his Appeal, or not, I do not find; yet perhaps this was the man of whom the Pope complained to the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors 1532. that an Heretick having appealed to the King as the Supreme Head of the Church, was taken out of the Biſhops hands, and judged and acquitted in the Kings Courts. It is probable this

this was the man, only the Pope was informed, that it was from the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* that he Appealed, in which there might be a miſtake for the Biſhop of *London*. But whatever ground there may be for that conjecture, *Philips* got his liberty, and put in a Complaint to the Houſe of Commons, which produced the Act about Hereticks. 1534.

A ſtop is put to theſe cruel proceedings.

And now that Act being paſſed, together with the extirpation of the Popes Authority, and the Power being lodged in the King to correct and reform Hereſies, Idolatries, and Abuſes, the Standard of the Catholick Faith being alſo declared to be the Scriptures, the Perſecuted Preachers had eaſe and encouragement every-where. They alſo ſaw that the neceſſity of the Kings Affairs, would conſtrain him to be gentle to them, for the Sentence which the Pope gave againſt the King, was committed to the Emperor to be executed by him, who was then aſpiring to an univerſal Monarchy; and therefore as ſoon as his other Wars gave him leiſure to look over to *England* and *Ireland*, he had now a good colour to juſtifie an Invaſion both from the Popes Sentence, and the intereſts and honour of his Family in protecting his Aunt and her Daughter: Therefore the King was to give him work elſewhere, in order to which his intereſt obliged him to joyn himſelf to the Princes of *Germany*, who had at *Smalcald* entred into a League offenſive and defenſive, for the liberty of Religion and the Rights of the Empire. This was a thorn in the Emperor's ſide, which the Kings Intereſt would oblige him by all means to maintain. Upon which the Reformers in *England* concluded, that either the King, to recommend himſelf to theſe Princes, would relax the ſeverities of the Law againſt them; or otherwiſe, that their Friends in *Germany* would ſee to it: for in theſe firſt fervours of Reformations, the Princes made that always a condition in their Treaties, that thoſe who favoured their Doctrine, might be no more perſecuted.

The Queen favoured the Reformers.

But their chief encouragement was from the Queen, who Reigned in the Kings heart, as abſolutely as he did over his Subjects; and was a known favourer of them. She took *Shaxton* and *Latimer* to be her Chaplains, and ſoon after promoted them to the Biſhopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worceſter*, then vacant by the deprivation of *Campegio* and *Ghinuccii*; and in all other things cheriſhed and protected them, and uſed her moſt effectual endeavours with the King to promote the Reformation. Next to her, *Cranmer* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was a profeſſed favourer of it, who beſides the Authority of his Character and See, was well-fitted for carrying it on, being a very Learned and Induſtrious man. He was at great pains to collect the ſenſe of Ancient Writers, upon all the Heads of Religion, by which he might be well-directed in ſuch an Important matter. I have ſeen two Volumns *in Folio* written with his own Hand, containing upon all the Heads of Religion, a vaſt heap both of places of Scripture, and Quotations out of Ancient Fathers, and later Doctors, and School-men; by which he governed himſelf in that work. There is alſo an original Letter of the Lord *Burghly's* extant, which I have ſeen, in which he writes that he had ſix or ſeven Volumns of his Writings, all which, except two other, that I have ſeen, are loſt, for ought I can underſtand. From which it will appear in the ſequel of this work, that he neither Copied form Forreign Writers, nor proceeded raſhly in the Reformation. He was a man of great temper, and as I have ſeen in ſome of his Letters to *Oſiander*, and ſome of *Oſiander's*

Cranmer promoted the Reformation.

1534. *der*'s anſwers to him, he very much diſliked the violence of the *German* Divines. He was gentle in his whole behaviour, and though he was a man of too great candour and ſimplicity to be refined in the Arts of Policy, yet he managed his Affairs with great prudence; which did ſo much recommend him to the King, that no ill Offices were ever able to hurt him. It is true, he had ſome ſingular opinions about Eccleſiaſtical Functions and Offices, which he ſeemed to make wholly dependent on the Magiſtrate, as much as the Civil were; but as he never ſtudied to get his opinion in that made a part of the Doctrine of the Church, reſerving only to himſelf the freedom of his own thoughts, which I have reaſon to think he did afterwards, either change, or at leaſt was content to be over-ruled in it: So it is clear that he held not that opinion, to get the Kings favour by it, for in many other things, as in the buſineſs of the ſix Articles, he boldly and freely argued, both in the Convocation and the Houſe of Peers, againſt that which he knew was the Kings mind, and took his life in his hands, which had certainly been offered at a ſtake, if the Kings eſteem of him had not been proof againſt all attempts.

Aſſiſted by *Cromwell.*

Next him, or rather above him, was *Cromwell*, who was made the Kings Vice-gerent in Eccleſiaſtical matters. A man of mean Birth, but Noble Qualities, as appeared in two ſignal Inſtances, the one being his Pleading in Parliament ſo zealouſly and ſucceſsfully for the fallen and diſgrac'd Cardinal, whoſe Secretary he was, when *Gardiner*, though more obliged by him, had baſely forſaken him. This was thought ſo juſt and generous in him, that it did not at all hinder his Preferment, but raiſed his Credit higher: Such a Demonſtration of gratitude and friendſhip, in misfortune, being ſo rare a thing in a Court. The other was his remembring the Merchant of *Lucca*, that had pitied and relieved him, when he was a poor ſtranger there, and expreſſing moſt extraordinary acknowledgements and gratitude, when he was afterwards in the top of his Greatneſs, and the other did not ſo much as know him, much leſs pretend to any returns for paſſed favours, which ſhew'd that he had a noble and generous temper; only he made too much haſte to be great and rich. He joyned himſelf in a firm friendſhip to *Cranmer*, and did promote the Reformation very vigorouſly.

The Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner* Oppoſed it.

But there was another Party in the Court, that wreſtled much againſt it; the head of it was the Duke of *Norfolk*, who though he was the Queens Uncle, yet was her mortal enemy. He was a dextrous Courtier and complied with the King, both in his Divorce and Separation from *Rome*, yet did upon all occaſions perſwade the King to innovate nothing in Religion: His great friend that joyned all along with him in thoſe Counſels, was *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, who was a crafty and politick man, and underſtood the King well, and complied with his temper in every thing; he deſpiſed *Cranmer*, and hated all Reformation. *Longland* that had been the Kings Confeſſor, was alſo managed by them, and they had a great Party in the Court, and almoſt all the Church-men were on their ſide.

Reaſons againſt the Reformation.

That which prevailed moſt with the King, was, that himſelf had writ a Book in Defence of the Faith, and they ſaid, would he now retract that, which all Learned men admired ſo much? or would he encourage *Luther* and his Party, who had treated him with ſo little reſpect? If he

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went to change the Doctrines that were formerly received, all the world would ſay he did it in ſpite to the Pope, which would caſt a great diſhonour on him, as if his paſſion govern'd his Religion. Forreign Princes, who in their hearts, did not much blame him for what he had hitherto done, but rather wiſhed for a good opportunity to do the like, would now condemn him if he medled with the Faith: And his own Subjects, who complied with that which he had done, and were glad to be delivered from Forreign Juriſdiction, and the Exactions of the Court of *Rome*, would not bear a change of the Religion, but might be thereby eaſily ſet on, by the Emiſſaries of the Pope or Emperor, to break out in Rebellion. Theſe things being managed skilfully, and agreeing with his own private opinion, wrought much on him; and particularly, what was ſaid about his own Book, which had been ſo much commended to him, that he was almoſt made believe, it was written by a ſpecial Inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt. 1534.

But on the other ſide *Cranmer* repreſented to him, that ſince he had put down the Popes Authority, it was not fit to let thoſe Doctrines be ſtill taught, which had no other Foundation, but the Decrees of Popes: And he offered upon the greateſt hazard to prove, that many things, then received as Articles of Faith, were no better grounded; therefore he preſſed the King to give order, to hear and examine things freely, that when the Popes power was rejected, the people might not be obliged to believe Doctrines, which had no better warrant. And for Political Counſels, he was to do the duty of a good Chriſtian Prince, and leave the event to God; and things might be carried on with that due care, that the juſtice and reaſonableneſs of the Kings proceedings ſhould appear to all the world. And whereas it was objected, that the Doctrines of the Catholick Church ought not to be examined by any particular Church: It was anſwered, that when all Chriſtendom were under one Emperor, it was eaſie for him to call general Councils, and in ſuch circumſtances it was fit to ſtay for a one; and yet even then, particular Churches did in their National Synods condemn Hereſies, and reform Abuſes. But the State of Chriſtendom was now altered, it was under many Princes, who had different Intereſts, and therefore they thought it a vain expectation to look for any ſuch Council. The Proteſtants of *Germany* had now for above ten years deſired the Emperor to procure one, but to no effect; for ſometimes the Pope would not grant it, and at other times the *French* King proteſted againſt it. The former year the Pope had ſent to the King to offer a general Council, to be held at *Mantua* this year, but the King found that was but an illuſion; for the Marqueſs of *Mantua* proteſted, he would not admit ſuch a number of ſtrangers, as a Council would draw together into his Town: yet the King promiſed to ſend his Ambaſſadors thither, when the Council met. But now the King conſulting his Prelates, whether the Emperor might by his Authority ſummon a general Council, as the *Roman* Emperors had done: ſome of them gave the following anſwer, Copied from the Original that is yet extant, which might have been written any time between the year, 1534. in which *Thomas Goodrick* was made Biſhop of *Ely*, and the year, 1540. in which *John Clark*, Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, died; but I incline to think from other circumſtances, that it was written about the end of the year, 1534.

Reaſons for it.

Hall.

A reſolution of ſome Biſhops about the calling of a general Council.

1534.

For the General Council.

Ex MSS.D.D. *Stillingfleet.* "Though that in the Old time, when the Empire of *Rome* had his "ample dominion over the moſt part of the World, the Firſt Four "General Councils (the which at all times have been of moſt eſti- "mation in the Church of Chriſt) were called and gathered by the "Emperors Commandment, and for a Godly intent: That Hereſies "might be extinct, Schiſms put away, good Order and Manners in "the Miniſters of the Church and the people of the ſame eſtabliſhed. "Like as many Councils more were called: till now of late by the "negligence, as well of the Emperor, as other Princes, the Biſhop of "*Rome* hath been ſuffered to uſurp this Power; yet now, for ſo much "that the Empire of *Rome*, and the Monarchie of the ſame, hath no "ſuch general Dominion; but many Princes have abſolute Power in "their own Realms, and a whole and entire Monarchie, no one "Prince may by his Authority call any General Council, but if that "any one or moe of theſe Princes for the eſtabliſhing of the Faith, "for the extirpation of Schiſms, *&c.* Lovingly, Charitably, with a "good ſincere Intent, to a ſure place, require any other Prince, or "the reſt of the great Princes, to be content to agree, that for the "Wealth, Quietneſs, and Tranquillity of all Chriſten people, by his "or their free conſent, a General Council might be aſſembled: that "Prince, or thoſe Princes ſo required, are bound by the Order of Cha- "rity, for the good Fruit that may come of it, to condeſcend and "agree thereunto, having no lawful Impediment, nor juſt Cauſe "moving to the contrary. The chief Cauſes of the General Councils "are before expreſſed.

"In all the Antient Councils of the Church, in matters of the "Faith and interpretation of the Scripture, no man made definitive "Subſcription, but Biſhops and Prieſts, forſomuch as the Declarati- "on of the Word of God pertaineth unto them.

T. Cantuarien.

Cuthbertus Dunelmen.

Jo. Bath. wellen.

Tho. Elien.

But beſides this Reſolution, I have ſeen a long ſpeech of *Cranmers*, written by one of his Secretaries. It was ſpoken ſoon after the Parliament had paſſed the Acts formerly mentioned, for it relates to them as lately done; it was delivered either in the Houſe of Lords, the upper Houſe of Convocation, or at the Council Board; but I rather think, it was in the Houſe of Lords, for it begins, *My Lords?* The matter of it does ſo much concern the buſineſs of Reformation, that

A Speech of *Cranmers*, about a General Council.

that I know the Reader will expect I ſhould ſet down the heads of it. It appears he had been Ordered to Inform the Houſe about theſe things. The Preamble of his Speech runs upon this conceit. "That "as Rich men flying from their Enemies, carry away all they can "with them, and what they cannot take away, they either hide or "deſtroy it; ſo the Court of *Rome* had deſtroyed ſo many Ancient "writings. and hid the reſt, having carefully preſerved every thing "that was of advantage to them, that it was not eaſie to diſcover "what they had ſo artificially concealed: Therefore in the Canon-"Law, ſome honeſt truths were yet to be found, but ſo miſlay'd that "they are not placed where one might expect them, but are to be "met with in ſome other Chapters, where one would leaſt look for "them. And many more things ſaid by the Ancients, of the See "of *Rome*, and againſt their Authority were loſt, as appears by the "Fragments yet remaining. He ſhow'd that many of the Ancients "called every thing which they thought well done, *of Divine In-"ſtitution*, by a large extent of the Phraſe, in which ſenſe the paſ-"ſages of many Fathers that magnified the See of *Rome*, were to be "underſtood. 1534. Ex MSS. D. *Stillingfleet.*

"Then he ſhow'd for what end General Councils were called, to "declare the Faith and reform Errors, not that ever any Council was "truly General, for even at *Nice* there were no Biſhops almoſt, but "out of *Egypt*, *Aſia*, and *Greece*, but they were called General, be-"cauſe the Emperor Summon'd them, and all Chriſtendome did a-"gree to their Definitions, which he prov'd by ſeveral Authorities: "therefore though there were many more Biſhops in the Council of "*Arimini*, than at *Nice* or *Conſtantinople*, yet the one was not receiv-"ed as a General Council, and the others were: ſo that it was not "the number, nor Authority of the Biſhops, but the matter of their "Deciſions, which made them be received with ſo general a Sub-"miſſion.

"As for the Head of the Council. St. *Peter* and St. *James* had "the chief direction of the Council of the Apoſtles, but there were "no Conteſts then about Head-ſhip. Chriſt named no Head, which "could be no more called a defect in him, than it was one in God, "that had named no Head to Govern the World. Yet the Church "found it convenient to have one over them, ſo Arch-Biſhops were "ſet over Provinces. And though St. *Peter* had been Head of the "Apoſtles, yet as it is not certain that he was ever in *Rome*, ſo it "does not appear, that he had his Headſhip for *Romes* ſake, or that "he left it there; but he was made Head for his Faith, and not for "the Dignity of any See: Therefore the Biſhops of *Rome* could pre-"tend to nothing from him, but as they followed his Faith; and "*Liberius* and ſome other Biſhops there, had been condemned for "Hereſie; and if according to St. *James*, Faith be to be tryed by "Works, the Lives of the Popes for ſeveral Ages gave ſhrewd pre-"ſumptions, that their Faith was not good. And though it were "granted, that ſuch a Power was given to the See of *Rome*, yet by "many inſtances, he ſhow'd that poſitive precepts in a matter of "that nature, were not for ever Obligatory. And therefore *Gerſon* "wrote a Book, *De Auferibilitate Papæ*. So that if a Pope with the "Cardinals

1534. "Cardinals be corrupted, they ought to be tryed by a General Coun-
"cil, and ſubmit to it. St. *Peter* gave an account of his Baptizing
"*Cornelius*, when he was queſtioned about it. So *Damaſus*, *Sixtus*,
"and *Leo*, purged themſelves of ſome ſcandals.

"Then he ſhowed how Corrupt the preſent Pope was, both in his
"perſon and Government, for which he was abhorred, even by ſome
"of his Cardinals, as himſelf had heard and ſeen at *Rome*. It is
"true there was no Law to proceed againſt a vitious Pope, for it
"was a thing not foreſeen, and thought ſcarcely poſſible, but new
"diſeaſes required new remedies, and if a Pope that is an Heretick
"may be judged in a Council, the ſame reaſon would hold againſt
"a Symoniacal, Covetous and Impious Pope, who was Salt that had loſt
"its ſavour. And by ſeveral Authorities, he proved, that every man
"who lives ſo, is thereby out of the Communion of the Church;
"and that as the Preheminence of the See of *Rome* flowed only from
"the Laws of men, ſo there was now good cauſe to repeal theſe, for
"the Pope, as was ſaid in the Council of *Baſil*, was only Vicar of
"the Church, and not of Chriſt, ſo he was accountable to the Church.
"The Council of *Conſtance* and the Divines of *Paris* had, according
"to the Doctrine of the Ancient Church, declared the Pope to be
"ſubject to a General Council, which many Popes in former Ages
"had confeſſed. And all that the Pope can claim even by the Canon-
"Law, is only to call and preſide in a General Council, but not to
"overrule it, or have a Negative vote in it.

"The Power of Councils did not extend to Princes, Dominions,
"or Secular Matters, but only to points of Faith, which they were to
"declare, and to Condemn Hereticks: nor were their Decrees Laws,
"till they were Enacted by Princes. Upon this, he enlarged much to
"ſhow, that though a Council did proceed againſt a King (with
"which they then Threatned the King) that their Sentence was of
"no force, as being without their Sphere. The determination of
"Councils ought to be well conſidered and examined by the Scrip-
"tures, and in matters indifferent, men ought to be left to their
"freedom, he taxed the ſeverity of *Victors*, Proceedings againſt the
"Churches of the Eaſt, about the day of *Eaſter*. And concluded
"that as a Member of the Body is not cut off, except a Gangrene
"comes in it, ſo no part of the Church ought to be cut off, but
"upon a great and inevitable cauſe. And he very largely ſhow-
"ed, with what moderation and charity the Church ſhould pro-
"ceed even againſt thoſe that held errors. And the Standard of the
"Councils definitions, ſhould only be taken from the Scriptures, and
"not from mens Traditions.

"He ſaid, ſome General Councils had been rejected by others, and
"it was a tender point, how much ought to be deferred to a Coun-
"cil; ſome Decrees of Councils were not at all obeyed. The Di-
"vines of *Paris* held, that a Council could not make a new Article
"of Faith, that was not in the Scriptures. And as all Gods Pro-
"miſes to the people of *Iſrael*, had this condition implyed within
"them, *If they kept his Commandments*; ſo he thought the Pro-
"miſes to the Chriſtian Church, had this condition in them, *If they*
"*kept the Faith.* Therefore he had much doubting in himſelf as to

"General

"General Councils, and he thought that only the word of God was "the Rule of Faith, which ought to take place in all Controverſies "of Religion. The Scriptures were called Canonical, as being the on- "ly Rules of the Faith of Chriſtians; and theſe by appointment of "the Ancient Councils, were only to be read in the Churches. The "Fathers SS. *Ambroſe*, *Jerome*, and *Auſtin*, did in many things differ "from one another, but always appealed to the Scriptures, as the "common and certain ſtandard. And he cited ſome remarkable paſ- "ſage out of St. *Auſtin*, to ſhow, what difference he put between the "Scriptures, and all the other Writings even of the beſt and holieſt Fa- "thers. But when all the Fathers agreed in the Expoſition of any place of "Scripture, he acknowledged, he looked on that as flowing from "the Spirit of God, and it was a moſt dangerous thing to be wiſe "in our own Conceit: Therefore he thought Councils ought to found "their deciſions on the word of God, and thoſe expoſitions of it, that "had been agreed on by the Doctors of the Church. 1534.

"Then he diſcourſed very largely what a perſon a Judge ought to "be, he muſt not be Partial, nor a Judge in his own Cauſe, nor ſo much "as ſit on the Bench when it is tryed, leſt his preſence ſhould over- "awe others. Things alſo done upon a common error cannot bind, "when the error upon which they were done, comes to be diſco- "vered; and all human Laws ought to be changed, when a publick "viſible inconvenience follows them. From which he concluded, "that the Pope being a Party, and having already paſſed his Sen- "tence, in things which ought to be examined by a General Council, "could not be a Judge, nor ſit in it. Princes alſo, who upon a "common miſtake, thinking the Pope Head of the Church, had "ſworn to him, finding that this was done upon a falſe ground, "may pull their Neck out of his Yoke, as every man may make his "eſcape out of the hands of a Robber. And the Court of *Rome* was "ſo corrupt, that a Pope, though he mean't well, as *Hadrian* did, "yet could never bring any good deſign to an iſſue; the Cardinals "and the reſt of that Court being ſo engaged to maintain their Cor- "ruptions. Theſe were the Heads of that Diſcourſe, which it ſeems he gave them in writing after he had delivered it; but he promi- ſed to entertain them with another Diſcourſe, of the Power the Bi- ſhops of the Chriſtian Church have in their Sees, and of the Pow- er of a Chriſtian Prince to make them do their duty; but that I could never ſee, and I am afraid it is loſt.

All this I thought neceſſary to open, to ſhow the State of the Court, and the Principles that the ſeveral Parties in it went up- on, when the Reformation was firſt brought under Conſideration, in the third Period of this Kings Reign, to which I am now advanced.

The end of the Second Book.

The

pag. 179. Printed for Ric: Chiswell, at the Rose and Crowne in St Pauls Church yard

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION OF THE Church of England.

BOOK III.

Of the other Tranſactions about Religion and Reformation, during the reſt of the Reign of King Henry *the* 8th.

THE King having paſſed through the Traverſes and toſſings of his Sute of Divorce, and having with the concurrence, both of his Clergy and Parliament, brought about what he had projected, ſeem'd now at eaſe in his own Dominions. But though matters were carryed in Publick Aſſemblies ſmoothly and ſucceſsfully, yet there were many ſecret diſcontents, which being fomented, both by the Pope, and the Emperors Agents, wrought him great trouble; ſo that the reſt of his life, was full of vexation and diſquiet. 1535. The reſt of the Kings Reign grows troubleſome.

All that were zealouſly addicted to that which they called the Old Religion, did conclude, that what-ever firmneſs the King expreſſed to it now, was either pretended out of Policy, for avoiding the Inconveniences, which the fears of a Change might produce: or though he really intended to perform what he profeſſed; yet the Intereſts in which he muſt embarque, with the Princeſs of *Germany* againſt the Pope and the Emperor, together with the Power that the Queen had over him, and the credit *Cranmer* and *Cromwell* had with him, would prevail on him to change ſome things in Religion. And they look'd on theſe things, as ſo complicated together, that the change of any one muſt needs make way for change in more, ſince that ſtruck at the Authority of the Church, and left people at liberty to diſpute the Articles of Faith. This they thought was a Gate opened

1535. to Hereſie. And therefore they were every-where meeting together, and conſulting, what ſhould be done for ſuppreſſing Hereſie, and preſerving the Catholick Faith.

By the practiſes of the Monks and Friars.

That zeal was much inflamed by the Monks and Friers, who clearly ſaw the Acts of Parliament, were ſo levelled at their Exemptions and Immunities, that they were now like to be at the Kings mercy. They were no more to plead their Bulls, nor claim any Priviledges, further than it pleaſed the King to allow them. No new Saints from *Rome* could draw more Riches or Honour to their Orders. Priviledges and Indulgences were out of doors; ſo that the Arts of drawing in the people, to enrich their Churches and Houſes, were at an end. And they had alſo ſecret Intimations, that the King and the Courtiers, had an eye on their Lands, and they gave themſelves for loſt, if they could not ſo embroyl the Kings Affairs, that he ſhould not adventure on ſo invidious a thing: Therefore both in Confeſſions and Conferences, they infuſed into the people a diſlike of the Kings Proceedings; which though for ſome time it did not break out into an open Rebellion, yet the humor ſtill fermented, and people only waited for an opportunity: So that if the Emperor had not been otherwiſe diſtracted, he might have made War upon the King, with great Advantages. For many of his diſcontented Subjects, would have joyned with the Enemy. But the King did ſo dextrouſly manage his Leagues with the *French* King, and the Princes of the Empire, that the Emperor could never make any impreſſions on his Dominions.

Which provoked the King to great ſeverities.

But thoſe factious Spirits, ſeeing nothing was to be expected from any forreign Power, could not contain themſelves, but broke out into open Rebellion. And this provoked the King to great ſeverities; His Spirit was ſo fretted, by the tricks the Court of *Rome* had put on him, and by the Ingratitude and ſeditious practiſes of *Reginald Pool*; that he thereby loſt much of his former temper and patience, and was too ready upon ſlight grounds, to bring his Subjects to the Bar. Where though the matter was always ſo ordered, that according to Law they were Endicted and Judged; yet the ſeverity of the Law bordering ſometimes on rigor and cruelty, he came to be called a cruel Tyrant. Nor did his ſeverity lie only on one ſide: but being addicted to ſome Tenets of the Old Religion; and impatient of Contradiction, or perhaps blown up, either with the vanity of his new Title, of *Head of the Church*, or with the praiſes which Flatterers beſtowed on him; he thought all perſons were bound, to regulate their Belief by his Dictates, which made him proſecute Proteſtants, as well as proceed againſt Papiſts. Yet it does not appear, that Cruelty was Natural to him. For in Twenty five years Reign, none had ſuffered for any Crime againſt the State; but *Pool* Earl of *Suffolk*, and *Stafford*, Duke of *Buckingham*. The former he proſecuted in Obedience to his Fathers laſt Commands at his death. His ſeverity to the other was imputed to the *Cardinals* Malice. The Proceedings were alſo legal. And the Duke of *Buckingham*, had by the knavery of a Prieſt, to whom he gave great credit, been made believe he had a Right to the Crown; and practiſes of that nature, touch Princes ſo nearly, that no wonder the Law was executed in ſuch a caſe. This

ſhowes

ſhowes, that the King was not very jealous, nor deſirous of the Blood of his Subjects. But though he always proceeded upon Law; yet in the laſt Ten years of his Life, many inſtances of Severity occurred, for which he is rather to be pityed, than either imitated or ſharply cenſured. 1535.

The former Book was full of Intrigues and forreign Tranſactions; the greateſt part of it being an account of a tedious Negotiation, with the ſubtleſt and moſt refined Court in Chriſtendome, in all the Arts of humane Policy. But now my work is confined to this Nation; and except in ſhort touches by the way, I ſhall meddle no further with the Myſteries of State; but ſhall give as clear an account of thoſe things that relate to Religion and Reformation, as I could poſſibly recover. The Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, The advance and declenſion of Reformation, and the Proceedings againſt thoſe, who adhered to the Intereſts of the Court of *Rome*, muſt be the chief Subjects of this Book. The two former ſhall be opened, in the ſeries of time as they were Tranſacted. But the laſt ſhall be left to the end of the Book, that it may be preſented in one full view.

The Biſhops ſwear the Kings ſupremacie.

After the Parliament had ended their Buſineſs, the Biſhops did all renew their Allegeance to the King, and ſwore alſo to maintain his Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Matters; acknowledging that he was the Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, though there was yet no Law for the requiring of any ſuch Oath. The firſt act of the Kings Supremacy was, his naming *Cromwell* Vicar-General, and General Viſitor of all the Monaſteries and other Priviledged places. This is commonly confounded with his following Dignity of, *Lord Vice-Gerent* in Eccleſiaſtical matters; but they were two different Places, and held by different Commiſſions. By the one he had no Authority over the Biſhops, nor had he any Precedence; but the other, as it gave him the Precedence next the Royal Family, ſo it cloathed him with a compleat Delegation of the Kings whole Power in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs. For Two years he was only Vicar-General. But the tenour of his Commiſſions, and the nature of the Power devolved on him by them, cannot be fully known. For neither the one, nor the other are in the Rolls, though there can be no doubt made, but Commiſſions of ſuch Importance were enrolled; therefore the loſs of them can only be charged, on that ſearch and raſure of Records made by *Bonner*, upon the Commiſſion granted to him by Queen *Mary*, of which I have ſpoken in the Preface of this work. In the *Prerogative-Office* there is a ſubalterne Commiſſion granted to Doctor (afterwards Secretary) *Petre*, on *Jan.* 13. in the Twenty Seventh year of the Kings Reign, by which it appears, that *Cromwells* Commiſſion was at firſt conceived in very General words, for he is called the Kings *Vice-Gerent*, in Eccleſiaſtical cauſes, his *Vicar-General*, and *Official-Principal*. But becauſe he could not himſelf attend upon all theſe affairs, therefore Doctor *Petre* is deputed under him, for receiving the Probates of Wills; from thence likewiſe it appears, that all Wills, where the Eſtate was 200 lib. or above, were no more to be tryed or proved in the Biſhops Courts, but in the *Vicar-Generals* Court. Yet though he was called *Vice-Gerent* in that Commiſſion, he was ſpoken of, and writ to, by the Name of *Vicar-General*; but

1535. after the ſecond Commiſſion, ſeen and mentioned by the Lord *Herbert*, in *July* 1536. he was alwayes deſigned Lord *Vice-Gerent*.

The next thing that was every-where laboured with great induſtry, was, to engage all the reſt of the Clergy, chiefly the Regulars, to own the Kings Supremacy; To which they generally ſubmitted. In *Oxford* the Queſtion being put whether the Pope had any other Juriſdiction in *England*, than any other forreign Biſhop, it was referred to Thirty Doctors and Batchelors, who were impowered to ſet the Univerſity-Seal to their Concluſion, they all agreed in the Negative, and the whole Univerſity being examined about it man by man aſſented to their determination. All the difficulty that I find made, was at *Richmond*, by the *Franciſcan Friers*, where the Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Lichfield* (*Rowland Lee*) and *Thomas Bedyl*, tendred ſome Concluſions to them, among which, this was one. *That the Pope if* Rome, *has no greater juriſdiction in this Kingdom of* England, *by the Law of God, than any other Forreign Biſhop.* This they told them was already ſubſcribed, by the two Arch-Biſhops, the Biſhops of *London*, *Wincheſter*, *Dureſm*, *Bath*, and all the other Prelates, and Heads of Houſes, and all the famous Clerks of the Realm. And therefore they deſired that the Friers, would refer the matter, to the Four Seniors of the Houſe, and acquieſce in what they ſhould do. But the Friers ſaid, it concerned their Conſciences, and therefore they would not ſubmit it to a ſmall part of their Houſe, they added, that they had ſworn to follow the Rule of St. *Francis*, and in that they would live and dy; and cited a Chapter of their Rule, "That their Or-"der ſhould have a Cardinal for their Protector, by whoſe dire-"ctions they might be governed in their obedience to the Holy See." But to this the Biſhop anſwered, That St. *Francis* lived in *Italy*, where the Monks and other Regulars that had Exemptions, were ſubject to the Pope, as they were in *England*, to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*. And for the Chapter which they cited, it was ſhowed them, that it was not written by St. *Francis*, but made ſince his time; and though it were truly a part of his Rule, it was told them that no particular Rule, ought to be preferred to the Laws of the Land, to which all Subjects were bound to give Obedience, and could not be excuſed from it, by any voluntary Obligation under which they brought themſelves. Yet all this could not prevail on them, but they ſaid to the Biſhop, they had profeſſed St. *Francis*'s Rule, and would ſtill continue in the Obſervance of it.

Antiq. Oxon. lib. 1. Pag. 258

The Original Letter is in *Cott.* Lib. *Cleop.* E. 4. *Feb.* 15.

The Franciſcan Friars refuſe it.

But though I do not find ſuch reſiſtance made elſewhere, yet it appears, that ſome ſecret practiſes of many of thoſe Orders againſt the State were diſcovered, therefore it was reſolved, that ſome effectual means, muſt be taken for leſſening their credit and Authority with the people; and ſo a general Viſitation of all Monaſteries and other Religious Houſes was reſolved on. This was chiefly adviſed, by Doctor *Leighton*, who had been in the Cardinals ſervice with *Cromwell*, and was then taken notice of by him, as a dextrous and diligent man, and therefore was now made uſe of on this Occaſion. He by a Letter to *Cromwell* advertiſed him, that upon a long Conference with the Dean of the *Arches*, he found the Dean was of Opinion, that it was not fit to make any Viſitation in the Kings name yet, for Two or Three

A General viſitation of Monaſteries, is deſigned.

Orig. *Cott.* Lib. E. 4.

Three years, till his Supremacy were better received; and that he apprehended a ſevere Viſitation ſo early, would make the Clergy more averſe to the Kings Power. But *Leighton* on the other hand, thought nothing would ſo much recommend the Supremacy, as to ſee ſuch good effects of it, as might follow upon a ſtrict and exact Viſitation. And the Abuſes of Religious perſons were now ſo great and viſible, even to the Laity, That the Correcting and Reforming theſe, would be a very popular thing. He writ further, That there had been no Viſitation in the Northern parts, ſince the Cardinal Ordered it: Therefore he adviſed one, and deſired to be employed in *York-ſhire*. And by another Letter, dated the 4th of *June*, he wrote to *Cromwell*, deſiring, that Doctor *Lee*, and he, might be imployed in Viſiting all the Monaſteries, from the Dioceſs of *Lincoln* Northwards; which they could Manage better, than any body elſe, having great kindred, and a large acquaintance in thoſe parts: ſo that they would be able to diſcover, all the diſorders or ſeditious practiſes in theſe Houſes. He complained, that former Viſitations had been ſlight and inſignificant, and promiſed great faithfulneſs and diligence both from himſelf and Doctor *Lee*. 1535.

The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* was now making his Metropolitical Viſitation, having obtained the Kings Licence for it, which ſays, That he having deſired, that according to the Cuſtom, and the Prerogative of his Metropolitical See, he might make his Viſitation; The King granted him Licence to do it, and required all to aſſiſt and obey him; dated the 28th of *April*. Things were not yet ripe for doing great matters; ſo that which he now look'd to, was to ſee that all ſhould ſubmit to the Kings Supremacy; and renounce any dependance on the Pope, whoſe name was to be ſtruck out of all the Publick Offices of the Church. This was begun in *May* 1535. *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, ſubmitted not to this Viſitation, till he had entered Three Proteſtations, for keeping up of Priviledges. *Cranmer* makes his Metropolitical viſitation. *Rot. Pat.* Regn. 26. Part. 1ſt. Regiſt. *Stokſ.* Folio 44.

In *October*, began the great Viſitation of Monaſteries, which was committed to ſeveral Commiſſioners. *Leighton*, *Lee* and *London* were moſt imployed. But many others were alſo empowered to Viſit. For I find Letters from *Robert Southwell*, *Elice Price*, *John Ap-price*, *Richard Southwell*, *John Gage*, *Richard Bellaſis*, *Walter Hendle*, and ſeveral others, to *Cromwell*: giving him an account of the Progreſs they made in their ſeveral Provinces. Their Commiſſions, if they were paſſed under the great Seal, and enrolled, have been taken out of the Rolls; for there are none of them to be found there, Yet I encline to think, they were not under the great Seal. For I have ſeen an Original Commiſſion for the Viſitation, that was next year, which was only under the Kings hand and Signet. From which it may be inferred, that the Commiſſions this year, were of the ſame nature: yet whether ſuch Commiſſions, could Authorize them, to grant Diſpenſations, and Diſcharge men out of the Houſes they were in, I am not skill'd enough in Law to determine. And by their Letters to *Cromwell*, I find they did aſſume Authority for theſe things. So what their Power was, I am not able to diſcover. But beſides their Powers and Commiſſions, they got Inſtructions to direct them in their Viſitations, and Injunctions to be left in every Houſe, of which, though I could The Kings Viſitation begun. In MSS. D. G. *Pierpoint.*

1535. could not recover the Originals, yet Copies of very good Authority I have seen, which the Reader will find in the Collection at the end of this Book. The Instructions contain 86 Articles. The substance of them was, to try,

Cott. Lib. Cleop. E. 4.

Instructions for the Visitation.

"Whether Divine Service, was kept up day and night, in the right "hours? And how many were commonly present, and who were fre- "quently absent?

"Whether the full number, according to the Foundation, was in eve- "ry House? Who were the Founders? What additions have been made "since the Foundation? And what were their Revenues? Whether it "was ever changed from one Order to another? By whom? And for "what Cause?

"What Mortmains they had? And whether their Founders were suf- "ficiently Authorized to make such Donations?

"Upon what suggestions, and for what Causes they were exempted "from their Diocesans?

"Their Local Statutes were also to be seen and examined.

"The Election of their Head was to be enquired into. The Rule of "every House was to be considered. How many professed? And how "many Novices were in it? And at what time the Novices Professed?

"Whether they knew their Rule and observed it? Chiefly the "three Vows of, Poverty, Chastity and Obedience? Whether any of "them kept any money without the Masters knowledge? Whether "they kept company with women, within or without the Monastery? "Or if there were any back-doors, by which women came within the "precinct? Whether they had any boys lying by them?

"Whether they observed the Rules of Silence, Fasting, Abstinence, "and Hair-shirts? Or by what warrant they were dispenced with, in "any of these?

"Whether they did Eat, Sleep, wear their Habit, and stay within "the Monastery, according to their Rules?

"Whether the Master was too cruel, or too remiss? And whether "he used the Brethren without partiality or malice?

"Whether any of the Brethren were incorrigible?

"Whether the Master made his accompts faithfully once a year? "Whether all the other Officers made their accompts truely? And "whether the whole Revenues of the House were imployed according "to the intention of the Founders?

"Whether the Fabrick was kept up, and the Plate and Furniture "were carefully preserved?

"Whether the Covent-Seal, and the Writings of the House were "well kept? And whether Leases were made by the Master to his "Kindred and Friends, to the damage of the House? Whether Hospi- "tality was kept, and whether at the receiving of Novices, any mo- "ney or reward was demanded or promised? What care was taken to "instruct the Novices?

"Whether any had entred into the House, in hope to be once the "Master of it?

"Whether in giving Presentations to Livings, the Master had re- "served a Pension out of them? Or what sort of Bargains he made con- "cerning them?

"As

"An account was to be taken, of all the Parſonages and Vicarages 1535.
"belonging to every Houſe, and how theſe Benefices were diſpoſed of,
"and how the Cure was ſerved.

All theſe things were to be inquired after in the Houſes of Monks or Friars. And in the Viſitation of Nunneries, they were to Search.

"Whether the Houſe had a good Encloſure, and if the Doors and
"Windows were kept ſhut, ſo that no man could enter at inconvenient
"hours?

"Whether any men converſed with the Siſters alone, without the
"Abbeſſes leave?

"Whether any Siſter was forced to profeſs, either by her Kindred,
"or by the Abbeſs?

"Whether they went out of their precinct without leave? And whe-
"ther they wore their Habit then?

"What employment they had out of the times of Divine Service?
"What familiarity they had with Religious men? Whether they
"wrote Love-Letters? Or ſent and received Tokens or Preſents?

"Whether the Confeſſor was a diſcreet and learned man, and of good
"reputation? And how oft a year the Siſters did Confeſs and Commu-
"nicate?

They were alſo to viſit all Collegiate Churches, Hoſpitals and Cathedrals, and the Order of the Knights of *Jeruſalem:* But if this Copy be compleat, they were only to view their Writings and Papers, to ſee what could be gathered out of them, about the Reformation of Monaſtical Orders. And as they were to viſit, according to theſe Inſtructions, ſo they were to give ſome Injunctions in the Kings Name.

Injunctions for all Religious Houſes.

"That they ſhould endeavour, all that in them lay, that the Act of
"the Kings Succeſſion ſhould be obſerved, (where it is ſaid, *that they had under their Hands and Seals confirmed it.* This ſhowes, that all the Religious Houſes of *England* had acknowledged it:) "and they ſhould teach
"the people, that the Kings Power was Supreme on Earth, under God,
"and that the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Power was Uſurped by Craft and Po-
"licy, and by his ill Canons and Decretals, which had been long tole-
"rated by the Prince, but was now juſtly taken away.

See Collect. *Numb.* 2d.

"The Abbot and Brethren were declared to be abſolved from any Oath,
"they had Sworn to the Pope, or to any Forreign Potentate; and the
"Statutes of any Order, that did bind them to a Forreign Subjection,
"were abrogated and ordered to be razed out of their Books.

"That no Monk ſhould go out of the precinct, nor any woman enter
"within it, without leave from the King or the Viſitor, and that there
"ſhould be no entry to it, but one.

"Some Rules were given about their Meals, and a Chapter of the
"Old or New Teſtament was ordered to be read at every one, The
"Abbots Table was to be ſerved with common Meats, and not with de-
"licate and ſtrange Diſhes; and either he, or one of the Seniors, were
"to be always there to entertain ſtrangers.

"Some other Rules follow about the diſtribution of their Alms, their
"accommodation in Health and Sickneſs. One or two of every Houſe,
"was to be kept at the Univerſity; that when they were well Inſtru-
"cted, they might come and teach others: And every day, there was
"to be a Lecture of Divinity for a whole hour: The Brethren muſt
"all be well employed. "The

1535. "The Abbot or Head was every day to explain ſome part of the Rule, "and apply it according to Chriſt's Law; and to ſhew them, that their "Ceremonies were but Elements, introductory to true Chriſtianity; "and that Religion conſiſted not in Habits, or in ſuch like Rites, but in "cleanneſs of Heart, pureneſs of Living, unfeigned Faith, Brotherly "Charity, and true honouring of God in Spirit and Truth: That there-"fore they muſt not reſt in their Ceremonies, but aſcend by them to "true Religion.

"Other Rules are added about the Revenues of the Houſe, and a-"gainſt Waſtes, and that none be entred into their Houſe, nor admit-"ted under twenty four years of Age.

"Every Prieſt in the Houſe was to ſay Maſs daily; and in it, to pray "for the King and Queen.

"If any brake any of theſe Injunctions, he was to be denounced to "the King, or his Viſitor-general. The Viſitor had alſo Authority to "puniſh any, whom he ſhould find guilty of any Crime, and to bring "the Viſitor-general, ſuch of their Books and Writings as he thought "fit.

An account of the Progreſs of the Monaſtical ſtate in *England.*

But before I give an account of this Viſitation, I preſume it will not be ingrateful to the Reader, to offer him ſome ſhort view of the Riſe and Progreſs of Monaſtick Orders in *England*, and of the ſtate they were in at this time. What the Ancient *Britiſh* Monks were, or by what Rule they were Governed; whether it was from the Eaſtern Churches, that this Conſtitution was brought into *Britain*, and was either ſuited to the Rule of St. *Anthony*, St. *Pachon*, or St. *Baſil*; or whether they had it from *France*, where *Sulpitius* tells us, St. *Martin* ſet up Monaſteries, muſt be left to conjecture. But from the little that remains of them, we find they were very numerous, and were obedient to the Biſhop of *Caerleon*, as all the Monks of the Primitive times were to their Biſhops, according to the Canons of the Council of *Chalcedon*.

The Exemptions of Monaſteries. See *Monaſticon.*

But upon the confuſions which the *Gothick* Wars brought into *Italy*, *Benedict* and others ſet up Religious Houſes; and more artificial Rules and Methods were found out for their Government. Not long after that, *Auſtin* the Monk came into *England*; and having Baptized *Ethelbert*, he perſwaded him to Found a Monaſtery at *Canterbury*, which the King, by his Charter, exempted from the Juriſdiction of the Arch-Biſhop and his Succeſſors. This was not only done by *Auſtins* conſent, but he by another Writing confirms this Foundation; and exempted both the Monaſtery and all the Churches belonging to it, from his, or his Succeſſors Juriſdictions; and moſt earneſtly conjures his Succeſſors, never to give any trouble to the Monks, who were only to be ſubject to their own Abbot. And this was granted, that they might have no diſturbance in the Service of God. But (whether this, with many other Ancient Foundations, were not latter Forgeries, which I vehemently ſuſpect, I leave to Criticks to diſcuſs) the next Exemption, that I find, was granted in the year 680, to the Abby of *Peterborough*, by Pope *Agatho*, and was Signed by *Theodore*, Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, called the Popes Legate (this I doubt was Forged afterwards.) In the year 725, King *Ina*'s Charter to the Abbey of *Glaſſenbury*, relates to their Ancient Charters, and exempts them from the Biſhops Juriſdiction. King *Offa* Founded, and exempted the Monaſtery of St. *Albans*,

in

in the year 793, which Pope *Honorius* the 3d Confirmed, *Anno* 1218, *Kenulph* King of *Mercia* founded and exempted *Abington*, in the year 821. *Knut* Founded and exempted St. *Edmundsbury* in the year 1020. 1535.

About the end of the Eighth Century, the *Danes* began to make their deſcents into *England*, and made every-where great depredations; and finding the Monks had poſſeſſed themſelves, of the greateſt part of the Riches of the Nation, they made their moſt frequent inroads upon theſe places where they knew the Richeſt ſpoyl was to be found. And they did ſo waſt and ruine theſe Houſes, that they were generally abandon'd by the Monks, who as they loved the eaſe and wealth they had enjoyed formerly in their Houſes, ſo had no mind to expoſe themſelves, to the perſecutions of thoſe heatheniſh Invaders. But when they had deſerted their Seats, the Secular Clergy came and poſſeſſed them; ſo that in King *Edgars* time, there was ſcarce a Monk in all *England*. He was a moſt diſſolute and lewd Prince, but being perſwaded by *Dunſtan* and other Monks, that what he did towards the reſtoring of that decayed State, would be a matter of great Merit, became the great Promoter of the Monaſtical State in *England*; For he converted moſt of the Chapters into Monaſteries; and by his Foundation of the Priory of *Worceſter*, it appears, he had then founded no fewer then Fourty Seven, which he intended to encreaſe to Fifty, *the number of Pardon*. Yet in his Foundations, he only exempted the Monaſteries, from all exactions or dues, which the Biſhops claim'd. There are Exemptions of ſeveral rates and ſizes: Some Houſes were only Exempted from all Exactions; others from all Juriſdiction or Viſitations; others had only an Exemption for their precinct; others for all the Churches that belonged to them. *Edward* the Confeſſor exempted many of theſe Houſes, which *Edgar* had founded, as *Ramſey* &c. He alſo founded and Exempted *Coventry* and *Weſtminſter*, and the Exemption of the laſt, was likewiſe confirmed by Pope *Nicolas*, in a Bull to King *Edward*. *William* the Conqueror Founded and Exempted the Abbey of *Battel* from all Epiſcopal Juriſdiction.

Monaſteries generally waſted and deſerted.

Antiquit. *Britan.*

But are again ſet up by King *Edgar.*

But after that time I do not find, that our Kings exempted Abbeys from any thing, but Epiſcopal Exactions; for though formerly Kings had made Laws, and given Orders about Eccleſiaſtical matters, yet now the claim to an Immunity from the Civil Juriſdiction, and alſo the Papal Authority, were grown to that height, that Princes were to meddle no more with ſacred things. And henceforth all Exemptions were granted by the Popes, who claimed a Juriſdiction over the whole Church; and aſſumed that Power to themſelves with many other Uſurpations.

All the Ancient Foundations were ſubſcribed by the King, the Queen, and Prince, with many Biſhops and Abbots, and Dukes and Earls conſenting. The Abbeys being exempted from all juriſdiction, both Civil and Spiritual, and from all Impoſitions; and having generally the Priviledge of Sanctuary for all that fled to them, were at eaſe, and accountable to none, ſo they might do what they pleaſed. They found alſo means to enrich themſelves, Firſt by the belief of Purgatory. For they perſwaded all people, that the Souls departed,

Arts uſed by the Monks for enriching their Houſes.

1535. went generally thither; few were ſo Holy, as to go ſtraight to Heaven; and few ſo bad, as to be caſt to Hell. Then people were made believe, that the ſaying of Maſſes for their Souls, gave them great relief in their Torments, and did at length deliver them out of them. This being generally received, it was thought by all a piece of piety to their Parents, and of neceſſary care for themſelves, and their families, to give ſome part of their Eſtates towards the enriching of theſe Houſes, for having a Maſs ſaid every day for the Souls of their Anceſtors, and for their own, after their death. And this did ſo ſpread, that if ſome Laws had not reſtrained their profuſeneſs, the greater part of all the Eſtates in *England*, had been given to thoſe Houſes. But the Statutes of *Mortmain* were not very effectual reſtraints; for what King ſoever had refuſed to grant a *Mortmain*, was ſure to have an uneaſie reign ever after.

Yet this did not ſatisfie the Monks, but they fell upon other contrivances, to get the beſt of all mens Jewels, Plate, and Furniture. For they perſwaded them, that the protection and interceſſion of Saints, were of mighty uſe to them; ſo that whatſoever reſpect they put on the Shrines and Images, but chiefly on the Relicks of Saints, they would find their account in it, and the Saints would take it kindly at their hands, and intercede the more earneſtly for them. And people who ſaw Courtiers much wrought on by preſents, imagined the Saints were of the ſame temper; only with this difference, that Courtiers love to have Preſents put in their own hands, but the Saints were ſatisfied, if they were given to others. And as in the Courts of Princes, the new Favourite commonly had greateſt credit, ſo every new Saint was believed to have a greater force in his Addreſſes; and therefore every body was to run to their Shrines, and make great Preſents to them. This being infuſed into the credulous Multitude, they brought the richeſt things they had, to the places where the bodies or Relicks of thoſe Saints were laid. Some Images were alſo believed, to have a peculiar Excellencie in them; and Pilgrimages and Preſents to theſe, were much magnified. But to quicken all this, the Monks found the means, either by dreams and viſions, or ſtrange Miraculous ſtories, to feed the devotion of the people. Relicks without number, were every-where diſcovered; and moſt wonderful relations of the Martyrdome, and other miracles of the Saints, were made and read in all places to the people; and new Improvements were daily made in a Trade, that through the craft of the Monks, and the ſimplicity of the people, brought in great advantages. And though there was enough got to enrich them all, yet there was ſtrange rivalling, not only among the ſeveral Orders, but the Houſes of the ſame Order. The Monks, eſpecially, of *Glaſſenbury*, St. *Albans*, and St. *Edmundsbury*, vied one with another, who could tell the moſt extravagant ſtories, for the honour of their Houſe, and of the Relicks in it.

They became generally corrupted.

The Monks in theſe Houſes abounding in wealth, and living at eaſe and in idleneſs, did ſo degenerate; that from the Twelfth Century downward, their reputation abated much; and the Priviledges of Sanctuaries, were a general Grievance, and oft complained of in Parliaments: For they received all that fled to them, which put a great ſtop to Juſtice, and did encourage the moſt criminal offenders. They became

became lewd and diſſolute, and ſo impudent in it, that ſome of their farms were let, for bringing in a yearly tribute to their Lufts: nor did they keep Hoſpitality and relieve the poor; but rather encouraged Vagabonds and Beggars, againſt whom Laws were made, both in *Edward* the 3d, King *Henry* the 7th, and this Kings Reign. 1535.

But from the Twelfth Century, the Orders of Begging Friers were ſet up, and they by the appearance of Severity and Mortification, gained great eſteem. At firſt they would have nothing, no real eſtates, but the ground on which their Houſe ſtood. But afterwards diſtinctions were found, for ſatisfying their Conſciences in larger Poſſeſſions. They were not ſo idle and lazy as the Monks, but went about and Preached, and heard Confeſſions, and carryed about Indulgences, with many other pretty little things, *Agnus Dei's*, *Roſaries*, and *Pebles*, which they made the World believe, had great vertue in them. And they had the eſteem of the people, wholly engroſſed to themſelves. They were alſo more formidable to Princes, than the Monks, becauſe they were poorer, and by conſequence, more hardy and bold. There was alſo a firmer union of their whole Order, they having a General at *Rome*, and being divided into many Provinces, ſubject to their Provincials. They had likewiſe the *Schooll-Learning* wholly in their hands, and were great Preachers, ſo that many things concurred, to raiſe their eſteem with the people very high, yet great Complaints lay againſt them, for they went more abroad than the Monks did, and were believed guilty of Corrupting Families. The Scandals that went on them, upon their relaxing the primitive ſtrictneſs of their Orders, were a little rectified by ſome Reformations of theſe Orders. But that laſted not long; for they became liable to much Cenſure, and many viſitations had been made, but to little purpoſe. This Concurring with their ſecret practices againſt the King, both in the matter of his Divorce and Supremacy, made him more willing to examine the truth of theſe reports; that if they were found guilty of ſuch ſcandals, they might loſe their credit with the people, and occaſions be miniſtred to the King, to juſtifie the Suppreſſion of them.

Upon which the Begging Friars grew much in credit.

There were alſo two other Motives, that enclined the King to this Counſel. The one was, that he apprehended a War from the Emperor, who was then the only Prince in the World, that had any conſiderable force at Sea; having both great Fleets in the *Indies*, and being Prince of the *Netherlands*, where the greateſt trade of theſe parts was driven. Therefore the King judged it neceſſary to fortifie his Ports, and ſeeing the great advantages of Trade, which began then to riſe much, was reſolved to encourage it: For which end he intended to build many Havens and Harbors. This was a matter of great charge, and as his own revenue could not defray it, ſo he had no mind to lay heavie Taxes on his Subjects, therefore the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries, was thought, the eaſieſt way of raiſing Money.

The Kings ſecret motives for diſſolving theſe Houſes.

He alſo intended to erect many more Biſhopricks, to which *Cranmer* adviſed him much, that the vaſtneſs of ſome Dioceſſes, being reduced to a narrower compaſs, Biſhops might better diſcharge their duties, and overſee their Flocks, according to the Scriptures and the Primitive Rules.

1535. *Cranmers* deſign in it.

But *Cranmer* did on another reaſon, preſs the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries. He found that their Foundations, and whole State, was inconſiſtent with a full and true Reformation. For among the things to be reform'd, were theſe Abuſes, which were eſſential to their Conſtitution; (ſuch as the Belief of Purgatory, of Redeeming Souls by Maſſes, the worſhip of Saints and Images, and Pilgrimages, and the like.) And therefore thoſe Societies, whoſe intereſt it was to oppoſe the Reformation, were once to be ſuppreſſed: and then he hoped, upon new Endowments and Foundations, new Houſes ſhould have been erected at every Cathedral, to be Nurſeries for that whole Dioceſs; which he thought would be more ſuitable, to the primitive uſe of Monaſteries, and more profitable to the Church. This was his Scheme, as will afterwards appear; which was in ſome meaſure effected, though not ſo fully as he projected, for Reaſons to be told in their proper place.

Firſt Monaſtery that was diſſolved.

There had been a Bull ſent from *Rome*, for diſſolving ſome Monaſteries, and Erecting Biſhopricks out of them, as was related in the former Book, in the year 1532. And it ſeems it was upon that Authority, that in the year 1533. the Priory of Chriſts Church near *Algate* in *London*, was diſſolved, and given to the Lord Chancellor Sir *Thomas Audley*; (not to make him ſpeak ſhriller for his Maſter in the Houſe of Commons, as *Fuller* miſtakes it; for he had been Lord Chancellor a year before this was given him.) The Popes Authority not being at that time put down, nor the Kings Supremacy ſet up, I conjecture it was done, purſuant to the Bull for the Diſſolution of ſome Religious Houſes; but I never ſaw the Diſſolution, and ſo can only gueſs, on what ground it was made. But in the Parliament held the former year, in which the Kings Grant of that Houſe, to the Lord Chancellor was confirmed, it is ſaid "in the Preamble, That the "Prior and Convent, had reſigned that Houſe to the King the 24th "of *February* 23d *Regni*. and had left their Houſe; but no mention is made, upon what Reaſon they did it.

Act. 10. *Rot. Parl. Regn.* 25.

The Proceedings of the Viſitors.

But now I come to Conſider, how the Viſitors carryed on their Viſitations. Many ſevere things are ſaid of their Proceedings, nor is it any wonder, that men who had traded ſo long in lies, as the Monks had done; ſhould load thoſe whom they eſteemed the Inſtruments of their Ruin, with many Calumnies. By their Letters to *Cromwell* it appears, that in moſt Houſes, they found Monſtrous diſorders. That many fell down on their knees, and prayed they might be diſcharged, ſince they had been forced to make vows againſt their wills; with theſe the Viſitors diſpenſed, and ſet them at liberty. They found great Factions in the Houſes, and Barbarous Cruelties exerciſed by one Faction, againſt another, as either of them prevailed. In many places, when they gave them the Kings injunctions, many cryed out, that the ſeverity of them was intolerable, and they deſired rather to be ſuppreſſed, than ſo reformed. They were all extremely addicted to Idolatry and Superſtition. In ſome they found the inſtruments, and other tools for multiplying and coyning.

Cott. Lib. *Cleop.* E. 4.

But for the Lewdneſs of the Confeſſors of Nunneries, and the great Corruption of that State, whole Houſes being found almoſt all with Child; for the diſſoluteneſs of Abbots and the other Monks and Friars,

ars, not only with whores, but Marryed Women; and for their unnatural Luſts and other brutal practices; theſe are not fit to be ſpoken of, much leſs enlarged on, in a work of this Nature. The full report of this Viſitation is loſt, yet I have ſeen an Extract of a part of it, concerning 144 Houſes, that contains Abominations in it, equal to any that were in *Sodom*. 1535. *Ibid.*

One paſſage that is more remarkable, I ſhall only ſet down; becauſe upon it followed the firſt Reſignation of any Religious Houſe, that I could ever find. Doctor *Leighton* beſet the Abbot of *Langdens* Houſe, and broke open his door of a ſudden, and found his whore with him; and in the Abbots Coffer, there was an habit for her; for ſhe went for a young Brother. Whether the ſhame of this diſcovery, or any other conſideration prevailed with him, I know not; but on the 13th of *November*, he, and Ten Monks Signed a Reſignation, which hath an odd kind of Preamble, to be found in the Collection. "It ſayes, that the revenue of the Houſe, was ſo 'much endamaged, and engaged in ſo much debt; that they Conſi- 'dering this, and what remedies might be found for it, ſaw, that ex- 'cept the King, of whoſe Foundation the Houſe was, did ſpeedily 'relieve them, it muſt be very quickly ruined, both as to its Spiri- 'tual and Temporal concerns; therefore they ſurrender up their 'Houſe to the King. They were of the Order of *Premonſtre*, and their Houſe was dedicated, to the honor of the Bleſſed Virgin, and St. *Thomas Becket*. This precedent was followed, by the like ſurrender, with the ſame Preamble, on the 15th of *November*, by the Prior of *Folkeſton* a Benedictin, aand on the 16th, by the Prior of *Dover*, with Eight Monks. Theſe were all of them in the County of *Kent*. But neither among the Original Surrenders, nor in the Clauſe Rolls, are there any other Deeds, in this year of our Lord, there are indeed in the ſame year of the King, (which runs till *April* 1536.) four other Surrenders, with the ſame Preambles. Of *Merton* in *York-ſhire*, a Covent of *Auguſtinians*, ſigned by the Prior and Five Monks, the 9th of *February*, of *Bilſingtoun* in *Kent*, Signed by the Prior and Two Monks, the 21ſt of *February*, of *Tilty* in *Eſſex*, a Covent of *Ciſtercians*, Signed by the Prior and Five Monks, and of *Hornby* in *York-ſhire*, a Covent of the *Premonſtre*, Signed by the Prior and Two Monks the 23d of *March*. Theſe were all the Surrenders, that I can diſcover to have been made, before the Act of Parliament, for ſuppreſſing the leſſer Monaſteries, paſſed in the next Seſſion that was aſſembled in *February*.

Some Houſes reſigned up to the King.

Collect. *Numb.* 5. *Sect.* 1.

The Original of theſe Reſignations are in the Augmentation Office, and enrolled. *Rot. Clauſ. Part.* 1ſt. *Regn.* 27.

But before that, the afflicted and unfortunate Queen *Katharine* died, at *Kimbolton*; She had been much diſquieted, becauſe ſhe would not lay down her Title of Queen. Many of her ſervants were put from her, on that account; but ſhe would accept of no Service, from any that did not uſe her as a Queen, and call her ſo. The King ſent oft to her, to perſwade her, to more Complyance. But ſhe ſtood her ground, and ſaid, ſince the Pope had judged her Marriage good, ſhe would loſe her life, before ſhe did any thing in prejudice of it. She became more cheerful, than ſhe had wont to be; and the Countrey people came much to her, whom ſhe received, and uſed very Obligingly. The King had a mind ſhe ſhould go to *Fotheringhay*-Caſtle. 1536.

The death of Queen *Katharine*.

Originals. *Otho.* C. 10. *Cott.* Lib.

1535. ſtle. But when it was propoſed to her, ſhe plainly ſaid, ſhe would never go thither, unleſs ſhe were carryed as a Priſoner, bound with Ropes. She deſired leave to come nearer *London*; but that was not granted. She had the jointure that was aſſigned her, as *Princeſs Dowager*; and was treated with the reſpect due to that Dignity, but all the Women about her, ſtill called her Queen. I do not find ſhe had any thoughts of going out of *England*; though her Life in it was but Melancholy. Yet her care to ſupport her Daughters Title, made her bear all the Diſgraces, ſhe lay under. The Officious and practiſing Clergy, that were for the Court of *Rome*, look'd on her as the Head of their Party, and aſſerted her Intereſts much. Yet ſhe was ſo watched, that ſhe could not hold any great Correſpondence with them; though in the matter of the Maid of *Kent*, ſhe had ſome Medling.

When ſhe ſicken'd, ſhe made her Will; and appointed her Body to be buryed, in a Convent of Obſervant Friars, (who had done and ſuffered moſt for her;) and Ordered Five Hundred Maſſes to be ſaid for her Soul; and that one ſhould go a Pilgrimage, to our Lady of *Walſingham*, and give Two Hundred Nobles by the way to the poor. Some other ſmall Legacies, ſhe left to her Servants. When the King heard ſhe was ſick, he ſent a kind Meſſage to her; and the Emperors Ambaſſador went to ſee her, and to chear her up, but when ſhe found her ſickneſs like to prove Mortal; ſhe made one about her, write a Letter in her name, to the King. In the Title ſhe call'd him, '*Her dear Lord, King and Husband.* She adviſed him to look to the 'health of his Soul. She forgave him, all the Troubles he had caſt 'her into. She recommended their Daughter *Mary* to him, and de-'ſired he would be a Loving Father to her. She alſo deſired, that he 'would provide Matches for her Maids, who were but Three; and 'that he would give her Servants one years Wages, more than was 'due to them And Concluded laſtly, *I make this Vow, That mine eyes deſire you above all things.* By another Letter, ſhe recommended her Daughter to the Emperors care. On the 8th of *January* ſhe dyed, in the Fiftyeth year of her Age, Thirty Three years after ſhe came to *England*. She was a devout and pious Princeſs, and led a ſevere and mortified Life. In her Greatneſs, ſhe wrought much with her own hands, and kept her Women, well employed about her; as appeared, when the Two Legates came once to ſpeak with her. She came out to them with a Skein of ſilk about her Neck, and told them, ſhe had been within, at work with her Women. She was moſt paſſionately devoted, to the Intereſts of the Court of *Rome*, they being ſo interwoven with her own. And in a word, ſhe is repreſented as a moſt wonderful good Woman. Only I find on many occaſions, that the King complained much, of her uneaſineſs and peeviſhneſs. But whether the fault was in her humor, or in the Provocations, ſhe met with, the Reader may conjecture. The King received the news of her death, with ſome regrett. But he would not give leave to bury her, as ſhe had ordered; but made her body be laid in the Abbey Church of *Peterborough*, which he afterwards Converted to an Epiſcopal Cathedral. But Queen *Anne* did not carry her death ſo decently; for ſhe expreſſ'd too much joy at it, both in her Carriage and dreſs.

On

On the 4th of *February* the Parliament ſate, upon a Prorogation of 14th Months, (for in the Record there is no mention of any intermedial Prorogation,) where a great many Laws, relating to Civil concerns, were paſſed. By the 15th Act, the Power that had been given by a former Act to the King, for naming thirty two Perſons, to make a Collection of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, was again confirmed; for nothing had been done upon the former Act. But there was no limitation of time in this Act, and ſo there was nothing done in purſuance of it. 1536. A new Seſſion of Parliament.

The great buſineſs of this Seſſion of Parliament, was the ſuppreſſing the leſſer Monaſteries. How this went thorough the two Houſes, we cannot know from the Journals, for they are loſt. But all the Hiſtorians of that time, tell us, that the report which the Viſitors made to the King, was read in Parliament; which repreſented the manners of theſe Houſes ſo odiouſly, that the Act was eaſily carried. The Preamble bears, "That ſmall Religious Houſes, under the number of "twelve Perſons, had been long and notoriouſly guilty of vicious and "abominable Living; and did much conſume and waſte their Churches, "Lands, and other things belonging to them; and that for above two "hundred years, there had been many Viſitations for reforming theſe "Abuſes, but with no ſucceſs; their vicious living encreaſing daily: "So that except ſmall Houſes were diſſolved, and the Religious put "into greater Monaſteries, there could no Reformation be expected "in that matter. Whereupon the King having received a full infor-"mation of theſe Abuſes, both by his Viſitors and other credible "ways; and conſidering that there were divers great Monaſteries, in "which Religion was well kept and obſerved, which had not the full "number in them, that they might and ought to receive, had made "a full Declaration of the Premiſſes in Parliament. Whereupon it was "Enacted, That all Houſes which might ſpend yearly 200*l.* or with-"in it, ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and their Revenues converted to better "uſes, and they compelled to reform their Lives. The Lord *Herbert* thinks it ſtrange, that the Statute in the printed Book, has no Preamble, but begins bluntly. *Fuller* tell us, that he wonders, that Lord did not ſee the Record; and he ſets down the Preamble, and ſays, *The reſt follow as in the printed Statute, Chap.* 27th. by a miſtake for the 28th. This ſhews, that neither the one, nor the other, ever look'd on the Record. For there is a particular Statute of Diſſolution, diſtinct from the 28th Chap. And the Preamble which *Fuller* ſets down, belongs not to the 28th Chapter, as he ſays, but to the 18th Chapter, which was never printed: and the 28th relates in the Preamble, to that other Statute, which had given theſe Monaſteries to the King. The leſſer Monaſteries are ſuppreſſed.

The reaſons, that were pretended for diſſolving theſe Houſes, were: That whereas there was but a ſmall number of perſons in them, they entred into Confederacies together, and their Poverty ſet them on, to uſe many ill arts to grow Rich. They were alſo much abroad, and kept no manner of Diſcipline in their Houſes. But thoſe Houſes were generally much richer, than they ſeemed to be: For the Abbots raiſing great Fines out of them, held the Leaſes ſtill low; and by that means they were not obliged to entertain a greater number in their Houſe, and ſo enriched themſelves and their Brethren by the Fines that were raiſed: For many Houſes then rented at two hundred pounds, Reaſons for doing it.

were

1536. were worth many thouſands, as will appear to any that compares, what they were then valued at, (which is Collected by *Speed*,) with what their Eſtates are truely worth. When this was paſſing in Parliament, *Stokeſley*, Biſhop of *London* ſaid, "Theſe leſſer Houſes were as "Thorns ſoon pluck't up, but the great Abbots were like putrified old "Oaks; yet they muſt needs follow, and ſo would others do in Chri-"ſtendom, before many years were paſſed.

By another Act, all theſe Houſes, their Churches, Lands, and all their Goods were given to the King, and his Heirs and Succeſſors, together with all other Houſes, which within a year before the making of the Act, had been diſſolved or ſuppreſſed: And for the gathering the Revenues that belonged to them, a new Court was Erected, called the Court of the *Augmentations of the Kings Revenue*; which was to conſiſt of a Chancellor, a Treaſurer, an Attourney and Sollicitor, and ten Auditors, ſeventeen Receivers, a Clerk, an Uſher, and a Meſſenger. This Court was to bring in the Revenues of ſuch Houſes as were now diſſolved, excepting only ſuch as the King by his Letters-Patents, continued in their former ſtate, appointing a Seal for the Court, with full Power and Authority to diſpoſe of theſe Lands ſo as might be moſt for the Kings Service.

Thus fell the leſſer Abbeys, to the number of 376, and ſoon after, this Parliament, which had done the King ſuch eminent Service, and had now ſate ſix years, was diſſolved, on the 14th of *April*.

The Tranſlation of the Bible in *Engliſh* deſigned.

In the Convocation, a motion was made of great conſequence; That there ſhould be a Tranſlation of the Bible in *Engliſh*, to be ſet up in all the Churches of *England*. The Clergy, when they procured *Tindalls* Tranſlation to be condemned, and ſuppreſſed it, gave out that they intended to make a Tranſlation into the Vulgar-Tongue: Yet it was afterwards, upon a long Conſultation, Reſolved, that it was free for the Church to give the Bible in a Vulgar-Tongue, or not, as they pleaſed; and that the King was not obliged to it, and that at that time it was not at all expedient to do it. Upon which, thoſe that promoted the Reformation, made great complaints, and ſaid, it was viſible, the Clergy knew there was an oppoſition between the Scriptures and their Doctrine. That they had firſt condemned *Wickliffs* Tranſlation, and then *Tindalls*; and though they ought to teach men the Word of God, yet they did all they could to ſuppreſs it.

The reaſons for it.

In the times of the Old Teſtament, the Scriptures were writ in the Vulgar-Tongue, and all were charged to read and remember the Law. The Apoſtles wrote in Greek, which was then the moſt common Language in the World. Chriſt did alſo appeal to the Scriptures, and ſent the people to them. And by what St. *Paul* ſays of *Timothy*, it appears, that children were then early trained up in that ſtudy. In the Primitive Church, as Nations were converted to the Faith, the Bible was Tranſlated into their Tongue. The Latine Tranſlation was very Ancient; the Bible was afterwards put into the *Scythian*, *Dalmatian* and *Gothick* Tongues. It continued thus for ſeveral Ages, till the ſtate of Monkery roſe; And then, when they engroſſed the riches, and the Popes aſſumed the Dominion of the World, it was not conſiſtent with theſe Deſigns, nor with the Arts uſed to promote them, to let the Scriptures be much known: Therefore Legends and ſtrange ſtories of Viſi-

ons,

ons, with other devices, were thought more proper for keeping up their Credit, and carrying on their Ends. 1536.

It was now generally desired, that if there were just exceptions against what *Tindal* had done, these might be amended in a New Translation. This was a plausible thing, and wrought much on all that heard it; who plainly concluded, that those who denyed the people the use of the Scriptures in their vulgar tongues, must needs know their own Doctrine and practices to be inconsistent with it. Upon these grounds *Cranmer*, who was projecting the most effectual means for promoting a Reformation of Doctrine, moved in Convocation, that they should Petition the King for leave to make a Translation of the Bible. But *Gardiner* and all his party opposed it, both in Convocation, and in secret with the King. It was said, that all the Heresies and extravagant Opinions, which were then in *Germany*, and from thence coming over to *England*, sprang from the free use of the Scriptures. And whereas in *May* the last year, Nineteen *Hollanders* were accused of some Heretical Opinions; 'denying 'Christ to be both God and man, or that he took Flesh and Blood 'of the Virgin *Mary*, or that the Sacraments had any effect on those that received them; in which opinions Fourteen of them remained Obstinate, and were burnt by pairs in several places; it was complained, that all those drew their Damnable errors from the indiscreet use of the Scriptures. And to offer the Bible in the *English* tongue to the whole Nation, during these distractions, would prove, as they pretended, the greatest Snare that could be. Therefore they proposed, that there should be a short exposition of the most useful and necessary Doctrines of the Christian Faith, given to the people in the *English* tongue, for the Instruction of the Nation, which would keep them in a certain Subjection to the King and the Church, in Matters of Faith. The Opposition made to it.

The other party, though they liked well the publishing such a Treatise in the vulgar tongue, yet by no means thought that sufficient; but said, the people must be allowed to search the Scripture, by which they might be convinced that such Treatises were according to it. These Arguments prevailed with the Two Houses of Convocation. So they petitioned the King, that he would give order to some, to set about it. To this, great Opposition was made at Court. Some, on the one hand, told the King, that a diversity of opinions would arise out of it; and that he could no more Govern his Subjects, if he gave way to that. But on the other hand, it was represented, that nothing would make his Supremacy so acceptable to the Nation, and make the Pope more hateful, than to let them see, that whereas the Popes had Governed them by a blind obedience, and kept them in darkness, the King brought them into the light, and gave them the free use of the word of God. And nothing would more effectually extirpate the Popes Authority, and discover the Impostures of the Monks, than the Bible in *English*; in which all people would clearly discern, there was no Foundation for those things. These Arguments, joyned with the Power that the Queen had in his affections, were so much considered by the King, that he gave order for setting about it immediately. To whom that work was committed

1536. ted, or how they proceeded in it, I know not. For the Account of theſe things has not been preſerved, nor conveighed to us, with that care that the Importance of the thing required. Yet it appears that the work was carryed on at a good rate: for Three years after this, it was Printed at *Paris*; which ſhows they made all convenient haſt, in a thing that required ſo much deliberation.

The fall of Queen *Anne*. But this was the laſt publick good Act of this unfortunate Queen; who, the nearer ſhe drew to her end, grew more full of good works. She had diſtributed, in the laſt Nine Moneths of her Life, between Fourteen and Fifteen Thouſand Pounds to the poor, and was deſigning great and publick good things. And by all appearance, if ſhe had lived, the Money that was raiſed by the Suppreſſion of Religious Houſes, had been better employed than it was. In *January*, ſhe brought forth a dead Son. This was thought to have made ill Impreſſions on the King: and that, as he concluded from the death of his Sons by the former Queen, that the Marriage was diſpleaſing to God; ſo he might upon this misfortune, begin to make the like Judgment of this Marriage. Sure enough the Popiſh party were earneſtly ſet againſt the Queen, looking on her as the great ſupporter of Hereſie. And at that time, *Fox* then Biſhop of *Hereford* was in *Germany* at *Smalcald*, treating a League with the Proteſtant Princes, who inſiſted much on the *Ausburg* Confeſſion. There were many Conferences between *Fox* and Doctor *Barnes*, and ſome others, with the *Lutheran* Divines, for accommodating the differences between them, and the thing was in a good forwardneſs. All which was imputed to the Queen. *Gardiner* was then Ambaſſador in *France*, and wrote earneſtly to the King, to diſſuade him from entring into any Religious League with theſe Princes: for that would alienate all the World from him, and diſpoſe his own Subjects to Rebel. The King thought the *German*-Princes and Divines ſhould have ſubmitted all things to his Judgment, and had ſuch an Opinion of his own Learning, and was ſo puft up with the flattering praiſes that he daily heard, that he grew impatient of any oppoſition, and thought that his Dictates ſhould paſs for Oracles. And becauſe the *Germans* would not receive them ſo, his mind was alienated from them.

The whole Popiſh party drove it on.

But the Duke of *Norfolk* at Court, and *Gardiner* beyond Sea, thought there might eaſily be found a mean to accommodate the King, both with the Emperor and the Pope, if the Queen were once out of the way; for then he might freely Marry any one whom he pleaſed, and that Marriage, with the Male Iſſue of it, could not be diſputed: Whereas, as long as the Queen lived, her Marriage, as being judged Null from the beginning, could never be allowed by the Court of *Rome*, or any of that Party: with theſe reaſons of State, others of affection concurred. The Queen had been his Wife Three years; but at this time he entertained a ſecret Love for *Jane Seimour*, who had all the charmes both of Beauty and Youth in her perſon; and her humor was tempered, between the ſevere gravity of Queen *Katharine*, and the gay pleaſantneſs of Queen *Anne*. The Queen perceiving this Alienation of the Kings heart, uſed all poſſible Arts to recover that affection, of whoſe decay ſhe was ſadly ſenſible. But the Succeſs was quite contrary to what ſhe deſigned. For the

King

King ſaw her no more with thoſe eyes, which ſhe had formerly captivated; but grew jealous, and aſcribed theſe careſſes to ſome other criminal affections, of which he began to ſuſpect her. This being one of the moſt memorable paſſages of this Reign, I was at more than ordinary pains to learn all I could concerning it, and have not only ſeen a great many Letters that were writ, by thoſe that were ſet about the Queen, and catcht every thing that fell from her, and ſent it to Court, but have alſo ſeen an account of it, which the Learned *Spelman*, who was a Judge at that time, writ with his own hand in his Common-place Book, and another account of it writ by one *Anthony Anthony* a Surveyor of the Ordnance of the *Tower*. From all which I ſhall give a juſt and faithful relation of it, without concealing the leaſt circumſtance, that may either ſeem favourable or unfavourable to her. 1535.

The Kings jealouſie of her.

She was of a very cheerful temper, which was not always limited within the bounds of exact decency and diſcretion. She had rallied ſome of the Kings Servants, more than became her. Her Brother, the Lord *Rochford*, was her Friend as well as Brother; but his ſpiteful Wife was jealous of him: and being a Woman of no ſort of Vertue, (as will appear afterwards by her ſerving Queen *Katharine Howard* in her beaſtly practices, for which ſhe was attainted and executed,) ſhe carryed many Stories to the King, or ſome about him, to perſwade, that there was a familiarity between the Queen and her Brother, beyond what ſo near a Relation could juſtifie. All that could be ſaid for it, was only this; that he was once ſeen leaning upon her Bed, which bred great ſuſpition. *Henry Norris*, that was Groom of the Stole, *Weſton*, and *Brereton*, that were of the Kings Privy-Chamber, and one *Mark Smeton*, a Muſician, were all obſerved to have much of her favour. And their zeal in ſerving her, was thought too warm and diligent to flow from a leſs active Principle than Love. Many circumſtances were brought to the King, which working upon his averſion to the Queen, together with his affection to Miſtreſs *Seimour*, made him conclude her guilty. Yet ſomewhat which himſelf obſerved, or fancied, at a Tilting at *Greenvich*, is believed to have given the Criſis to her Ruin. It is ſaid, that he ſpied her let her Handkerchief fall to one of her Gallants to wipe his face, being hot after a Courſe. Whether ſhe dropt it careleſly, or of deſign; or whether there be any truth in that ſtory, the Letters concerning her fall, making no mention of it, I cannot determine; for *Spelman* makes no mention of it, and gives a very different account of the diſcovery in theſe words. *As for the evidence of this matter, it was diſcovered by the Lady* Wingfield, *who had been a Servant to the Queen, and becoming on a ſudden infirm ſometime before her death, did ſwear this matter to one of her* ····· and here unluckily the reſt of the Page is torn off. By this it ſeems, there was no legal evidence againſt the Queen, and that it was but a Witneſs at ſecond hand, who depoſed what they heard the Lady *Wingfield* ſwear. Who this perſon was we know not, nor in what temper of mind the Lady *Wingfield* might be, when ſhe ſwore it. The ſafeſt ſort of forgery, to one whoſe Conſcience can ſwallow it, is to lay a thing on a dead perſons name, where there is no fear of diſcovery before the great day: and

1535. when it was underſtood that the Queen had loſt the Kings heart, many, either out of their zeal to Popery, or deſign to make their fortune, might be eaſily induced to carry a ſtory of this Nature. And this it ſeems was that which was brought to the King at *Greenwich*, who did thereupon immediately return to *Whitehall*, it being the 1ſt of *May*. The Queen was immediately reſtrained to her Chamber, the other Five were alſo ſeized on: But none of them would confeſs any thing, but *Mark Smeton, as to any actual thing*, ſo *Cromwell* writ. Upon this they were carryed to the *Tower*. The poor Queen was in a ſad condition; ſhe muſt not only fall under the Kings diſpleaſure, but be both defam'd and deſtroyed at once. At firſt ſhe ſmiled and carryed it cheerfully; and ſaid, ſhe believed the King did this only to prove her. But when ſhe ſaw it was in earneſt; ſhe deſired to have the Sacrament in her Cloſet, and expreſſed great devotion, and ſeemed to be prepared for death.

The Letters about this *Cott.* Lib. *Otho* C. 10.

The ſurprize and confuſion ſhe was in, raiſed fits of the Mother; which thoſe about her did not ſeem to underſtand: But Three or Four Letters, which were writ concerning her to Court, ſay, that ſhe was at ſome times very devout, and cryed much; and of a ſudden would burſt out in Laughter, which are evident ſigns of Vapours. When ſhe heard that thoſe who were accuſed with her, were ſent to the *Tower*, ſhe then concluded her ſelf loſt; and ſaid, ſhe ſhould be ſent thither next; and talked idlely, ſaying, 'That if her Biſhops "were about the King, they would all ſpeak for her. She alſo ſaid, "That ſhe would be a Saint in Heaven, for ſhe had done many good "deeds; and that there ſhould be no Rain, but heavy judgments on "the Land, for what they were now doing to her. Her Enemies had now gone too far, not to deſtroy her. Next day ſhe was carryed to the *Tower*, and ſome Lords, that met her on the River, declared to her what her Offences were. Upon which, ſhe made deep Proteſtations of her Innocence, and begged leave to ſee the King; but that was not to be expected. When ſhe was carryed into the *Tower*, "She fell down on her knees, and prayed God to help her, as "ſhe was not guilty of the thing for which ſhe was accuſed. That ſame day the King wrote to *Cranmer*, to come to *Lambeth*; but ordered him not to come into his preſence. Which was procured by the Queens Enemies, who took care, that one who had ſuch credit with the King, ſhould not come at him, till they had fully perſwaded him that ſhe was guilty. Her Uncles Lady, the Lady *Boleyn*, was appointed to lye in the Chamber with her. Which ſhe took very ill; for, upon what reaſon I know not, ſhe had been in very ill terms with her. She engaged her into much diſcourſe, and ſtudied to draw Confeſſions from her. Whatſoever ſhe ſaid, was preſently ſent to the Court. And a Woman full of Vapours, was like enough to tell every thing that was true, with a great deal more; for perſons in that condition, not only have no command of themſelves, but are apt to ſay any thing that comes in their fancy.

She is put in the *Tower*, and pleads her Innocency.

The Duke of *Norfolk*, and ſome of the Kings Council, were with her; but could draw nothing from her, though they made her believe, that *Norris* and *Mark* had accuſed her. But when they were gone, ſhe fell down on her knees and wept, and prayed often, *Jeſu have*

have Mercy on me; and then fell a-laughing: when that fit was over, ſhe deſired to have the Sacrament ſtill by her, that ſhe might pray for Mercy. And ſhe ſaid to the Lieutenant of the Tower, ſhe was as clear of the company of all men, as to ſin, as ſhe was clear from him; and that ſhe was the Kings true wedded Wife. And ſhe cryed out, "O *Norris*, haſt thou accuſed me? thou art in the *Tower* "with me, and thou and I ſhall dye together; and *Mark*, ſo ſhall "thou too. She apprehended they were to put her in a Dungeon; and ſadly bemoaned her own, and her Mothers miſery; and asked them, whether ſhe muſt dye without Juſtice. But they told her, the pooreſt Subjects had Juſtice, much more would ſhe have it. The ſame Letter ſayes, that *Norris* had not accuſed her; and that he ſaid to her Almoner, that he could ſwear for her, *ſhe was a good Woman*. But ſhe being made believe that he had accuſed her, and not being then ſo free in her thoughts, as to conſider that ordinary Artifice for drawing out Confeſſions, told all ſhe knew, both of him and *Mark*. Which though it was not enough to deſtroy her, yet certainly wrought much on the jealous and alienated King. She told them, "that ſhe once asked *Norris*, why he did not go on with his "Marriage? who anſwered her, that he would yet tarry ſome time. "To which ſhe replyed, you look for dead mens ſhoes; for if ought "come to the King but good, you would look to have me. He an- "ſwered, if he had any ſuch thought, he would his head were cut "off. Upon which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe could undoe him if ſhe pleaſed, "and thereupon ſhe fell out with him. As for *Mark*, who was then laid in Irons, ſhe ſaid, he was never in her Chamber, but when the King was laſt at *Wincheſter*; and then he came in to play on the "Virginals: ſhe ſaid, that ſhe never ſpoke to him after that, but on Sa- "turday before *May* day, when ſhe ſaw him ſtanding in the Window, "and then ſhe asked him, why he was ſo ſad; he ſaid, it was no "matter: ſhe anſwered, you may not look to have me ſpeak to you, "as if you were a Nobleman, ſince you are an inferior perſon. No, "no, Madam, ſaid he, a Look ſufficeth me. She ſeemed more ap- "prehenſive of *Weſton*, than of any body. For on *Whitſun-Munday* "laſt he ſaid to her, that *Norris* came more to her Chamber upon her "account, than for any body elſe that was there. She had obſerved, "that he loved a Kinſwoman of hers, and challenged him for it, and "for not loving his Wife. But he anſwered her, that there were Wo- "men in the Houſe, whom he loved better than them both; ſhe ask- "ed who is that; your ſelf ſaid he; upon which, ſhe ſaid, ſhe de- "fied him.

1535. But confeſſed ſome indiſcreet words.

This Miſery of the Queens, drew after it the common effects that follow perſons under ſuch a diſgrace, for now all the Court was againſt her, and every one was courting the riſing Queen. But *Cranmer* had not learned theſe Arts, and had a better Soul in him, than to be capable of ſuch baſeneſs and ingratitude. He had been much obliged by her, and had conceived an high opinion of her, and ſo could not eaſily receive ill impreſſions of her; yet he knew the Kings temper, and that a down-right Juſtification of her would provoke him: therefore he wrote the following Letter, on the 3d. of *May*, with all the ſoftneſs that ſo tender a point required; in which he juſti-

fied.

1536. fied her, as far as was consistent with Prudence and Charity. The Letter shewes of what a Constitution he was that wrote it; and contains so many things that tend highly to her honour, that I shall insert it here, as I copied it from the Original.

Cranmers Letter to the King about her. Cott. *Lib.*

"*Pleaseth it your most Noble Grace*, to be advertised, that at your "Graces Commandment by Mr. Secretary his Letters, written in "your Graces name, I came to *Lambeth* yesterday, and do there re- "main to know your Graces further pleasure. And forsomuch as "without your Graces Commandment, I dare not, contrary to the "Contents of the said Letters, presume to come unto your Graces "Presence; nevertheless of my most bounden duty, I can do no less "than most humbly to desire your Grace, by your great Wisdom, "and by the Assistance of Gods help, somewhat to suppress the deep "sorrows of your Graces heart, and to take all Adversities of Gods "hands both patiently and thankfully. I cannot deny, but your "Grace hath great causes many ways of lamentable heavines: and "also that in the wrongful estimation of the World, your Graces "honour of every part is so highly touched (whether the things that "commonly be spoken of, be true or not,) that I remember not that "ever Almighty God sent unto your Grace, any like occasion to try "your Graces constancy throughout, whether your Highness can be "content to take off Gods hand, as well things displeasant, as plea- "sant. And if he find in your most Noble heart such an Obedi- "ence unto his Will, that your Grace, without murmuration and o- "vermuch heavines, do accept all adversities, not less thanking him, "than when all things succeed after your Graces Will and Pleasure, "nor less procuring his Glory and Honour; then I suppose your "Grace did never thing more acceptable unto him, since your first "Governance of this your Realm. And moreover, your Grace shall "give unto him occasion to multiply and encrease his Graces and "benefits unto your Highness, as he did unto his most faithful Ser- "vant *Job*; unto whom, after his great Calamities and heavines, "for his obedient heart, and willing acceptation of Gods scourge and "rod, *Addidit ei Dominus cuncta duplicia.* And if it be true, that is "openly reported of the Queens Grace, if men had a right estimati- "on of things, they should not esteem any part of your Graces Ho- "nour to be touched thereby, but her Honour only to be clearly "disparaged. And I am in such a perplexity, that my mind is clean "amazed. For I never had better opinion in Woman, than I had "in her; which maketh me to think, that she should not be culpa- "ble. And again, I think your Highness would not have gon so far, "except she had surely been culpable. Now I think that your Grace "best knoweth, that next unto your Grace, I was most bound unto "her of all creatures living. Wherefore I most humbly beseech "your Grace, to suffer me in that, which both Gods Law, Nature, "and also her kindness, bindeth me unto; that is, that I may with "your Graces favour wish and pray for her, that she may declare "her self inculpable and innocent. And if she be found culpable, "considering your Graces goodness towards her, and from what con- "dition your Grace of your only meer goodness took her, and set

the

"the Crown upon her head; I repute him not your Graces faith- 1536.
"ful Servant and Subject, nor true unto the Realm, that would not
"deſire the offence without mercy to be puniſhed, to the example
"of all other. And as I loved her not a little, for the Love which
"I judged her to bear towards God and his Goſpel; ſo if ſhe be prov-
"ed culpable, there is not one that loveth God and his Goſpel,
"that ever will favour her, but muſt hate her above all other; and
"the more they favour the Goſpel, the more they will hate her:
"For then there was never creature in our time that ſo much ſlan-
"dered the Goſpel. And God hath ſent her this puniſhment, for
"that ſhe feignedly hath profeſſed his Goſpel in her mouth, and
"not in heart and deed. And though ſhe have offended ſo, that
"ſhe hath deſerved never to be reconciled unto your Graces favour;
"yet Almighty God hath manifoldly declared his goodneſs towards
"your Grace, and never offended you. But your Grace, I am ſure,
"knowledgeth that you haue offended him. Wherefore I truſt that
"your Grace will bear no leſs entire favour unto the truth of the
"Goſpel, than you did before: Forſomuch as your Graces favour to
"the Goſpel, was not led by affection unto her, but by zeal unto the
"truth. And thus I beſeech Almighty God, whoſe Goſpel he hath
"ordained your Grace to be Defender of, ever to preſerve your Grace
"from all evil, and give you at the end, the promiſe of his Goſpel.
"From *Lanbeth*, the 3d day of *May*.

"After I had written this Letter unto your Grace, my Lord *Chan-*
"*cellor*, my Lord of *Oxford*, my Lord of *Suſſex*, and my Lord *Cham-*
"*berlain* of your Graces Houſe, ſent for me to come unto the Star-
"Chamber; and there declared unto me ſuch things as your Graces
"pleaſure was they ſhould make me privie unto. For the which I
"am moſt bounden unto your Grace. And what Communication
"we had together, I doubt not but they will make the true report
"thereof unto your Grace. I am exceedingly ſorry, that ſuch faults
"can be proved by the Queen, as I heard of their relation. But I
"am, and ever ſhall be, Your faithful Subject,

Your Graces moſt
humble Subject,
and Chaplain.

T. Cantuarienſis.

But Jealouſie, and the Kings new affection, had quite defaced all the remainders of eſteem for his late beloved Queen. Yet the Miniſters continued practiſing, to get further evidence for the Tryal; which was not brought on, till the 12th of *May*; and then *Norris*, *Weſton*, *Brereton*, and *Smeton*, were tryed by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* in *Weſtminſter*-Hall. They were twice indicted, and the indictments were found by two Grand Juries, in the Counties of *Kent* and *Middleſex*: The Crimes with which they were charged, being ſaid

She is brought to a Tryal.

1536. ſaid to be done in both theſe Counties. *Mark Smeton* confeſſed, he had known the Queen Carnally Three times: The other Three pleaded *not Guilty*, but the Jury upon the evidence formerly mentioned, found them all *Guilty*; and Judgment was given, that they ſhould be drawn to the place of Execution, and ſome of them to be hanged, others to be beheaded, and all to be quartered, as Guilty of high Treaſon. On the 15th of *May*, the Queen and her Brother the Lord *Rochford* (who was a Peer, having been made a Viſcount when his Father was Created Earl of *Wiltſhire*) were brought to be Tryed by their Peers: The Duke of *Norfolk* being Lord high Steward for that occaſion. With him ſate the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, the Earl of *Arundel*, and Twenty Five more Peers, of whom their Father the Earl of *Wiltſhire* was one. Whether this unnatural complyance was impoſed on him by the Imperious King, or officiouſly ſubmitted to by himſelf, that he might thereby be preſerved from the Ruin that fell on his Family, is not known. Here the Queen of *England* by an unheard-of preſident was brought to the Bar, and Indicted of high Treaſon. The Crimes charged on her were, *that ſhe had procured her Brother and the other Four to lye with her, which they had done often; that ſhe had ſaid to them, that the King never had her heart, and had ſaid to every one of them by themſelves, that ſhe loved them better than any perſon whatſoever. Which was to the ſlander of the iſſue that was begotten between the King and her.* And this was Treaſon, according to the Statute made in the 26th year of this Reign (ſo that the Law that was made for her and the iſſue of her Marriage, is now made uſe of to deſtroy her). It was alſo added in the Indictment, that ſhe, and her complices, *had conſpired the Kings death*; but this it ſeems was only put in to ſwell the charge, for if there had been any evidence for it, there was no need of ſtretching the other Statute, or if they could have proved the violating of the Queen, the known Statute of the Twenty Fifth year of the Reign of *Edward* the Third had been ſufficient. When the Indictment was read, ſhe held up her hand, and Pleaded *not Guilty*, and ſo did her Brother, and did anſwer the evidence was brought againſt her diſcreetly. One thing is remarkable that *Mark Smeton*, who was the only perſon that confeſſed any thing, was never confronted with the Queen, nor was kept to be an evidence againſt her, for he had received his Sentence Three dayes before, and ſo could be no witneſs in Law: but perhaps, though he was wrought on to confeſs, yet they did not think he had confidence enough to aver it to the Queens face; therefore the evidence they brought, as *Spelman* ſays, was the Oath of a Woman that was dead, yet this, or rather the Terror of offending the King, ſo wrought on the Lords, that they found her and her Brother *Guilty*: and Judgment was given, that ſhe ſhould be *Burnt*, or *Beheaded at the Kings pleaſure.* Upon which *Spelman* obſerves, that whereas Burning is the death which the Law appoints for a Woman that is attainted of Treaſon, yet ſince ſhe had been Queen of *England*, they left it to the King to determine, whether ſhe ſhould dye ſo infamous a death, or be Beheaded; but the Judges complained of this way of proceeding, and ſaid, ſuch a disjunctive in a Judgment of Treaſon, had never been ſeen. The Lord *Rochford* was alſo Condemned

ed to be Beheaded and Quartered. Yet all this did not ſatisfie the enraged King, but the Marriage between him and her muſt be annulled, and the iſſue illegitimated. The King remembred an Intrigue that had been between her and the Earl of *Northumberland*, which was mentioned in the former Book; and that the then Lord *Piercy* had ſaid to the Cardinal, 'That he had gone ſo far before witneſſes, "that it lay upon his Conſcience, ſo that he could not go back: this it's like might be ſome promiſe he made to Marry her, *per verba de futuro*, which though it was no Precontract in it ſelf, yet it ſeems the poor Queen was either ſo ignorant or ſo ill-adviſed, as to be perſwaded afterwards it was one, though it's certain that nothing, but a Contract *per verba de præſenti*, could be of any force to annul the ſubſequent Marriage. The King and his Council, reflecting upon what it ſeems the Cardinal had told him, reſolved to try what could be made of it, and preſſed the Earl of *Northumberland* to confeſs a Contract between him and her. But he took his Oath before the Two Arch-Biſhops, that there was no Contract, nor promiſe of Marriage ever between them, and received the Sacrament upon it, before the Duke of *Norfolk*, and others of the Kings Privy Council; wiſhing it might be to his Damnation, if there was any ſuch thing, (concerning which I have ſeen the Original Declaration under his own hand.) Nor could they draw any Confeſſion from the Queen, before the Sentence, for certainly if they could have done that, the Divorce had gone before the Tryal; and then ſhe muſt have been tryed only, as *Marchioneſs* of *Pembroke*. But now ſhe lying under ſo terrible a Sentence, it is moſt probable, that either ſome hopes of Life were given her; or at leaſt, ſhe was wrought on by the Aſſurances of mitigating that cruel part of her judgment, of being *Burnt*, into the milder part of the Sentence, of *Having her head cut off*; ſo that ſhe confeſſed a Pre-contract, and on the 17th of *May* was brought to *Lambeth*; and in Court, the afflicted Arch-Biſhop ſitting Judge, ſome perſons of Quality being preſent, ſhe confeſſed ſome juſt and lawful impediments; by which it was evident, that her Marriage with the King was not valid. Upon which Confeſſion, the Marriage between the King and her was judged to have been null and void. The Record of the Sentence is burnt; but theſe particulars are repeated in the Act that paſſed in the next Parliament, touching the Succeſſion to the Crown. It ſeems this was ſecretly done, for *Spelman* writes of it thus; It was ſaid, there was a Divorce made between the King and her, upon her confeſſing a Precontract with another before her Marriage with the King: ſo then it was then only talkt of, but not generally known.

1536.

Upon an extorted Confeſſion is divorced.

The two Sentences that were paſt upon the Queen, the one of Attaindor for Adultery, the other of Divorce becauſe of a Precontract, did ſo contradict one another, that it was apparent, one, if not both of them muſt be unjuſt; for if the Marriage between the King and her was null from the beginning, then ſince ſhe was not the Kings wedded Wife, there could be no Adultery: and her Marriage to the King was either a true Marriage, or not; if it was true, then the annulling of it was unjuſt, and if it was no true Marriage, then the Attainder was unjuſt; for there could be no breach of that Faith which was ne-

.6351 ver given: So that it is plain, the King was reſolved to be rid of her, and to Illegitimate her Daughter, and in that tranſport of his fury, did not conſider that the very method he took, diſcovered the unjuſtice of his proceedings againſt her. Two days after this, ſhe was ordered to be Executed in the Green on *Tower-Hill*. How ſhe received theſe tidings, and how ſtedfaſt ſhe continued in the proteſtations of her Innocence, will beſt appear by the following circumſtances. The day before ſhe ſuffered, upon a ſtrict ſearch of her paſt Life, ſhe called to mind, that ſhe had played the Step-Mother too ſeverely to Lady *Mary*, and had done her many injuries. Upon which, ſhe made the Lieutenant of the *Tower's* Lady ſit down in the Chair of State; which the other, after ſome Ceremony, doing, ſhe fell down on her knees, and with many tears charged the Lady, as ſhe would anſwer it to God, to go in her name, and do, as ſhe had done, to the Lady *Mary*, and ask her forgiveneſs for the wrongs ſhe had done her. And ſhe ſaid, ſhe had no quiet in her Conſcience, till ſhe had done that. But though ſhe did in this what became a Chriſtian, the Lady *Mary* could not ſo eaſily pardon theſe injuries; but retained the reſentments of them her whole life.

Her Preparation for Death.

This ingenuity and tenderneſs of Conſcience about leſſer matters, is a great preſumption, that if ſhe had been guilty of more eminent faults, ſhe had not continued to the laſt denying them, and making proteſtations of her Innocency. For that ſame night ſhe ſent her laſt meſſage to the King, and acknowledged her ſelf much obliged to him, that had continued ſtill to advance her. She ſaid, he had, from a private Gentlewoman, firſt made her a Marchioneſs, and then a Queen; and now, ſince he could raiſe her no higher, was ſending her to be a Saint in Heaven: She proteſted her Innocence, and recommended her Daughter to his care. And her carriage that day ſhe died, will appear from the following Letter writ by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, copied from the Original, which I inſert, becauſe the Copier imployed by the Lord *Herbert* has not writ it out faithfully; for I cannot think that any part of it was left out on deſign.

The Lieutenant of the *Tower's* Letter.

"Sir, Theſe ſhall be to advertiſe you, I have received your Letter, "wherein you would have ſtrangers conveyed out of the *Tower*, and "ſo they be by the means of *Richard Greſſum*, and *William Cooke*, and "*Wytſpoll*. But the number of ſtrangers paſt not thirty, and not ma-"ny of thoſe; and the Ambaſſador of the Emperor had a Servant there, "and honeſtly put out: Sir, If we have not an hour certain, as it may "be known in *London*, I think here will be but few, and I think a rea-"ſonable number were beſt, for I ſuppoſe ſhe will declare her ſelf to "be a good woman, for all men but for the King, at the hour of her "death. For this morning ſhe ſent for me, that I might be with her "at ſuch time as ſhe received the Good Lord, to the intent I ſhould "hear her ſpeak as touching her Innocency alway to be clear. And in "the writing of this, ſhe ſent for me, and at my coming ſhe ſaid: "Mr. *Kingſton*, I hear ſay I ſhall not die aforenoon, and I am very ſor-"ry therefore, for I thought to be dead by this time, and paſt my pain. "I told her, it ſhould be no pain, it was ſo ſottel. And then ſhe ſaid, "I heard ſay the Executioner was very good, and I have a little Neck,

"and

Nata An.º 1507 Nupsit An.º 1532 Nov. 14
Eliz. Filiam peperit An.º 1533 Sept. 7
Capite plexa An.º 1536 May 19.

Printed for Rich: Chiswell at ye Rose and Crown in St. Pauls Church yard.

"and put her hands about it, laughing heartily. I have ſeen many "men, and alſo women, Executed; and that they have been in great "ſorrow, and to my knowledge this Lady has much joy and pleaſure "in death. Sir, her Almoner is continually with her, and had been "ſince two a Clock after midnight. This is the effect of any thing "that is here at this time, and thus Fare you well, 1536.

Yours

William Kingſton.

A little before Noon, being the 19th of *May*, ſhe was brought to the Scaffold, where ſhe made a ſhort Speech to a great company that came to look on the laſt Scene of this fatal Tragedy: The chief of whom, were the Dukes of *Suffolk* and *Richmond*, the Lord Chancellor, and Secretary *Cromwell*, with the Lord Mayor, the Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London*. "She ſaid, She was come to die, as ſhe was Judg-"ed by the Law; ſhe would accuſe none, nor ſay any thing of the "ground upon which ſhe was judged. She prayed heartily for the "King; and called him a moſt merciful and gentle Prince, and that "he had been always to her, a good, gentle, Soveraign Lord: and if "any would meddle with her cauſe, ſhe required them to judge the "beſt. And ſo ſhe took her leave of them, and of the world; and "heartily deſired they would pray for her. After ſhe had been ſome time in her Devotions, being her laſt words, *To Chriſt I commend my Soul*; her Head was cut off by the Hangman of *Calais*, who was brought over as more expert at Beheading than any in *England*: her Eyes and Lips were obſerved to move after her Head was cut off, as *Spelman* writes; but her Body was thrown into a common Cheſt of Elme-tree that was made to put Arrows in, and was buried in the Chappel within the *Tower* before twelve a Clock. Her Execution.

Her Brother with the other four did alſo ſuffer; none of them were Quartered, but they were all Beheaded, except *Smeton*, who was Hanged. It was generally ſaid, that he was corrupted into that Confeſſion, and had his Life promiſed him; but it was not fit to let him live to tell Tales. *Norris* had been much in the Kings favour, and an offer was made him of his life, if he would confeſs his guilt, and accuſe the Queen. But he generouſly rejected that un-handſome propoſition, and ſaid, "That in his Conſcience he thought her Innocent "of theſe things laid to her charge; but whether ſhe was or not, he "would not accuſe her of any thing, and he would die a thouſand "times, rather than ruin an Innocent Perſon.

Theſe proceedings occaſioned as great variety of Cenſures, as there were diverſity of Intereſts. The Popiſh Party ſaid, the juſtice of God was viſible, that ſhe who had ſupplanted Queen *Katharine*, met with the like, and harder meaſure, by the ſame means. Some took notice of her faint juſtifying her ſelf on the Scaffold, as if her Conſcience had then prevailed ſo far, that ſhe could no longer deny a thing, for which ſhe was ſo ſoon to anſwer at another Tribunal. But others thought her care of her Daughter made her ſpeak ſo tenderly; for The ſeveral Cenſures that were then paſſed on thoſe proceedings.

1536. ſhe had obſerved, that Queen *Katharines* obſtinacy had drawn the Kings indignation on her Daughter; and therefore that ſhe alone might bear her misfortunes, and derive no ſhare of them on her Daughter, ſhe ſpake in a ſtile, that could give the King no juſt offence: And as ſhe ſaid enough to juſtifie her ſelf, ſo ſhe ſaid as much for the Kings honour, as could be expected. Yet in a Letter that ſhe wrote to the King from the *Tower*, (which will be found in the Collection,) ſhe pleaded her Innocence, in a ſtrain of ſo much Wit, and moving paſſionate Eloquence, as perhaps can ſcarce be paralelled: certainly her ſpirits were much exalted when ſhe wrote it, for it is a pitch above her ordinary ſtile. Yet the Copy I take it from, lying among *Cromwells* other papers, makes me believe it was truely written by her.

Collect. *Numb.* 4*th.*

Her carriage ſeemed too free, and all people thought that ſome freedoms and levities in her had encouraged thoſe unfortunate perſons to ſpeak ſuch bold things to her, ſince few attempt upon the Chaſtity, or make declarations of Love, to perſons of ſo exalted a quality, except they ſee ſome invitations, at leaſt in their carriage. Others thought that a free and jovial temper might, with great Innocence, though with no diſcretion, lead one to all thoſe things that were proved againſt her; and therefore they concluded her chaſt, though indiſcreet. Others blamed the King, and taxed his cruelty in proceeding ſo ſeverely againſt a perſon whoſe Chaſtity he had reaſon to be aſſured of, ſince ſhe had reſiſted his addreſſes near five years, till he Legitimated them by Marriage. But others excuſed him. It is certain her carriage had given juſt cauſe of ſome jealouſie, and that being the rage of a man, it was no wonder if a King of his temper, conceiving it againſt one whom he had ſo ſignally obliged, was tranſported into unjuſtifiable exceſſes.

Others condemned *Cranmer*, as a man that obſequiouſly followed all the Kings appetites; and that he had now Divorced the King a ſecond time, which ſhewed that his Conſcience was governed by the Kings pleaſure as his Supreme Law. But what he did was unavoidable. For whatever motives drew from her the Confeſſion of that Precontract, he was obliged to give Sentence upon it: And that which ſhe confeſſed, being ſuch as made her incapable to contract Marriage with the King, he could not decline the giving of Sentence upon ſo formal a Confeſſion. Some loaded all that favoured the Reformation: and ſaid, It now appeared what a woman, their great Patroneſs and Supporter had been. But to thoſe it was anſwered, That her faults, if true, being ſecret, could caſt no reflection on thoſe, who being ignorant of them, made uſe of her Protection. And the Church of *Rome* thought not their Cauſe ſuffered, by the enraged Cruelty and Ambition, of the curſed *Irene*, who had convened the ſecond Council of *Nice*, and ſet up the worſhip of Images again in the Eaſt; whom the Popes continued to court and magnifie, after her barbarous murder of her Son, with other acts of unſatiated ſpite and ambition. Therefore they had no reaſon to think the worſe of perſons for claiming the Protection of a Queen, whoſe faults (if ſhe was at all criminal,) were unknown to them when they made uſe of her.

Some have ſince that time concluded it a great evidence of her Guilt, that during her Daughters long and glorious Reign, there was no full nor compleat vindication of her publiſhed. For the Writers of

that

that time thought it enough to ſpeak honourably of her; and in general, to call her, *Innocent*. But none of them ever attempted a clear diſcuſſion of the particulars laid to her charge. This had been much to her Daughters honour, and therefore, ſince it was not done, others concluded it could not be done; and that their knowledge of her guilt reſtrained their Pens. But others do not at all allow of that Inference, and think rather, that it was the great wiſdom of that time not to ſuffer ſuch things to be called in queſtion; ſince no wiſe Government will admit of a debate about the clearneſs of the Princes Title. For the very attempting to prove it weakens it more, than any of the proofs that are brought can confirm it; therefore it was prudently done of that Queen and her great Miniſters, never to ſuffer any Vindication or Apology to be written. Some indiſcretions could not be denied, and theſe would all have been catched hold of, and improved by the buſie Emiſſaries of *Rome* and *Spain*. 1536.

But nothing did more evidently diſcover the ſecret cauſe of this Queens ruin, than the Kings Marrying *Jane Seimour*; the day after her Execution. She of all King *Henries* Wives, gained moſt on his eſteem and affection: But ſhe was happy in one thing, that ſhe did not out-live his love; otherwiſe ſhe might have fallen as ſignally as her Predeceſſor had done. Upon this turn of Affairs a great change of Counſels followed.

The Lady *Mary* endeavours a reconciliation with her Father.

There was nothing now, that kept the Emperor and the King at a diſtance, but the Illegitimation of the Lady *Mary*, and if that matter had been adjuſted, the King was in no more hazard of trouble from him: Therefore it was propoſed, that ſhe might be again reſtored to the Kings favour. She found this was the beſt opportunity ſhe could ever look for, and therefore laid hold on it, and wrote an humble ſubmiſſion to the King, and deſired again to be admitted to his preſence. But her Submiſſions had ſome reſerves in them, therefore ſhe was preſſed to be more expreſs in her acknowledgments. At this ſhe ſtuck long, and had almoſt embroyled her ſelf again with her Father. She freely offered to ſubmit to the Laws of the Land about the Succeſſion, and confeſſed the fault of her former Obſtinacy. But the King would have her acknowledge, that his Marriage to her Mother was inceſtuous and unlawful; and to renounce the Popes Authority, and to accept him, as Supream Head of the Church of *England*. Theſe things were of hard digeſtion with her, and ſhe could not eaſily ſwallow them; ſo ſhe wrote to *Cromwell*, to befriend her at the Kings hands. Upon which many Letters paſſed between them. He wrote to her, that it was impoſſible to recover her Fathers favour, without a full and clear Submiſſion in all points. So in the end ſhe yielded, and ſent the following Paper, all written with her own hand, which is ſet down, as it was Copied from the Original yet extant.

Her ſubmiſſion under her own hand. *Cott. Lib. Otho.* C. 10.

"The Confeſſion of me the Lady *Mary*, made upon certain points "and Articles under written; in the which, as I do now plainly, "and with all mine heart, confeſs and declare mine inward Sentence, "Belief, and Judgment, with a due conformity of Obedience to the "Laws of the Realm; ſo minding for ever to perſiſt and continue in

"this

1536. "this determination, without change, alteration, or variance, I do "moſt humbly beſeech the Kings Highneſs my Father, whom I have "obſtinately and inobediently offended in the denial of the ſame here- "tofore, to forgive mine offences therein, and to take me to his moſt "gracious Mercy.

"Firſt, I confeſs and knowledg the Kings Majeſty, to be my So- "veraign Lord and King in the Imperial Crown of this Realm of "*England*; and do ſubmit my ſelf to his Highneſs, and to all and "ſingular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, as becometh a true and "faithful Subject to do; which I ſhall alſo obey, keep, obſerve, ad- "vance, and maintain, according to my bounden duty, with all the "power, force, and qualities, that God hath endued me with, du- "ring my Life.

"*Item*, I do recognize, accept, take, repute, and knowledg, the "Kings Highneſs to be *Supream Head in Earth under Chriſt of the Church* "*of England*; and do utterly refuſe the Biſhop of *Romes* pretended "Authority, Power, and Juriſdiction within this Realm heretofore "uſurped, according to the Laws and Statutes made in that behalf, "and of all the Kings true Subjects humbly received, admitted, obey- "ed, kept, and obſerved; and alſo do utterly renounce and forſake "all manner of Remedy, Intereſt and advantage, which I may by any "means claim by the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Laws, Proceſs, Juriſdiction, "or Sentence, at this preſent time, or in any wiſe hereafter, by a- "ny manner of title, colour, mean, or caſe, that is, ſhall, or can be "deviſed for that purpoſe.

Mary.

"*Item*, I do freely, frankly, and for the Diſcharge of my duty to- "wards God, the Kings Highneſs, and his Laws, without other re- "ſpect, recognize and knowledg, that the Marriage heretofore had "between his Majeſty, and my Mother the late Princeſs Dowager, "was by Gods Law, and Mans Law, inceſtuous and unlawful.

Mary.

She is reſtored to his favour. Upon this ſhe was again received into favour. One circumſtance I ſhall add, that ſhows the frugality of that time. In the Eſtabliſhment that was made for her Family, there was only 40 *l.* a quarter aſſigned for her privy purſe. I have ſeen a Letter of hers to *Cromwell*, at the *Chriſtsmas*-quarter, deſiring him to let the King know, that ſhe muſt be at ſome Extraordinary expence that ſeaſon, that ſo he might encreaſe her allowance, ſince the 40 *l.* would not defray the Charge of that quarter.

The Lady *Elizabeth* well uſed by the King and Queen. For the Lady *Elizabeth*, though the King deveſted her of the Title of Princeſs of *Wales*, yet he continued ſtill to breed her up in the Court, with all the care and tenderneſs of a Father. And the new

new Queen, what from the ſweetneſs of her diſpoſition, and what out of compliance with the King, who loved her much, was as kind to her, as if ſhe had been her Mother. Of which I ſhall add one pretty evidence, though the childiſhneſs of it may be thought below the Gravity of a Hiſtory: Yet by it the Reader will ſee, both the kindneſs that the King and Queen had for her, and that they allowed her to ſubſcribe, Daughter. There are two Original Letters of hers yet remaining, writ to the Queen when ſhe was with Child of King *Edward*: the one in *Italian*, the other in *Engliſh*; both writ in a fair hand, the ſame that ſhe wrote all the reſt of her life. But the conceits in that writ in *Engliſh*, are ſo pretty, that it will not be unacceptable to the Reader, to ſee this firſt Bloſſome of ſo great a Princeſs, when ſhe was not full Four years of Age; She being born in *September* 1533. and this writ in *July* 1537. 1536.

Her Letter to the Queen when not Four years of Age.

"Although your Highneſs Letters be moſt joyful to me in abſence, "yet conſidering what pain it is to you to write, your Grace being "ſo great with Child, and ſo ſickly, your Commendation were e- "nough in my Lords Letter. I much rejoyce at your health, with "the well liking of the Countrey; with my humble thanks that your "Grace wiſhed me with you till I were weary of that Countrey. "Your Highneſs were like to be combered, if I ſhould not depart till "I were weary being with you: although it were in the worſt ſoil "in the World, your preſence would make it pleaſant. I cannot "reprove my Lord for not doing your Commendations in his Let- "ter, for he did it; and although he had not, yet I will not com- "plain on him, for that he ſhall be diligent to give me knowledg "from time to time, how his buſie child doth; and if I were at "his birth, no doubt I would ſee him beaten, for the trouble he has "put you to. Mr *Denny*, and my Lady, with humble thanks pray- "eth moſt entirely for your Grace, praying the Almighty God to "ſend you a moſt lucky deliverance. And my Miſtreſs wiſheth no "leſs, giving your Highneſs moſt humble thanks for her commen- "dations. Writ with very little leiſure, this laſt day of *July*.

Your Humble Daughter

Elizabeth.

A new Parliament called.

But to proceed to more ſerious matters. A Parliament was Summoned to meet the 8th of *June*. If full Forty days be neceſſary for a Summons, then the Writs muſt have been iſſued forth the day before the late Queens diſgrace; ſo that it was deſigned before the Juſts at *Greenwich*, and did not flow from any thing that then appeared. When the Parliament met, the Lord Chancellor *Audley*, in his ſpeech, told them, "That when the former Parliament was diſ- "ſolved, the King had no thoughts of Summoning a new one ſo "ſoon. But for two reaſons, he had now called them. The one "was, that he finding himſelf ſubject to ſo many infirmities, and "conſidering that he was Mortal, (a rare thought in a Prince) he de- ſired

Journal Procerum.

1536. "fired to ſettle an apparent heir to the Crown, in caſe he ſhould die "without Children lawfully begotten. The other was, to repeal "an Act of the former Parliament, concerning the Succeſſion of the "Crown, to the iſſue of the King by Queen *Anne Boleyn*. He de- "fired them to reflect on the great troubles and vexation the King "was involved in, by his firſt unlawful Marriage, and the dangers he "was in by his ſecond; which might well have frighted any body "from a third Marriage. But *Anne*, and her Conſpirators, being put "to death, as they well deſerved; the King at the humble requeſt of "the Nobility, and not out of any Carnal concupiſcence, was pleaſ- "ed to Marry again, a Queen, by whom there were very probable "hopes of his having children: Therefore he recommended to them, "to provide an heir to the Crown by the Kings direction, who if the "King dyed without children lawfully begotten, might Rule over "them. He deſired they would pray God earneſtly, that he would "grant the King iſſue of his own body; and return thanks to Almigh- "ty God, that preſerved ſuch a King to them out of ſo many emi- "nent dangers, who imployed all his care and endeavours, that he "might keep his whole people in quiet, peace, and perfect charity, "and leave them ſo to thoſe that ſhould ſucceed him.

The Act of Succeſſion.

But though this was the chief cauſe of calling the Parliament, it ſeems the Miniſters met with great difficulties, and therefore ſpent much time, in preparing mens minds. For the Bill about the Succeſ- ſion to the Crown, was not brought into the Houſe of Lords before the 30th day of *June*, that the Lord Chancellor offered it to the Houſe. It went through both Houſes without any Oppoſition. It contained firſt, "a repeal of the former Act of Succeſſion, and a Confirmation "of the two Sentences of Divorce, the iſſue of both the Kings for- "mer Marriages being declared illegitimate, and for ever excluded "from claiming the inheritance of the Crown, as the Kings Lawful "heirs by lineal deſcent. The Attainder of Queen *Anne* and her Com- "plices is confirmed. Quen *Anne* is ſaid, to have been inflamed with "pride, and Carnal deſires of her body; and, having confederated "her ſelf with her complices, to have committed divers Treaſons, "to the danger of the Kings Royal perſon; (with other aggrava- "ting words,) for which ſhe had juſtly ſuffered death, and is now "attainted by Act of Parliament. And all things that had been ſaid "or done againſt her, or her Daughter, being contrary to an Act of "Parliament then in force, are pardoned; and the inheritance of the "Crown is eſtabliſhed, on the iſſue of Queen *Jane*, whether Male or "Female, or the Kings iſſue by any other Wife whom he might Mar- "ry afterwards.

"But ſince it was not fit to declare, to whom the Succeſſion of the "Crown belonged after the Kings death left the perſon ſo de- "ſigned, might be thereby enabled to raiſe trouble and Commotions; "therefore they conſidering the Kings wiſe and excellent Govern- "ment, and confiding in the love and affection which he bore to his "Subjects, did give him full Power to declare the Succeſſion to the "Crown, either by his Letters Patents under the great Seal, or by "his laſt will, Signed with his hand; and promiſed all faithful o- "bedience to the perſons named by him. And if any, ſo deſigned

to

"to ſucceed in default of others, ſhould endeavor to uſurp upon thoſe "before them, or to exclude them, they are declared Traytors, and "were to forfeit all the Right they might thereafter claim to the Crown. "And if any ſhould maintain the Lawfulneſs of the former Marriages, "or that the iſſue by them was legitimate, or refuſed to ſwear to "the Kings iſſue by Queen *Jane*, they were alſo declared Traytors. 1536.

By this Act it may appear how abſolutely this King Reigned in *England*. Many queſtion'd much the validity of it, and (as ſhall afterwards appear,) the *Scots* ſaid, that the Succeſſion to the Crown was not within the Parliaments Power to determine about it, but muſt go by inheritance to their King, in default of iſſue by this King. Yet by this, the King was enabled to ſettle the Crown on his Children whom he had now declared Illegitimate, by which he brought them more abſolutely to depend upon himſelf. He neither made them deſperate, nor gave them any further Right, than what they were to derive purely from his own good pleaſure. This did alſo much pacifie the Emperor, ſince his Kinſwoman was, though not reſtored in blood, yet put in a capacity to ſucceed to the Crown.

The Pope endeavoured a reconciliation with the King.

At this time there came a new Propoſition from *Rome*, to try if the King would accommodate matters with the Pope. Pope *Clement* the Seventh dyed two years before this, in the year 1534. and Cardinal *Farneſe* ſucceeded him, called Pope *Paul* the Third. He had before this made one unſucceſsful attempt upon the King; but, upon the beheading of the Biſhop (and declared Cardinal) of *Rocheſter*, he had Thundered a moſt terrible Sentence of Depoſition againſt the King, and deſigned to commit the Execution of it to the Emperor: Yet now, when Queen *Katharine* and Queen *Anne*, who were the occaſions of the Rupture, were both out of the way, he thought it was a proper conjuncture to try if a Reconciliation could be effected. This he propoſed to Sir *Gregory Caſſali*, who was no more the Kings Ambaſſador at *Rome*, but was ſtill his Correſpondent there. The Pope deſired he would move the King in it, and let him know that he had ever favoured his Cauſe in the former Popes time, and though he was forced to give out a Sentence againſt him, yet he had never any intention to proceed upon it to further Extremities.

But in vain.

But the King was now ſo entirely alienated from the Court of *Rome*, that to cut off all hopes of reconciliation, he procured two Acts to be paſſed in this Parliament. The one was for the utter extinguiſhing the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*. It was brought into the Houſe of Lords on the 4th of *July*: And was read the firſt time the 5th, and the ſecond time on the 6th of *July*, and lay at the Committee till the 12th. And on the 14th, it was ſent down to the Commons; who, if there be no miſtake in the Journal, ſent it up that ſame day; They certainly made great haſte, for the Parliament was diſſolved within Four days.

"The Preamble of this firſt Act contains ſevere Reflections on the "Biſhop of *Rome*, (whom ſome called the Pope,) who had long darkned Gods word, that it might ſerve his Pomp, Glory, Avarice, Ambition, and Tyranny; both upon the Souls, Bodies, and Goods, of "all Chriſtians; excluding Chriſt out of the Rule of mans Soul, "and Princes out of their Dominions: And had exacted in *England*

1536. "great Sums, by dreams, and vanities, and other Superſtitious ways. "Upon theſe reaſons his Uſurpations had been by Law put down in "this Nation; yet many of his Emiſſaries were ſtill practiſing up and "down the Kingdom, and perſwading people to acknowledg his pre- "tended Authority. Therefore every perſon ſo offending after the "laſt of *July* next to come, was to incur the pains of a *Premunire*; "and all Officers, both Civil, and Eccleſiaſtical, were commanded to "make enquiry about ſuch offences, under ſeveral penalties.

On the 12th of *July*, a Bill was brought in, concerning Priviledges obtained from the See of *Rome*, and was read the Firſt time. And on the 17th it was agreed to, and ſent down to the Commons, who ſent it up again the next day. It bears, that the Popes had, during their Uſurpation, "granted many Immunities to ſeveral Bodies and "Societies in *England*, which upon that Grant had been now long "in uſe: Therefore all theſe Bulls, Breves, and every thing depend- "ing on, or flowing from them, were declared void and of no force. "Yet all Marriages celebrated by vertue of them, that were not other- "wiſe contrary to the Law of God, were declared good in Law; and "all Conſecrations of Biſhops by vertue of them, were confirmed. "And for the future, all who enjoyed any Priviledges by Bulls, were "to bring them in to the Chancery, or to ſuch perſons as the King "ſhould appoint for that end. And the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* "was Lawfully to grant anew the effects contained in them, which "Grant was to paſs under the great Seal, and to be of full force in "Law.

This ſtruck at the Abbots Rights. But they were glad to bear a Diminution of their Greatneſs, ſo they might ſave the whole, which now lay at ſtake. By the Thirteenth Act, they corrected an Abuſe which had come in, to evade the force of a Statute made in the Twenty Firſt year of this King, about the Reſidence of all Eccleſiaſtical perſons in their Livings. One qualification, that did excuſe from Reſidence, was their ſtaying at the Univerſity for the compleating of their Studies. Now it was found, that many diſſolute Clergymen went and lived at the Univerſities, not for their Studies, but to be excuſed from ſerving their Cures. So it was Enacted, that none above the Age of Forty, that were not either Heads of Houſes, or Publick Readers, ſhould have any Exemption from their Reſidence, by vertue of that Clauſe in the former Act. And thoſe under that Age ſhould not have the Benefit of it, except they were preſent at the Lectures, and perform'd their Exerciſes in the Schools.

By another Act, there was Proviſion made againſt the prejudice the Kings Heirs might receive, before they were of Age, by Parliaments held in their Non-Age; That whatſoever Acts were made before they were Twenty Four years of Age, they might at any time of their lives after that, Repeal and Annul, by their Letters Patents, which ſhould have equal force with a Repeal by Act of Parliament. From theſe Acts it appears, that the King was abſolute Maſter, both of the affections and fears of his Subjects; when in a new Parliament called on a ſudden, and in a Seſſion of ſix weeks, from the 8th of *June*, to the 18th of *July*, Acts of this Importance were paſſed without any Proteſt or publick Oppoſition.

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But having now opened the buſineſs of the Parliament, as it relates to the State, I muſt next give an account of the Convocation, which ſate at this time, and was very buſie, as appears by the Journal of the Houſe of Lords, in which this is given for a reaſon of many Adjournments, becauſe the Spiritual Lords were buſie in the Convocation. It ſate down on the 9th of *June*, according to *Fullers* Extract, it being the Cuſtom of all this Reign, for that Court to meet two or three days after the Parliament. Hither *Cromwell* came as the Kings Vicar-General: But he was not yet Vice-Gerent. For he ſate next the Arch-Biſhop; but when he had that Dignity he ſate above him. Nor do I find him Stiled in any Writing Vice-gerent for ſome time after this; though the Lord *Herbert* ſays, he was made Vice-gerent the 18th of *July* this year, the ſame day in which the Parliament was Diſſolved. 1536. The Proceedings in the Convocation.

Latimer, Biſhop of *Worceſter*, preached the Latine Sermon, on theſe words. *The Children of this World are wiſer in their Generation, than the Children of Light.* He was the moſt Celebrated Preacher of that time. The ſimplicity and plainneſs of his matter, with a ſerious and fervent Action that accompanied it, being preferred to more learned and elaborate Compoſures. On the 21ſt of *June*, *Cromwell* moved, that they would Confirm the Sentence of the Invalidity of the Kings Marriage with Queen *Anne*, which was accordingly done by both Houſes of Convocation. But certainly *Fuller* was aſleep when he wrote; *That Ten days before that, the Arch-Biſhop had paſſed the Sentence of Divorce, on the day before the Queen was beheaded.* Whereas if he had conſidered this more fully, he muſt have ſeen that the Queen was put to death a Month before this, and was Divorced two days before ſhe dyed. Yet, with this animadverſion, I muſt give him my thanks for his pains in copying out of the Journals of Convocation many remarkable things, which had been otherwiſe irrecoverably loſt.

On the 23d of *June*, the lower Houſe of Convocation ſent to the upper Houſe a Collection of many opinions, that were then in the Realm; which, as they thought, were abuſes, and errors worthy of ſpecial Reformation. But they began this Repreſentation with a Proteſtation: "That they intended not to do, or ſpeak any thing, "which might be unpleaſant to the King; whom they acknowledg- "ed their Supream Head, and were reſolved to obey his Commands, "renouncing the Popes uſurp'd Authority, with all his Laws and In- "ventions, now extinguiſht and aboliſht, and did addict themſelves "to Almighty God, and his Laws, and unto the King, and the Laws "made within this Kingdom. *Fuller.*

There are Sixty Seven opinions ſet down, and are either the Tenets of the Old *Lollards*, or the New Reformers, together with the Anabaptiſts opinions. Beſides all which, they complained of many unſavory and indiſcreet expreſſions, which were either feigned on deſign to diſgrace the New Preachers, or were perhaps the extravagant Reflexions of ſome illiterate and injudicious perſons; who are apt upon all occaſions, by their heat and folly, rather to prejudice, than advance their party; and affect ſome petulant jeers, which they think witty, and are perhaps well entertained by ſome others, who though they

1536. are more judicious themſelves, yet imagining that ſuch jeſts on the contrary opinions will take with the people, do give them too much Encouragement. Many of theſe jeſts, about Confeſſion, praying to Saints, Holy Water, and the other Ceremonies of the Church, were complained of. And the laſt Articles contained ſharp reflexions on ſome of the Biſhops, as if they had been wanting in their Duty to ſuppreſs ſuch things. This was clearly levelled at *Cranmer*, *Latimer*, and *Shaxton*, who were noted as the great Promoters of theſe opinions. The firſt did it prudently and ſolidly. The ſecond zealouſly and ſimply. And the third with much indiſcreet pride and vanity. But now that the Queen was gone, who had either raiſed or ſupported them, their Enemies hoped to have advantages againſt them, and to lay the growth of theſe opinions to their charge. But this whole Project failed, and *Cranmer* had as much of the Kings favour as ever; for in ſtead of that which they had projected, *Cromwell*, by the Kings order, coming to the Convocation, Declared to them, that it was the Kings pleaſure, that the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, ſhould be Reformed by the Rules of Scripture, and that nothing was to be maintained which did not reſt on that Authority, for it was abſurd, ſince that was acknowledged to contain the Laws of Religion, that recourſe ſhould rather be had to Gloſſes, or the Decrees of Popes, than to theſe. There was at that time one *Alexander Aleſſe*, a Scotch-man, much eſteemed for his Learning and Piety, whom *Cranmer* entertained at *Lambeth*. Him *Cromwell* brought with him to the Convocation, and deſired him to deliver his opinion about the Sacraments. He enlarged himſelf much to Convince them, that only Baptiſm and the Lords Supper were Inſtituted by Chriſt.

Antiq. Britt. *in vita Cranm.*

Stokeſley Biſhop of *London* anſwered him in a long Diſcourſe, in which he ſhewed he was better acquainted with the Learning of the Schools, and the Canon-Law, than with the Goſpel; He was Seconded by the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and others of that Party.

But *Cranmer* in a long and learned Speech, ſhewed how uſeleſs theſe niceties of the Schools were, and of how little Authority they ought to be; and diſcourſed largely of the Authority of the Scriptures, of the uſe of the Sacraments, of the uncertainty of Tradition, and of the Corruption which the Monks and Friars had brought into the Chriſtian Doctrine. He was vigorouſly ſeconded by the Biſhop of *Hereford*, who told them, the world would be no longer deceived with ſuch Sophiſticated ſtuff as the Clergy had formerly vented: The Laity were now in all Nations ſtudying the Scriptures, and that, not only in the vulgar Tranſlations, but in the original Tongues; and therefore it was a vain imagination to think they would be any longer governed by thoſe arts which in the former Ages of Ignorance had been ſo effectual. Not many days after this, there were ſeveral Articles brought in to the upper Houſe of Convocation, deviſed by the King himſelf, about which there were great debates among them. The two Arch-Biſhops, heading two Parties, *Cranmer* was for a Reformation, and with him joyned *Thomas Goodrich*, Biſhop of *Ely*, *Shaxton*, of *Sarum*, *Latimer*, of *Worceſter*, *Fox*, of *Hereford*, *Hilſey*, of *Rocheſter*, and *Barlow*, of St. *Davids*.

But *Lee*, Arch-Biſhop of *York*, was a known favourer of the Popes Intereſts; which, as it firſt appeared in his ſcrupling ſo much, with the

the whole Convocation of *York*, the acknowledging the King to be *Supreme Head of the Church of England*; ſo he had ſince diſcovered it on all occaſions, in which he durſt do it without the fear of loſing the Kings favour: So he, and *Stokeſley*, Biſhop of *London*, *Tonſtall*, of *Dureſm*, *Gardiner*, of *Wincheſter*, *Longland*, of *Lincoln*, *Sherburn*, of *Chicheſter*, *Nix*, of *Norwich*, and *Kite*, of *Carliſle*, had been ſtill againſt all changes. But the King diſcovered, that thoſe did in their hearts love the Papal Authority, though *Gardiner* diſſembled it moſt artificially. *Sherburn*, Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, upon what inducement I cannot underſtand, reſigned his Biſhoprick, which was given to *Richard Sampſon*, Dean of the Chappel; a Penſion of 400 *l.* being reſerved to *Sherburn* for his Life, which was confirmed by an Act of this Parliament. *Nix*, of *Norwich*, had alſo offended the King ſignally, by ſome correſpondence with *Rome*, and was kept long in the *Marſhalſea*, and was convicted and found in a *Premunire*: The King conſidering his great Age, had upon his humble ſubmiſſion diſcharged him out of Priſon, and pardon'd him. But he died the former year; though *Fuller*, in his ſlight way, makes him ſit in this Convocation: For by the 17th Act of the laſt Parliament, it appears that the Biſhoprick of *Norwich* being vacant, the King had recommended *William Abbot* of St. *Bennets* to it; but took into his own hands all the Lands and Manours of the Biſhoprick, and gave the Biſhop ſeveral of the Priories in *Norfolk* in exchange, which was confirmed in Parliament. 1536.

Act 17. 27. *Regni.*

I ſhall next give a ſhort abſtract of the Articles about Religion, which were after much conſultation and long debating agreed to.

Articles agreed on about Religion. Printed by *Fuller.*

"*Firſt*, All Biſhops and Preachers muſt inſtruct the people to believe the whole Bible, and the three Creeds; that made by the Apoſtles, the *Nicene*, and the *Athanaſian*; and interpret all things according to them; and in the very ſame words, and condemn all Hereſies contrary to them, particularly thoſe condemned by the firſt four general Councils.

"*Secondly*, Of *Baptiſm* the people muſt be inſtructed; That it is a Sacrament inſtituted by Chriſt, for the Remiſſion of ſins, without which none could attain Everlaſting Life: And that not only thoſe of full Age, but Infants, may, and muſt be Baptized, for the pardon of Original ſin, and obtaining the gift of the Holy Ghoſt, by which they became the Sons of God. That none Baptized, ought to be Baptized again. That the opinions of the *Anabaptiſts* and *Pelagians*, were deteſtable Hereſies: And that thoſe of ripe Age, who deſired Baptiſm, muſt with it joyn Repentance and Contrition for their ſins, with a firm Belief of the Articles of the Faith.

"*Thirdly*, Concerning *Penance*, they were to inſtruct the people, that it was inſtituted by Chriſt, and was abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation. That it conſiſted of Contrition, Confeſſion and Amendment of Life; with exterior works of Charity, which were the worthy *Fruits of Pennance*. For Contrition, it was an inward ſhame and ſorrow for ſin, becauſe it is an offence of God, which provokes his diſpleaſure. To this muſt be joyned, a Faith of the mercy and goodneſs of God, whereby the penitent muſt hope, that God will forgive him, and repute him juſtified, and of the number of his Elect Children, not for the worthineſs of any merit or work done by him, but

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1536. "for the only Merits of the Blood and Paſſion of our Saviour Jeſus "Chriſt. That this Faith is got and confirmed, by the Applicati- "tion of the Promiſes of the Goſpel, and the uſe of the Sacraments: "And for that end, Confeſſion to a Prieſt is neceſſary, if it may be had, "whoſe Abſolution was inſtituted by Chriſt, to apply the promiſes of "Gods Grace to the penitent: Therefore the people were to be taught, "That the Abſolution is ſpoken by an Authority given by Chriſt in "the Goſpel to the Prieſt, and muſt be believed, as if it were ſpoken "by God himſelf, according to our Saviours words; and therefore "none were to condemn auricular Confeſſion, but uſe it for the com- "fort of their Conſciences. The people were alſo to be inſtructed, "that though God pardoned ſin, only for the ſatisfaction of Chriſt; "yet they muſt bring forth the Fruits of Penance, Prayer, Faſting, "Almſdeeds, with reſtitution and ſatisfaction for wrongs done to o- "thers, with other works of Mercy and Charity, and Obedience to "Gods Commandments, elſe they could not be ſaved; and that by do- "ing theſe, they ſhould both obtain Everlaſting Life, and mitigation "of their Afflictions in this preſent life, according to the Scriptures.

"*Fourthly*, As touching the Sacrament of the Altar, people were to "be inſtructed, that under the Forms of Bread and Wine, there was "truly and ſubſtantially given, the very ſame Body of Chriſt, that "was born of the Virgin *Mary*; and therefore it was to be received "with all Reverence, every one duly Examining himſelf, according to "the words of St. *Paul*.

"*Fifthly*, The people were to be inſtructed, That Juſtification "ſignifieth Remiſſion of ſins, and acceptation into the favour of "God; that is to ſay, a perfect Renovation in Chriſt. To the at- "taining which, they were to have, Contrition, Faith, Charity, which "were both to concur in it, and follow it; and that the good works "neceſſary to Salvation, were not only outward Civil works, but the "inward motions and graces of Gods Holy Spirit, to dread, fear, and "love him, to have firm confidence in God, to call upon him, and to "have patience in all adverſities, to hate ſin, and have purpoſes and "wills not to ſin again; with ſuch other motions and vertues, con- "ſenting and agreeable to the Law of God.

"The other Articles were about the Ceremonies of the Church. "*Firſt*, of Images. The people were to be inſtructed, That the uſe of "them was warranted by the Scriptures, and that they ſerved to re- "preſent to them good Examples, and to ſtir up Devotion; and there- "fore it was meet that they ſhould ſtand in the Churches. But that "the people might not fall into ſuch Superſtition as it was thought "they had done in time paſt, they were to be taught, to reform ſuch "Abuſes, leſt Idolatry might enſue, and that in cenſing, kneeling, "offering, or worſhipping them, the people were to be inſtructed, not "to do it to the Image, but to God and his honour.

"*Secondly*, For the honouring of Saints, they were not to think to "attain theſe things at their hands, which were only obtained of God, "but that they were to honour them, as perſons now in glory, to "praiſe God for them, and imitate their vertues, and not fear to die "for the Truth, as many of them had done.

"*Thirdly*, For praying to Saints, The people were to be taught, "that

"that it was good to pray to them, to pray for, and with us. And to 1536.
"correct all Superſtitious Abuſes in this matter, they were to keep the
"days appointed by the Church for their Memories, unleſs the King
"ſhould leſſen the number of them, which if he did, it was to be obeyed.

"*Fourthly*, Of Ceremonies. The people were to be taught, That
"they were not to be condemned and caſt away, but to be kept as
"good and laudable, having myſtical ſignifications in them, and being
"uſeful to lift up our minds to God. Such were the Veſtments in the
"worſhip of God: The ſprinkling holy-water to put us in mind of our
"Baptiſm and the Blood of Chriſt: Giving holy Bread, in ſign of our
"Union in Chriſt, and to remember us of the Sacrament: Bearing
"Candles on *Candlemas*-day, in remembrance, that Chriſt was the ſpi-
"ritual Light: Giving Aſhes on *Aſh-wednes*-day, to put us in mind of
"Penance, and of our Mortality: Bearing Palms on *Palm-ſunday*, to
"ſhow our deſire to receive Chriſt in our hearts, as he entred into *Je-*
"*ruſalem*: Creeping to the Croſs on *Good-friday*, and kiſſing it, in
"memory of his death, with the ſetting up the Sepulchre on that day:
"The Hallowing the Font, and other Exorciſms and Benedictions.

"*And laſtly*, As to Purgatory, They were to declare it good and cha-
"ritable to pray for the Souls departed, which was ſaid to have con-
"tinued in the Church from the beginning: And therefore the people
"were to be inſtructed, That it conſiſted well with the due order of
"Charity, to pray for them, and to make others pray for them, in
"Maſſes and Exequies, and to give Alms to them for that end. But
"ſince the place they were in, and the pains they ſuffered, were
"uncertain by the Scripture, we ought to remit them wholly to
"Gods mercy: Therefore all theſe Abuſes were to be put away,
"which, under the pretence of Purgatory, had been advanced, as if the
"Popes pardons did deliver Souls out of it, or Maſſes ſaid in certain
"places, or before certain Images, had ſuch efficiency: with other
"ſuch-like Abuſes.

Theſe Articles being thus conceived, and in ſeveral places corrected, and tempered by the Kings own hand, were ſigned by *Cromwell*, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and ſeventeen other Biſhops, forty Abbots and Priors, and fifty Arch-Deacons and Proctors of the lower Houſe of Convocation. Among whom, *Polidor Virgil* and *Peter Vannes*, ſigned with the reſt, as appears by the Original yet extant. They being tendered to the King, he confirmed them, and ordered them to be publiſhed with a Preface in his name. "It is ſaid in the Preface, "that he, accounting it the chief part of his Charge, that the Word "and Commandments of God ſhould be believed and obſerved, and to "maintain unity and concord in opinion; and underſtanding, to his "great regret, that there was great diverſity of opinion ariſen among "his Subjects, both about Articles of Faith and Ceremonies, had in "his own Perſon taken great pains and ſtudy about theſe things, and "had ordered alſo the Biſhops, and other Learned men of the Clergy, "to examine them; who after long deliberation had concluded on the "moſt ſpecial Points, which, the King thought, proceeded from a "good, right, and true judgment, according to the Laws of God; "theſe would alſo be profitable, for eſtabliſhing unity in the Church "of *England*: Therefore he had ordered them to be publiſhed, requi-

Publiſhed by the Kings Authority.

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1536. "ring all to accept of them, praying God ſo to illuminate their hearts, "that they might have no leſs zeal and love to unity and concord in "reading them, than he had in making them to be deviſed, ſet forth, "and publiſhed; which good acceptance ſhould encourage him to "take further pains for the future, as ſhould be moſt for the honour "of God, and the profit, and the quietneſs of his Subjects.

And variouſly cenſured.

This being publiſhed, occaſion'd great variety of Cenſures. Thoſe that deſired Reformation, were glad to ſee ſo great a ſtep once made; and did not doubt, but this would make way for further Changes. They rejoyced to ſee the Scriptures, and the ancient Creeds, made the Standards of the Faith, without mentioning Tradition, or the Decrees of the Church. Then the Foundation of Chriſtian Faith was truly ſtated, and the terms of the Covenant between God and man in Chriſt were rightly opened, without the niceties of the Schools of either ſide. Immediate worſhip of Images and Saints was alſo removed, and Purgatory was declared uncertain by the Scripture. Theſe were great advantages to them, but the eſtabliſhing the neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion, the Corporal preſence in the Sacrament, the keeping up and doing reverence to Images, and the praying to Saints, did allay their joy, yet they ſtill counted it a victory, to have things brought under debate, and to have ſome Groſſer abuſes taken away.

The other Party were unſpeakably troubled. Four Sacraments were paſſed over, which would encourage ill-affected people to neglect them. The gainful trade by the Belief of Purgatory was put down; for though it was ſaid to be good to give Alms for praying for the dead, yet ſince both the dreadful Stories of the Miſeries of Purgatory, and the Certainty of Redeeming Souls out of them by Maſſes, were made doubtful, the peoples Charity and bounty that way would ſoon abate. And in a word, the bringing matters under diſpute, was a great Mortification to them, for all concluded, that this was but a Preamble to what they might expect afterwards.

When theſe things were ſeen beyond Sea, the Papal party made every-where great uſe of it, to ſhow the Neceſſity of adhering to the Pope; ſince the King of *England*, though, when he broke off from his Obedience to the Apoſtolick See, he pretended, he would maintain the Catholick Faith entire, yet was now making great Changes in it. But others, that were more moderate, acknowledged that there was great temper and prudence in contriving theſe Articles. And it ſeems, the Emperor, and the more Learned Divines about him, both approved of the Precedent, and liked the particulars ſo well, that not many years after, the Emperor publiſhed a work not unlike this, called, *The Interim*; becauſe it was to be in force in that *Interim*, till all things were more fully debated and determined by a General Council, which, in many particulars, agreed with theſe Articles. Yet ſome ſtricter perſons cenſured this work much, as being a Political dawbing, in which, they ſaid, there was more pains taken to gratifie perſons, and ſerve particular ends, than to aſſert Truth in a free and un-biaſſed way, ſuch as became Divines. This was again excuſed, and it was ſaid, that all things, could not

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be attained on a ſudden: that ſome of the Biſhops and Divines, who afterwards arrived at a clearer underſtanding of ſome matters, were not then ſo fully convinced about them, and ſo it was their ignorance, and not their Cowardice or Policy, that made them compliant in ſome things. Beſides, it was ſaid, that as our Savior did not reveal all things to his Diſciples, till they were able to bear them; and as the Apoſtles did not of a ſudden aboliſh all the Rites of Judaiſme, but for ſome time, to gain the Jews, complyed with them, and went to the Temple, and offered Sacrifices: ſo the people were not to be over driven in this Change. The Clergy muſt be brought out of their ignorance by degrees, and then the people were to be better inſtructed; but to drive furiouſly, and do all at once, might have ſpoiled the whole deſign, and totally alienated thoſe who were to be drawn on by degrees; it might have alſo much endangered the peace of the Nation, the people being much diſpoſed by the practices of the Friers to riſe in Arms: Therefore theſe ſlow ſteps were thought the ſurer and better method. 1536.

The Convocation declares againſt the Council called by the Pope.

On the laſt day of the Convocation, there was another Writing brought in by *Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*, occaſioned by the Summons for a General Council to ſit at *Mantua*, to which the Pope had cited the King to appear. The King had made his appeal from the Pope to a General Council, but there was no reaſon to expect any Juſtice in an aſſembly ſo conſtituted, as this was like to be. Therefore it was thought fit to publiſh ſomewhat of the Reaſons why the King could not ſubmit his matter to the Deciſion of ſuch a Council, as was then intended. And it was moved, that the Convocation ſhould give their ſenſe of it.

Collect *Numb.* 5.

The Subſtance of their Anſwer, (which the Reader will find in the Collection,) was, "That as nothing was better Inſtituted by the "Ancient Fathers, for the Eſtabliſhment of the Faith, the Extirpa- "tion of Hereſies, the Healing of Schiſms, and the Unity of the "Chriſtian Church, than General Councils, gathered in the Holy "Ghoſt, duely called to an indifferent place; with other neceſſary "requiſites: So on the other hand nothing could produce more pe- "ſtiferous effects, than a General Council called upon private malice, "or Ambition, or other carnal reſpects; which *Gregory Nazianzen* "ſo well obſerved in his time, that he thought *all Aſſemblies of Biſhops were to be eſchewed, for he never ſaw good come of any of them, "and they had encreaſed, rather than healed the diſtempers of the Church. "For the appetite of vain-glory, and a contentious humor bore down rea- "ſon:* Therefore they thought Chriſtian Princes ought to employ all "their endeavors to prevent ſo great a miſchief. And it was to be "conſidered, Firſt, who had Authority to call one. Secondly, If the "Reaſons for calling one were weighty. Thirdly, who ſhould be the "Judges. Fourthly, what ſhould be the manner of Proceeding. Fifth- "ly, what things ſhould be treated of in it. And as to the firſt of "theſe, they thought neither the Pope, nor any one Prince of what "dignity ſoever, had Authority to call one, without the Conſent of "all other Chriſtian Princes; eſpecially ſuch as had entire and ſu- "pream Government over all their Subjects. This was Signed on the 20th of *July*, by *Cromwell*, and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*,

1536. with 14 Biſhops, and 40 Abbots, Priors, and Clerks, of the Convocation of *Canterbury*. Whether this and the former Articles were alſo Signed by the Convocation of the Province of *York*, does not appear by any Record, but that I think is not to be doubted. This being obtained, the King publiſhed a long and ſharp Proteſtation againſt the Council now Summoned to *Mantua*. In which he ſhewes, that the Pope had no Power to call one; "for as it was done by the "Emperors of old; ſo it pertained to Chriſtian Princes now. That "the Pope had no Juriſdiction in *England*, and ſo could Summon none "of this Nation to come to any ſuch meeting. That the place was "neither ſafe nor proper: That nothing could be done in a Coun- "cil to any purpoſe, if the Pope ſate Judge in chief in it, ſince one "of the true ends, why a Council was to be deſired, was to reduce "his Power within its old limits. A free General Council was that "which he much deſired; but he was ſure this could not be ſuch: "And the preſent diſtractions of Chriſtendom, and the Wars between "the Emperor and the *French* King, ſhewed this was no proper "time for one. The Pope who had long refuſed or delayed to call "one, did now chooſe this Conjuncture of affairs, knowing that few "would come to it, and ſo they might carry things as they pleaſed. "But the World was now awake; the Scriptures were again in "mens hands, and people would not be ſo tamely couzen'd as they "had been. Then he ſhewes how unſafe it was, for any *Engliſh* "man to go to *Mantua*, how little regard was to be had to the "Popes ſafe Conduct, they having ſo oft broken their Oaths and "Promiſes. He alſo ſhew's how little reaſon he had to truſt him- "ſelf to the Pope, how kind he had been to that See formerly, and "how baſely they had requited it: And that now theſe Three years "paſt, they had been ſtirring up all Chriſtian Princes againſt him, "and uſing all poſſible means to create him trouble. Therefore he "declared, he would not go to any Council called by the Biſhop of "*Rome*; but when there was a General peace among Chriſtian Prin- "ces, he would moſt gladly hearken to the motion of a true Ge- "neral Council: and in the mean-while, he would preſerve all the "Articles of the Faith in his Kingdom, and ſooner loſe his Life and "his Crown, than ſuffer any of them to be put down. And ſo he "proteſted againſt any Council to be held at *Mantua*, or any where "elſe, by the Biſhop of *Romes* Authority: That he would not ac- "knowledg it, nor receive any of their Decrees.

The King publiſhes his reaſons againſt it.

Fox.

At this time *Reginald Pool*, who was of the Royal Blood, being by his Mother deſcended from the Duke of *Clarence*, Brother to King *Edward* the Fourth, and in the ſame degree of kindred with the King by his Fathers ſide, was in great eſteem for his Learning, and other Excellent vertues. It ſeems the King had determined to breed him up to the greateſt dignity in the Church; and to make him as Eminent in Learning, and other acquired parts, as he was for Quality, and a Natural Sweetneſs and Nobleneſs of temper. Therefore the King had given him the Deanery of *Exceſter*, with ſeveral other dignities, towards his maintenance beyond Sea; and ſent him to *Paris*, where he ſtayed ſeveral years: There he firſt incurred the Kings diſpleaſure. For, being deſired by him to concur with his A-

Cardinal *Pool* oppoſes the Kings proceedings.

gents,

gents, in procuring the Subſcriptions and Seals of the *French* Univerſities, he excuſed himſelf; yet it was in ſuch terms, that he did not openly declare himſelf againſt the King: After that, he came over to *England*, and *as he writes himſelf*, was preſent when the Clergy made their Submiſſion, and acknowledged the King *Supream Head*: In which, ſince he was then Dean of *Exeter*, and kept his Deanry ſeveral years after that, it is not to be doubted, but that, as he was by his place obliged to ſit in the Convocation, ſo he concurred with the reſt in making that Submiſſion. From thence he went to *Padua*, where he lived long, and was received into the Friendſhip and Society of ſome celebrated perſons, who gave themſelves much to the Study of Eloquence and of the *Roman* Authors. Theſe were *Centareno*, *Bembo*, *Caraffa*, *Sadoletti*, with a great many more, that became afterwards well known over the World: But all thoſe gave *Pool* the Preheminence, and that juſtly too, for he was accounted one of the moſt Eloquent men of his time. 1536.

The King called him oft home to aſſiſt him in his affairs, but he ſtill declined it; at length finding delays could prevail no longer, he wrote the King word, that he did not approve of what he had done, neither in the matter of his Divorce, nor his ſeparation from the Apoſtolick See. To this the King anſwered, deſiring his reaſons why he diſagreed from him, and ſent him over a Book which Doctor *Sampſon* had writ in defence of the Proceedings in *England*. Upon which he wrote his Book *De unione Eccleſiaſtica*, and ſent it over to the King; and ſoon after Printed it this year. In which Book he condemned the Kings Actions, and preſſed him to return to the obedience he owed the See of *Rome*, with many ſharp reflections; but the Book was more conſidered for the Author, and the Wit and Eloquence of it, than for any great Learning, or deep reaſoning in it. He did alſo very much depreſs the Royal, and exalt the Papal Authority: He compared the King to *Nebuchadonoſor*, and addreſſed himſelf in the Concluſion to the Emperor, whom he conjured to turn his Arms rather againſt the King than the Turk. And indeed the indecencies of his expreſſions againſt the King, not to mention the ſcurrilous Language he beſtows on *Sampſon*, whoſe Book he undertakes to anſwer, are ſuch, that it appears how much the *Italian* Air had changed him; and that his Converſe at *Padua* had for ſome time defac'd that generous temper of mind, which was otherwiſe ſo natural to him.

And writes his Book againſt him.

Upon this, the King deſired him at firſt to come over, and explain ſome paſſages in his Book: But when he could not thus draw him into his toyles, he proceeded ſeverely againſt him, and deveſted him of all his Dignities; but theſe were plentifully made up to him by the Popes bounty, and the Emperors. He was afterwards rewarded with a Cardinals hat, but he did not riſe above the degree of a Deacon. Some believe that the Spring of this oppoſition he made to the King was a ſecret affection he had for the Lady *Mary*. The publiſhing of this Book, made the King ſet the Biſhops on work to write Vindications of his Actions: which *Stokeſley* and *Tonſtal* did in a long and Learned Letter, that they wrote to *Pool*. And *Gardiner* publiſhed his Book of *true obedience*: To which *Bonner*, who was hot on

Many Books are written for the King.

1536. the ſcent of Preferment, added a Preface. But the King deſigned ſharper tools for *Pool's* puniſhment: Yet an Attaindor in abſence was all he could do againſt himſelf. But his Family and kindred felt the weight of the Kings diſpleaſure very ſenſibly.

But now I muſt give an account of the diſſolution of the Monaſteries, purſuant to the Act of Parliament, though I cannot fix the exact time in which it was done. I have ſeen the Original Inſtructions with the Commiſſion, given to thoſe who were to viſit the Monaſteries in and about *Briſtol*. All the reſt were of the ſame kind: They bear date the 28th of *April*, after the Seſſion of Parliament was over; and the report was to be made in the Octaves of St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel. But I am inclined to think that the great concuſſion and diſorder things were in by the Queens death, made the Commiſſioners unwilling to proceed in ſo invidious a matter, till they ſaw the Iſſue of the new-Parliament. Therefore I have delayed giving any account of the Proceedings in that matter till this place. The Inſtructions will be found in the Collection. The Subſtance of them was as follows.

Collect *Numb.* 6. Inſtructions about the diſſolution of Monaſteries.

"The Auditors of the Court of Augmentations, were the perſons "that were employed. Four, or any Three of them, were Commiſ- "ſioned to execute the Inſtructions in every particular Viſitation. One "Auditor, or Receiver, and one of the Clerks of the former Viſita- "tion, were to call for Three diſcreet perſons in the County, who "were alſo named by the King. They were to ſignifie to every "Houſe the Statute of Diſſolution, and ſhew them their Commiſſion. "Then they were to put the Governor, or any other officer of the Houſe, "to declare upon Oath the true State of it: And to require him "ſpeedily to appear before the Court of Augmentations, and in the "mean time not to meddle with any thing belonging to the Houſe. "Then to examine how many Religious perſons were in the Houſe, "and what lives they led; how many of them were Prieſts, how ma- "ny of them would go to other Religious Houſes, and how many of "them would take Capacities and go into the World. They were to "eſtimate the State and Fabrick of the Houſe, and the number of "the Servants they kept: and to call for the Covent-Seal, and Wri- "tings, and put them in ſome ſure place, and take an Inventory of all "their Plate, and their Movable goods, and to know the value of all, "that before the 1ſt of *March* laſt belonged to the Houſe, and what "debts they owed. They were to put the Covent-Seal, with the "Jewels and Plate in ſafe keeping, and to leave the reſt (an Inven- "tory being firſt taken) in the Governors hands, to be kept by them "till further Order. And the Governors were to meddle with none "of the Rents of the Houſe, except for neceſſary Suſtenance, till "they were another way diſpoſed of. They were to try what Leaſ- "es and Deeds had been made for a whole year before the 4th of "*February* laſt. Such as would ſtill live in Monaſteries, were to be "recommended to ſome of the great Monaſteries that lay next: and "ſuch as would live in the world, muſt come to the Arch-Biſhop of "*Canterbury*, or the Lord Chancellor, to receive Capacities. (From "which it appears that *Cromwell* was not at this time Lord Vice-ge- "rent, for he granted theſe Capacities when he was in that Power.)

And

"And the Commiſſioners were to give them a reaſonable allowance "for their Journey, according to the diſtance they lived at. The "Governor was to be ſent to the Court of Augmentations, who were "to aſſign him a yearly penſion for his Life. 1536.

What Report thoſe Commiſſioners made, or how they obeyed their Inſtructions, we know not; for the Account of it is razed out of the Records. The Writers that lived near that time repreſent the matter very odiouſly, and ſay; about ten Thouſand perſons were ſet to ſeek for their Livings; only Forty Shillings in Money, and a Gown, being given to every Religious man. The Rents of them all, roſe to about Thirty Two Thouſand Pound: And the Goods, Plate, Jewels, and other movables, were valued at an Hundred Thouſand Pound: And it is generally ſaid, and not improbably, that the Commiſſioners were as careful to enrich themſelves, as to encreaſe the Kings Revenue. The Churches and Cloyſters were for the moſt part pulled down; and the Lead, Bells, and other Materials were ſold; and this muſt needs have raiſed great diſcontents every-where.

The Religious perſons that were undone, went about complaining of the Sacriledge and Injuſtice of this Suppreſſion; That what the piety of their Anceſtors had dedicated to God and his Saints, was now invaded and converted to ſecular ends. They ſaid, the Kings ſeverity fell firſt upon ſome particular perſons of their Orders, who were found delinquents; but now, upon the pretended miſcarriages of ſome Individual perſons, to proceed againſt their Houſes, and ſuppreſs them, was an unheard-of practice. The Nobility, and Gentry, whoſe Anceſtors had founded or enriched theſe Houſes, and who provided for their younger Children, or empoveriſhed Friends, by putting them into theſe Sanctuaries, complained much of the prejudice they ſuſtained by it. The people, that had been well entertained at the Abbots Tables, were ſenſible of their loſs: for generally, as they Travelled over the Countrey, the Abbies were their Stages, and were Houſes of Reception to Travellers and Strangers. The Devouter ſort of people of their perſwaſion, thought their friends muſt now lie in Purgatory without relief, except they were at the charge to keep a Prieſt, who ſhould daily ſay Maſs for their Souls. The poor, that fed on their daily Alms, were deprived of that ſupply.

Great diſcontents among all ſorts of people.

But to compoſe theſe diſcontents, firſt many Books were publiſhed, to ſhew what Crimes, Cheats, and Impoſtures, thoſe Religious perſons were guilty of. Yet that wrought not much on the people; for they ſaid, why were not theſe Abuſes ſeverely puniſhed and reformed? But muſt whole Houſes, and the Succeeding Generations, be puniſhed for the faults of a few? Moſt of theſe reports were alſo denyed, and even thoſe who before envyed the eaſe and plenty in which the Abbots and Monks lived, began now to pity them, and condemned the proceedings againſt them. But to allay this General diſcontent; *Cromwell* adviſed the King to ſell their Lands at very eaſie rates to the Gentry in the ſeveral Counties, obliging them, ſince they had them upon ſuch terms, to keep up the wonted Hoſpitality. This drew in the Gentry a-pace both to be ſatisfied with what was done; and to Aſſiſt the Crown for ever in the defence of theſe Laws: their own intereſt being ſo enterwoven with the Rights of

Endeavors are uſed to quiet theſe.

1536. of the Crown. The commoner ſort, who, like thoſe of old that followed Chriſt for the Loaves, were moſt concerned for the loſs of a good dinner on a Holy-day, or when they went over the Countrey about their buſineſs, were now alſo in a great meaſure ſatisfied, when they heard that all to whom theſe Lands were given, were obliged under heavy Forfeitures to keep up the Hoſpitality; and when they ſaw that put in practice, their diſcontent, which lay chiefly in their Stomach, was appeaſed.

And to quiet other people, who could not be ſatisfied with ſuch things, the King made uſe of a Clauſe in the Act that gave him the leſſer Monaſteries, which Empowered him to continue ſuch as he ſhould think fit. Therefore on the 17th of *Auguſt*, he by his Letters Patents, did of new give back *in perpetuam Eleemoſynam* for perpetual Alms, Five Abbies. The firſt of theſe, was the Abbey of St. *Mary* of *Betleſden* of the *Ciſtercian* order in *Bedfordſhire*, ten more were afterwards confirmed. Sixteen Nunneries, were alſo confirmed; In all Thirty one Houſes. The Patents (in moſt of which ſome mannors are excepted, that had been otherwiſe diſpoſed of,) are all enrolled, and yet none of our Writers have taken any notice of this. It ſeems theſe Houſes had been more regular than the reſt: So that in a General Calamity they were rather reprieved than excepted: for two years after this, in the Suppreſſion of the reſt of the Monaſteries, they fell under the common fate of other Houſes. By theſe new Endowments, they were obliged to pay Tenthes and firſt-Fruits, and to obey all the Statutes and Rules that ſhould be ſent to them from the King, as Supream Head of the Church. But it is not unlike, that ſome preſents, to the Commiſſioners, or to *Cromwell*, made theſe Houſes outlive this ruin: for I find great trading in Bribes at this time, which is not to be wondred at, when there was ſo much to be ſhared.

Collect *Numb.* 3. ſect. 2.

Yet people generally encline to Rebel.

But great diſorders followed upon the Diſſolution of the other Houſes. People were ſtill generally diſcontented. The Suppreſſion of Religious Houſes occaſioned much out-crying, and the Articles then lately publiſhed about Religion, encreaſed the diſtaſte they had conceived at the Government. The old Clergy were alſo very watchful to improve all opportunities, and to blow upon every ſpark. And the Popes Power of depoſing Kings had been for almoſt five hundred years received as an Article of Faith. The ſame Council that eſtabliſhed Tranſubſtantiation, had aſſerted it: and there were many Precedents, not only in *Germany*, *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, but alſo in *England*, of Kings that were Depoſed by Popes, whoſe Dominions were given to other Princes. This had begun in the Eighth Century, in two famous Deprivations. The one in *France*, of *Childeric* the 3d, who was deprived, and the Crown given to *Pepin*: and about the ſame time, thoſe Dominions in *Italy* which were under the Eaſtern Emperors, renounced their alleagance to them. In both theſe the Popes had a great hand, yet they rather confirmed and approved of thoſe Treaſonable Mutations, than gave the firſt riſe to them. But after Pope *Gregory* the 7th's time, it was clearly aſſumed, as a Right and Prerogative of the Papal Crown, to Depoſe Princes, and abſolve Subjects from the Oaths of Alleagance, and ſet up others in their ſtead.

ſtead. And all thoſe Emperors or Kings, that conteſted any thing with Popes, ſat very uneaſie and unſafe in their Thrones, ever after that. But if they were tractable to the demands of the Court of *Rome*, then they might oppreſs their Subjects, and Govern as unjuſtly as they pleaſed: for they had a mighty ſupport from that Court. This made Princes more eaſily bear the Popes uſurpations, becauſe they were aſſiſted by them in all their other Proceedings. And the Friers, having the Conſciences of people generally in their hands, as they had the word given by their General at *Rome*, ſo they diſpoſed people, either to be obedient, or ſeditious, as they pleaſed. 1536.

Now, not only their own Intereſts, mixed with their zeal for the ancient Religion, but the Popes Authority, gave them as good a Warrant to encline the people to Rebel, as any had in former times, of whom ſome were Canonized for the like practices. For in *Auguſt* the former year, the Pope had Summoned the King to appear within Ninety days, and to anſwer for putting away his Queen, and taking another Wife; and for the Laws he had made againſt the Church, and putting the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and others to death for not obeying theſe Laws: and if he did not reform theſe faults, or did not appear to anſwer for them, the Pope Excommunicated him, and all that favoured him, deprived the King, put the Kingdom under an Interdict, forbade all his Subjects to obey, and other States to hold Commerce with him, diſſolved all his Leagues with forreign Princes, commanded all the Clergy to depart out of *England*, and his Nobility to riſe in Arms againſt him. But now, the force of thoſe Thunders, which had formerly produced great Earth-quakes and Commotions, was much abated; yet ſome ſtorms were raiſed by this, though not ſo violent as had been in former times.

The people were quiet till they had reaped their Harveſt. And though ſome Injunctions were publiſhed a little before, to help it the better forward, moſt of the Holy days in Harveſt being aboliſhed by the Kings Authority; yet that rather Inflamed them the more. Other Injunctions were alſo publiſhed in the Kings name by *Cromwell* his Vice-gerent, which was the firſt Act of pure Supremacy done by the King. For in all that went before, he had the Concurrence of the two Convocations. But theſe, it is like, were penned by *Cranmer*. The Reader is referred to the Collection of Papers for them, as I tranſcribed them out of the Regiſter. The Kings injunctions about Religion.

"The Subſtance of them was, that firſt, all Eccleſiaſtical Incum-
"bents were for a quarter of an year after that, once every Sunday,
"and ever after that, twice every quarter, to publiſh to the people:
"That the Biſhop of *Romes* uſurped Power, had no ground in the
"Law of God: and therefore was on good reaſons aboliſhed in this
"Kingdom: And that the Kings Power was by the Law of God, Su-
"pream over all perſons in his Dominions. And they were to do
"their uttermoſt endeavour, to extirpate the Popes Authority, and to
"eſtabliſh the Kings. Collect. *Numb.* 7.

"*Secondly*, They were to declare the Articles lately publiſhed, and
"agreed to, by the Convocation: and to make the people know which
"of them were Articles of Faith, and which of them Rules for the
"decent and politick Order of the Church.

Thirdly,

1536. "*Thirdly*, They were to declare the Articles lately ſet forth, for "the Abrogation of ſome ſuperfluous Holy days, particularly in Har- "veſt time.

"*Fourthly*, They were no more to extol Images or Relicks, for ſu- "perſtition or gain; nor to exhort people to make Pilgrimages, as "if bleſſings and good things were to be obtained of this or that "Saint or Image. But in ſtead of that, the people were to be inſtru- "cted to apply themſelves to the keeping of Gods Commandments, "and doing works of Charity; and to believe that God was better "ſerved by them, when they ſtayed at home and provided for their "Families, than when they went Pilgrimages: and that the Moneys "laid out on theſe, were better given to the poor.

"*Fifthly*, They were to exhort the people to teach their Children "the Lords Prayer, the Creed, and the ten Commandments, in *En- "gliſh*: and every Incumbent was to explain theſe, one Article a day, "till the people were Inſtructed in them. And to take great care, "that all Children were bred up to ſome trade or way of Living.

"*Sixthly*, They muſt take care that the Sacraments and Sacra- "mentals be reverently adminiſtred in their Pariſhes, from which "when at any time they were abſent, they were to Commit the "Cure to a Learned and expert Curate; who might inſtruct the peo- "ple in wholſome Doctrine: that they might all ſee, that their Pa- "ſtors did not purſue their own profits or intereſts, ſo much as the "Glory of God, and the good of the Souls under their Cure.

"*Seventhly*, They ſhould not, except on urgent occaſion, go to "Taverns or Ale-houſes: nor ſit too long at any ſort of Games after "their Meals: but give themſelves to the Study of the Scripture, or "ſome other honeſt exerciſe; and remember that they muſt excel "others in purity of life, and be examples to all others to live well "and Chriſtianly.

"*Eighthly*, Becauſe the goods of the Church, were the goods of "the poor; every Beneficed perſon that had twenty Pound or above, "and did not reſide, was yearly to diſtribute the Fortieth part of "his Benefice to the poor of the Pariſh.

"*Ninthly*, Every Incumbent that had an hundred Pound a year, muſt "give an Exhibition for one Schollar at ſome Grammar School, or "Univerſity; who after he had compleated his Studies, was to be "Partner of the Cure and Charge, both in Preaching, and other du- "ties: And ſo many hundred Pounds as any had, ſo many Students he "was to breed up.

"*Tenthly*, Where Parſonage or Vicarage-Houſes were in great de- "cay, the Incumbent was every year to give a fifth part of his pro- "fits to the repairing of them, till they were finiſhed; and then to "maintain them in the State they were in.

"*Eleventhly*, All theſe Injunctions were to be obſerved, under pain "of ſuſpenſion and ſequeſtration of the mean profits till they were ob- "ſerved.

Which were much cenſured. Theſe were equally ingrateful to the Corrupt Clergy, and to the Laity that adhered to the old Doctrine. The very ſame opinions, about Pilgrimages, Images, and Saints departed, and inſtructing the people in the Principles of Chriſtian Religion in the Vulgar tongue, for

for which the *Lollards* were not long ago, either burnt or forced to abjure them, were now ſet up by the Kings Authority. From whence they concluded, that whatſoever the King ſaid of his maintaining the old Doctrine, yet he was now changing it. The Clergy alſo were much troubled at this Precedent, of the Kings giving ſuch Injunctions to them, without the conſent of the Convocation: From which they concluded, they were now to be ſlaves to the Lord Vice-gerent. The matter of theſe Injunctions was alſo very uneaſie to them. The great profits they made by their Images, and Relicks, and the Pilgrimages to them, were now taken away: and yet ſevere Impoſitions and heavy Taxes were laid on them; a fifth part for Repairs, a tenth at leaſt for an Exhibitioner, and a fortieth for Charity, which were cryed out on as intolerable burdens. Their Labour was alſo increaſed, and they were bound up to many ſeverities of Life: All theſe things touched the Secular Clergy to the quick, and made them concur with the Regular Clergy in diſpoſing the people to Rebel. 1536.

This was ſecretly fomented by the great Abbots. For though they were not yet ſtruck at, yet the way was prepared to it; and their Houſes were oppreſſed with crouds of thoſe who were ſent to them from the ſuppreſſed Houſes. There was ſome pains taken to remove their fears. For a Letter was ſent to them all in the Kings name, to ſilence the reports that were ſpread abroad, as if all Monaſteries were to be quite ſuppreſſed. This they were required not to believe but to ſerve God according to their Order, to obey the Kings Injunctions, to keep Hoſpitality, and make no waſtes nor dilapidations. Yet this gave them ſmall comfort; and as all ſuch things do, rather encreaſed than quieted their jealouſies and fears. So many ſecret cauſes concurring, no wonder the people fell into mutinous and ſeditious practices.

A Rebellion in *Lincolnſhire*.

The firſt riſing was in *Lincolnſhire* in the beginning of *October*, where a Church-man, diſguiſed into a Cobler, and directed by a Monk, drew a great body of men after him. About 20000 were gathered together. They ſwore to be true, to God, the King, and the Common-wealth, and digeſted their Grievances into a few Articles, which they ſent to the King, deſiring a redreſs of them.

Their Demands.

"They complained of ſome things that related to ſecular concerns, "and ſome Acts of Parliament that were uneaſie to them: They alſo "complained of the ſuppreſſion of ſo many Religious Houſes: that "the King had mean perſons in high places about him, who were "ill Councellors: They alſo complained of ſome Biſhops who had "ſubverted the Faith; and they apprehended the Jewels and Plate of "their Churches, ſhould be taken away. Therefore they deſired the "King would call to him the Nobility of the Realm, and by their "advice redreſs their Grievances: Concluding with an acknowledg-"ment of the Kings being the [illegible]ream Head, and that the Tenthes "and firſt Fruits of all Livin[illegible]onged to him of Right.

The Kings anſwer.

When the King heard of this inſurrection, he preſently ſent the Duke of *Suffolk* with a Commiſſion to raiſe forces for diſperſing them: But with him he ſent an anſwer to their Petition. "He began with "that about his Councellors, and ſaid; It was never before heard of "that the Rabble preſumed to Dictate to their Prince, what Coun-

1536. "cellors he ſhould chooſe. That was the Princes work and not theirs. "The Suppreſſion of Religious Houſes was done purſuant to an Act "of Parliament, and was not ſet forth by any of his Counſellors. "The Heads of theſe Religious Houſes, had under their own hands "confeſſed thoſe horrid ſcandals, which made them a reproach to the "Nation. And in many Houſes there were not above Four or Five "Religious perſons. So it ſeemed they were better pleaſed, that "ſuch diſſolute perſons ſhould conſume their Rents in riotous and idle "living, than that their Prince ſhould have them for the Common good "of the whole Kingdom. He alſo anſwered their other Demands in "the ſame high and commanding ſtrain; and required them to ſub- "mit themſelves to his mercy, and to deliver their Captains and Lieu- "tenants into the hands of his Lieutenants; and to diſperſe, and car- "ry themſelves as became good and obedient Subjects, and to put an "hundred of their number into the hands of his Lieutenants, to be "ordered as they had deſerved.

When this anſwer was brought to them, it raiſed their Spirits higher. The practiſing Clergy-men continued to inflame them. They perſwaded them that the Chriſtian Religion would be very ſoon defaced, and taken away quite, if they did not vigorouſly defend it: That it would come to that, that no man ſhould marry a Wife, receive any of the Sacraments, nor eat a piece of roſt meat, but he ſhould pay for it: That it were better to live under the *Turk*, than under ſuch oppreſſion. Therefore there was no cauſe in which they could with more honour and a better conſcience hazard their Lives, than for the Holy Faith. This encouraged and kept them together a little longer. They had forced many of the Gentry of the Countrey to go along with them. Theſe ſent a ſecret Meſſage to the Duke of *Suffolk*, letting him know what ill effects the Kings rough anſwer had produced: That they had joyned with the people only to moderate them a little, and they knew nothing that would be ſo effectual as the offer of a general pardon. So the Duke of *Suffolk*, as he moved towards them with the forces which he had drawn together, ſent to the King to know his pleaſure, and earneſtly adviſed a gentle compoſing of the matter without blood. At that ſame time the King was advertiſed from the North, that there was a general and formidable Riſing there. Of which he had the greater apprehenſions, becauſe of their neighbourhood to *Scotland*; whoſe King, being the Kings Nephew, was the Heir preſumptive of the Crown, ſince the King had Illegitimated both his Daughters. And though the Kings firm Alliance with *France* made him leſs apprehenſive of trouble from *Scotland*, and their King was at this time in *France*, to marry the Daughter of *Francis*; yet he did not know how far a general Riſing might invite that King, to ſend orders to head and aſſiſt the Rebels in the North. There he reſolved firſt to quiet *Lincolnſhire*. And as he had raiſed a great force about *London*, with which he was marching in perſon againſt them; ſo he ſent a new Proclamation, Requiring them to return to their obedience, with ſecret aſſurances of mercy. By theſe means they were melted away. Thoſe who had been carryed in the Stream, ſubmitted to the Kings mercy, and promiſed all obedience for the future: Others, that were obſtinate,

It's quieted by the Duke of *Suffolk*.

A new Rebellion in the *North*.

obſtinate, and knew themſelves unpardonable, fled Northward, and joyned themſelves to the Rebels there: Some of their other Leaders were apprehended, in particular the Cobler, and were Executed. 1536.

But for the Northern Rebellion, as the parties concerned, being at a greater diſtance from the Court, had larger opportunities to gather themſelves into a huge Body; ſo the whole Contrivance of it was better laid. One *Ask* Commanded in chief. He was a Gentleman of an ordinary condition, but underſtood well how to draw on and Govern a Multitude. Their march was called the *Pilgrimage of Grace*. And to inveigle the people, ſome Prieſts marched before them with Croſſes in their hands. In their Banners they had a Crucifix with the Five wounds, and a Chalice: and every one wore on his ſleeve, as the badge of the Party, an Emblem of the Five wounds of Chriſt, with the name *Jeſus* wrought in the midſt. All that joyned to them took an Oath, "That they entered into this *Pilgrimage of Grace*, for "the love of God, the preſervation of the Kings perſon, and iſſue, "the purifying the Nobility, and driving away all baſe born and ill "Counſellors; and for no particular profit of their own, nor to do "diſpleaſure to any, nor to kill any for envy; but to take before "them the Croſs of Chriſt, his Faith, the Reſtitution of the Church, "and the Suppreſſion of Hereticks, and their opinions. Theſe were ſpecious pretences, and very apt to work upon a giddy and diſcontented multitude. So people flocked about their Croſſes and Standards in great numbers; and they grew to be 40000 ſtrong. They went over the Countrey without any great oppoſition. The Arch-Biſhop of *York* and the Lord *Darcy* were in *Pomfret* Caſtle; which they yielded to them, and were made to ſwear their Covenant. They were both ſuſpected of being ſecret Promoters of the Rebellion: the latter ſuffered for it, but how the former excuſed himſelf I cannot give any account. They alſo took *York*, and *Hull*; but though they ſummoned the Caſtle of *Skipton*, yet the Earl of *Cumberland*, who would not degenerate from his Noble Anceſtors, held it out againſt all their force: and though many of the Gentlemen, whom he had entertained at his own coſt, deſerted him, yet he made a brave reſiſtance. *Scarborough* Caſtle was alſo long beſieged; but there Sir *Ralph Evers*, that Commanded it, gave an un-exampled inſtance of his fidelity and courage; for though his proviſions fell ſhort, ſo that for twenty days he and his men had nothing but bread and water, yet they ſtood out till they were relieved. Which grew very formidable.

This Riſing in *Yorkſhire* encouraged thoſe of *Lancaſhire*, the Biſhoprick of *Dureſm*, and *Weſtmoreland*, to Arm. Againſt theſe the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, that he might not fall ſhort of the Gallantry and Loyalty of his renownd Anceſtors, made head: though he had no Commiſſion from the King. But he knew his zeal and fidelity would eaſily procure him a pardon, which he modeſtly asked for the ſervice he had done. The King ſent him not only that, but a Commiſſion to command in chief all his forces in the North. To his Aſſiſtance he ordered the Earl of *Derby* to march; and ſent *Courtney* Marqueſs of *Exeter*, and the Earls of *Huntington*, and *Rutland*, to joyn him. He alſo ordered the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the force that he had led into *Lincolnſhire*, to lye ſtill there; leſt they, being but newly quieted, ſhould break

1536. break out again, and fall upon his Armies behind; when the *Yorkſhire* men met them before.

The Duke of *Norfolk* and others ſent againſt them.

On the 20th of *October*, he ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* with more forces to joyn the Earl of *Shrewsbury*: But the Rebels were very numerous and deſperate. When the Duke of *Norfolk* underſtood their ſtrength, he ſaw great reaſon to proceed with much caution: for if they had got the leaſt advantage of the Kings Troops, all the diſcontents in *England* would upon the report of that have broken out. He ſaw their numbers were now ſuch, that the gaining ſome time was their ruin: for ſuch a great Body could not ſubſiſt long together, without much proviſions; and that muſt be very hard for them to bring in: So he ſet forward a Treaty. It was both honourable for the King to offer mercy to his diſtracted Subjects, and of great advantage to his affairs: for as their numbers did every day leſſen; ſo the Kings forces were ſtill encreaſing. He wrote to the King, that conſidering the ſeaſon of the year, he thought the offering ſome fair conditions might perſwade them to lay down their Arms, and diſperſe themſelves: Yet when the Earl of *Shrewsbury* ſent a Herald with a Proclamation, ordering them to lay down their Arms, and ſubmit to the Kings mercy; *Ask* received him ſitting in State, with the Arch-Biſhop on the one hand, and the Lord *Darcy* on the other, but would not ſuffer any Proclamation to be made, till he knew the Contents of it. And when the Herauld told what they were, he ſent him away without ſuffering him to publiſh it. And then the Prieſts uſed all their endeavours, to engage the people to a firm reſolution of not diſperſing themſelves, till all matters about Religion were fully ſetled.

As they went forward, they every-where repoſſeſſed the ejected Monks of their Houſes; and this encouraged the reſt, who had a great mind to be in their old Neſts again. They publiſhed alſo many ſtories among them of the growing burdens of the Kings Government, and made them believe that Impoſitions would be laid on every thing that was either bought or ſold. But the King hearing how ſtrong they were, ſent out a general Summons to all the Nobility to meet him at *Northampton* the 7th of *November*. And the forces ſent againſt the Rebels advanced to *Doncaſter*, to hinder them from coming further ſouthward; and took the Bridge, which they fortified, and laid their forces along the River to maintain that Paſs.

They advance to *Doncaſter*.

The Writers of that time ſay, that the day of Battel was agreed on; but that the night before, exceſſive Rains falling, the River ſwelled ſo, that it was unpaſſable next day, and they could not force the Bridge. Yet it is not likely the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, having in all but 5000 men about him, would agree to a pitched Battel with thoſe who were Six times his number, being then 30000. Therefore it is more likely that the Rebels only intended to paſs the River the next day, which the Rain that fell hindred: But the Duke of *Norfolk* continued to preſs a Treaty, which was hearkned to by the other ſide; who were reduced to great ſtraits; for their Captain would not ſuffer them to ſpoyl the Countrey, and they were no longer able to ſubſiſt without doing that. The Duke of *Norfolk* directed ſome that were ſecretly gained, or had been ſent over to them as

Deſerters

Deſerters, to ſpread reports among them; that their Leaders were making Terms for themſelves, and would leave the reſt to be undone. This joyned to their neceſſities, made many fall off every day. The Duke of *Norfolk* finding his Arts had ſo good an operation, offered to go to Court, with any whom they would ſend with their demands, and to intercede for them. This he knew would take up ſome time, and moſt of them would be diſperſed before he could return. So they ſent two Gentlemen, whom they had forced to go with them, to the King to *Windſor*. Upon this, the King diſcharged the Rendezvous at *Northampton*, and delayed the ſending an anſwer as much as could be: But at laſt, hearing that though moſt of them were diſperſed; yet they had engaged to return upon warning, and that they took it ill that no anſwer came; he ſent the Duke of *Norfolk* to them with a general pardon, ſix only excepted by name, and four others that were not named. But in this the Kings Counſels were generally cenſured, for every one was now in fear, and ſo the Rebels rejected the Propoſition. The King alſo ſent them word by their own Meſſenger "That he took it very ill at their hands, that they "had choſen rather to riſe in Arms againſt him, than to Petition him "about theſe things which were uneaſie to them. And to appeaſe them a little, the King by new Injunctions, commanded the Clergy to continue the uſe of all the Ceremonies of the Church. This, it is like, was intended for keeping up the four Sacraments, which had not been mentioned in the former Articles. The Clergy, that were with the Rebels, met at *Pomfret* to draw up Articles to be offered at the Treaty that was to be at *Doncaſter*: where three hundred were ordered to come from the Rebels to treat with the Kings Commiſſioners. So great a number was called, in hopes that they would diſagree about their Demands, and ſo fall out among themſelves. On the 6th of *December* they met to treat, and it ſeems had ſo laid their matter before, that they agreed upon theſe following Demands.

1536.

The Duke of *Norfolk* breaks them by delays.

"A general Pardon to be granted: a Parliament to be held at "*York*; and Courts of juſtice to be there; that none on the North "of *Trent* might be brought to *London* upon any Law-ſute. They "deſired a Repeal of ſome Acts of Parliament: Thoſe for the laſt "Subſidy, for uſes, for making words miſpriſion of Treaſon, and for "the Clergies paying their Tenthes and firſt Fruits to the King. They "deſired the Princeſs *Mary* might be reſtored to her right of Succeſ- "ſion; the Pope to his wonted Juriſdiction, and the Monks to their "Houſes again: that the *Lutherans* might be puniſhed, that *Audley* "the Lord Chancellor, and *Cromwell* the Lord Privy-Seal, might be ex- "cluded from the next Parliament; and *Lee* and *Leighton*, that had "viſited the Monaſteries, might be impriſoned for Bribery and Ex- "tortion.

Their Demands.

But the Lords, who knew that the King would by no means agree to theſe Propoſitions, rejected them. Upon which the Rebels took heart again, and were growing more enraged and deſperate; ſo that the Duke of *Norfolk* wrote to the King, that if ſome content were not given them, it might end very ill, for they were much ſtronger than his Forces were: And both he, and the other Commanders of the Kings Forces, in their hearts wiſhed that moſt of their Demands were granted

1536. granted; being perſons, who though they complied with the King, and were againſt that Rebellion, yet were great Enemies to *Lutheraniſm*, and wiſhed a Reconciliation with *Rome*; of which the Duke of *Norfolk* was afterwards accuſed by the Lord *Darcy*, as if he had ſecretly encouraged them to inſiſt on theſe Demands. The King ſeeing the humour was ſo obſtinate, reſolved to uſe gentler Remedies; and ſo ſent to the Duke of *Norfolk* a general Pardon, with a promiſe of a Parliament, ordering him not to make uſe of theſe, except in extremity. This was no eaſie thing to that Duke, ſince he might be afterwards made to anſwer for it, whether the extremity was really ſuch, as to juſtifie his granting theſe things. But the Rebels were become again as numerous as ever, and had reſolved to croſs the River, and to force the Kings Camp, which was ſtill much inferiour to theirs in number. But Rains falling the ſecond time, made the Foords again unpaſſable. This was ſpoken of by the Kings Party, as little leſs than a a Miracle, that Gods Providence had twice ſo opportunely interpoſed for the ſtopping of the progreſs of the Rebels: And it is very probable that on the other ſide, it made great impreſſion on the Superſtitious multitude; and both diſcouraged them, and diſpoſed them, to accept of the offer of Pardon, and a Parliament to be ſoon called, for conſidering their other Demands. The King ſigned the Pardon at *Richmond*, the 9th of *December*: by which all their Treaſons and Rebellion to that day, were pardoned, provided they made their ſubmiſſion to the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and lived in all due obedience for the future. "The King ſent likewiſe a long anſwer to their De-

The Kings anſwer to them.

"mands, as to what they complained about the ſubverſion of the Faith; "He proteſted his zeal for the true Chriſtian Faith, and that he would "live and die in the defence and preſervation of it. But the ignorant "multitude were not to inſtruct him what the true Faith was, nor to "preſume to correct what he and the whole Convocation had agreed "on. That as he had preſerved the Church of *England* in her true Li-"berties, ſo he would do ſtill; and that he had done nothing that was ſo "oppreſſive, as many of his Progenitours had done upon leſſer grounds. "But that he took it very ill of them, who had rather one Churl or "two ſhould enjoy the Profits of their Monaſteries, to ſupport them "in their diſſolute and abominable courſe of living, than that their "King ſhould have them for defraying the great Charge he was at for "their defence againſt Forreign Enemies. For the Laws, it was high "preſumption in a rude multitude to take on them to judge what Laws "were good, and what not. They had more reaſon to think, that he "after twenty eight years Reign ſhould know it better than they "could. And for his Government, he had ſo long preſerved his Sub-"jects in Peace and Juſtice, had ſo defended them from their Enemies, "had ſo ſecured his Frontier, had granted ſo many general Pardons, "had been ſo unwilling to puniſh his Subjects, and ſo ready to receive "them into mercy; that they could ſhew no paralel to his Govern-"ment among all their former Kings. And whereas it was ſaid, That "he had many of the Nobility of his Council, in the beginning of his "Reign, and few now; he ſhewed them in that one inſtance how "they were abuſed by the lying ſlanders of ſome diſaffected Perſons: "For when he came to the Crown, there were none that were born

"Noble

"Noble, of his Council, but only the Earl of *Surrey*, and the Earl of 1536.
"*Shrewsbury*; whereas now, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Mar-
"queſs of *Exeter*, the Lord *Steward*, the Earls of *Oxford* and *Suſſex*,
"and the Lord *Sands*, were of the Privy-Council: And for the Spiri-
"tuality, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*,
"*Hereford* and *Chicheſter*, were alſo of it: And he and his whole Coun-
"cil judging it neceſſary to have ſome at the board who underſtood
"the Law of *England*, and the Treaties with Forreign Princes; he
"had by their Unanimous advice brought in his Chancellor, and
"the Lord Privy-Seal. He thought it ſtrange, that they who were but
"brutes, ſhould think they could better judg who ſhould be his Coun-
"ſellors than himſelf and his whole Council: Therefore he would
"bear no ſuch thing at their hands; it being inconſiſtent with the duty
"of good Subjects, to meddle in ſuch matters. But if they or any of
"his other Subjects, could bring any juſt complaint againſt any about
"him, he was ready to hear it; and if it were proved, he would puniſh
"it according to Law. As for the complaints againſt ſome of the Prelates
"for preaching againſt the Faith, they could know none of theſe things
"but by the report of others; ſince they lived at ſuch a diſtance, that
"they themſelves had not heard any of them preach. Therefore he
"required them not to give credit to Lies, nor be miſled by thoſe who
"ſpread ſuch Calumnies and ill reports: And he concluded all with a
"ſevere Expoſtulation; adding that ſuch was his love to his Subjects,
"that imputing this Inſurrection, rather to their folly and lightneſs,
"than to any malice or rancour, he was willing to paſs it over more
"gently, as they would perceive by his Proclamation.

Now the people were come to themſelves again, and glad to get off 1537.
ſo eaſily; and they all chearfully accepted the Kings offers, and went
home again to their ſeveral dwellings. Yet the Clergy were no way The Rebellion is quieted.
ſatisfied, but continued ſtill to practiſe amongſt them, and kept the
Rebellion ſtill on foot; ſo that it broke out ſoon after. The Duke of
Norfolk, and the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, were ordered to lie ſtill in the
Country with their Forces, till all things were more fully compoſed.
They made them all come to a full ſubmiſſion; and firſt, to revoke
all Oaths and Promiſes made, during the Rebellion, for which they
asked the Kings Pardon on their knees; 2ly, To ſwear to be true to
the King, and his Heirs and Succeſſors; 3ly, To obey and maintain
all the Acts of Parliament made during the Kings Reign. 4ly, Not
to take Arms again but by the Kings Authority. 5ly, To apprehend
all Seditious perſons. 6ly, To remove all the Monks, Nuns, and Fri-
ars, whom they had placed again in the diſſolved Monaſteries. There
were alſo Orders given to ſend *Ask* their Captain, and the Lord *Dar-
cy*, to Court. *Ask* was kindly received, and well uſed by the King.
He had ſhewed great conduct in Commanding the Rebels; and it
ſeems the King had a mind, either to gain him to his ſervice, or,
which I ſuſpect was the true Cauſe, to draw from him a diſcovery
of all thoſe, who, in the other parts of the Kingdom, had favoured
or relieved them. For he ſuſpected, not without cauſe, that ſome of
the great Abbots had given ſecret ſupplies of Money to the Rebels:
For which many of them were afterwards tryed and attainted. The
Lord *Darcy* was under great apprehenſions, and ſtudied to purge
himſelf,

1537. himſelf, that he was forced to a Compliance with them; but pleaded, that the long and important ſervices, he had done the Crown for fifty years, he being then fourſcore, together with his great Age and Infirmity, might mitigate the Kings diſpleaſure. But he was made Priſoner. Whether this gave thoſe who had been in Arms, new jealouſies, that the Kings Pardon would not be inviolably obſerved; or whether the Clergy had of new, prevailed on them to riſe in Arms, I cannot determine: But it broke out again, though not ſo dangerouſly as before. Two Gentlemen of the North, *Muſgrave* and *Tilby*, raiſed a body of 8000 men; and thought to have ſurpriſed *Carliſle*; but were repulſed by thoſe within. And in their return the Duke of *Norfolk* fell upon them, and routed them. He took many priſoners, and by Martial Law hanged up all their Captains, and Seventy other Priſoners on the Walls of *Carliſle*. Others at that ſame time thought to have ſurpriſed *Hull*; but it was prevented, and the leaders of that Party were alſo taken and Executed.

New riſings but ſoon diſperſed.

Many other Riſings were in ſeveral places of the Countrey, which were all ſoon repreſſed; the ground of them all was, that the Parliament which was promiſed, was not called: But the King ſaid, they had not kept conditions with him, nor would he call a Parliament till all things were quieted. But the Duke of *Norfolks* vigilance every-where, prevented their gathering together in any great Body. And after ſeveral un-ſuccesful attempts, at length the Countrey was abſolutely quieted in *January* following. And then the Duke of *Norfolk* proceeded according to the Martial Law againſt many whom he had taken. *Ask* had alſo left the Court without leave, and had gone amongſt them, but was quickly taken. So he and many others were ſent to ſeveral places, to be made publick Examples. He ſuffered at *York*, others at *Hull*, and in other Towns in *Yorkſhire*. But the Lord *Darcy*, and the Lord *Huſſy*, were arraigned at *Weſtminſter*, and attainted of Treaſon; The former for the Northern, and the other for the *Lincolnſhire* Inſurrection. The Lord *Darcy* was beheaded at *Towerhill*, and was much lamented. Every body thought that conſidering his Merits, his Age, and former ſervices, he had hard meaſure. The Lord *Huſſy* was beheaded at *Lincoln*. The Lord *Darcy* in his Tryal, accuſed the Duke of *Norfolk*; that in the Treaty at *Doncaſter*, he had encouraged the Rebels to continue in their demands. This the Duke denyed, and deſired a Tryal by Combate, and gave ſome preſumptions to ſhew that the Lord *Darcy* bore him ill-will, and ſaid this out of Malice. The King either did not believe this, or would not ſeem to believe it: And the Dukes great diligence in the Suppreſſion of theſe Commotions ſet him beyond all jealouſies. But after thoſe Executions, the King wrote to the Duke in *July* next, to Proclaim an abſolute Amneſty over all the North; which was received with great joy, every body being in fear of himſelf: and ſo this threatning ſtorm was diſſipated without the effuſion of much blood, ſave what the ſword of juſtice drew. At the ſame time the King of *Scotland* returning from *France* with his Queen, and touching on the Coaſt of *England*; many of the people fell down at his feet, praying him to aſſiſt them, and he ſhould have all. But he was, it ſeems, bound up by the *French* King: and ſo went home without giving them any

The chief of the Rebels executed.

any encouragement. And thus ended this Rebellion, which was chiefly carryed on by the Clergy, under pretence of Religion. 1537.

A new Viſitation of Monaſteries.

And now the King was delivered of all his apprehenſions that he had been in, for ſome years in fear of Stirs at home. But they being now happily compoſed; as he knew it would ſo overawe the reſt of his diſcontented Subjects, that he needed fear nothing from them for a great while; ſo it encouraged him to go on in his other deſigns, of ſuppreſſing the reſt of the Monaſteries, and reforming ſome other Points of Religion. Therefore there was a new Viſitation appointed for all the Monaſteries of *England*. And the Viſiters were ordered, to Examine all things that related either to their Converſation, to their affection to the King, and the Supremacy, or to their Superſtition, in their ſeveral Houſes: To diſcover what Cheats and Impoſtures there were, either in their Images, Relicks, or other miraculous things, by which they had drawn people to their Houſes on Pilgrimages, and gotten from them any great Preſents. Alſo to try how they were affected during the late Commotions, and to diſcover every thing that was amiſs in them, and report it to the Lord Vice-gerent. In the Records of the whole Twenty Eighth year of the Kings Reign, I find but one Original Surrender of any Religious Houſe. The Abbot of *Furneſe* in *Lincolnſhire* valued at 960 *lib.* with Thirty Monks reſigning up that Houſe to the King, on the 9th of *April*, which was very near the end of the year of the Kings Reign, for it commenced on the 22d of *April*. Two other Surrenders are enrolled that year. The one was of *Bermondſey* in *Surrey*, the firſt of *June* in the twenty eighth of the Kings Reign. The Preamble was, that they Surrendred in hopes of greater Benevolence from the King. But this was the effect of ſome ſecret practice, and not of the Act of Parliament. For it was valued at 548 *lib.* and ſo fell not within the Act. The other was of *Buſhliſham* or *Biſhtam* in *Berkſhire*, made by *Barlow* Biſhop of St. *Davids*, that was Commendator of it, and a great Promoter of the Reformation. It was valued at 327 *lib.* But in the following year they made a quicker Progreſs, and found ſtrange Enormities in the greater Houſes. It ſeems all the Houſes under 200 *lib.* of Rent were not yet ſuppreſſed. For I find many within that value afterwards reſigning their Houſes. So that I am enclined to believe, that the firſt viſitation being made towards the Suppreſſion of the leſſer Monaſteries, and that (as appears by their Inſtructions) being not to be finiſhed till they had made a report of what they had done to the Court of Augmentations, who were after the report made to determine what penſions were to be reſerved to the Abbot and other Officers; (which report was to be made in the Octaves of St. *Michael*, and after that, a new Commiſſion was to be given for their Suppreſſion;) when that was done, they went no further at that time, that ſo I cannot think there were many Houſes Suppreſſed when theſe Stirres began: and after their firſt riſing, it is not likely that great Progreſs would be made in a buſineſs that was like to inflame the people more, and encreaſe the number of the Rebels. Neither do I find any Houſes ſuppreſſed by vertue of the former Act of Parliament till the twenty ninth year of the Kings Reign.

Some of the great Abbots ſurrender their Houſes.

And yet they made no great haſt this year. For there are but twenty

1537. twenty one Surrenders all this year, either in the Rolls, or Augmentation-Office. And now, not only ſmall Abbeys, but greater ones, were ſurrendred to the King. The Abbots were brought to do it upon ſeveral Motives. Some had been faulty during the late Rebellion, and were liable to the Kings. diſpleaſure: and theſe, to redeem themſelves, compounded the matter by a Reſignation of their Houſe. Others began to like the Reformation, and that made them the more willing to ſurrender their Houſes: ſuch as *Barlow* Biſhop of St. *Davids*, who not only ſurrendered up his own Houſe of *Buſhliſham*, but prevailed on many others to do the like: Others were convicted of great diſorders in their Converſation; and theſe not daring to ſtand a Tryal, were glad to accept of a Penſion for life, and deliver up their Houſe. Others were guilty of making great waſtes and Dilapidations. For they all ſaw the Diſſolution of their Houſes approaching, and ſo every one was induced to take all the care he could to provide for himſelf, and his kindred; ſo that the Viſitors found in ſome of the Richeſt Abbies of *England*, as St. *Albans*, and *Battell*, ſuch depredations made, that at St. *Albans* an Abbot could not ſubſiſt any longer, the rents were ſo low; and in *Battell*, as all their furniture was old and torn, not worth an 100 *lib.* ſo both in Houſe and Chappel, they had not 400 Marks worth of Plate. In other Houſes they found not above twelve or fifteen Ounces of Plate, and no furniture at all, but only ſuch things as they could not embezel; as the Walls, and Windows, Bells, and Lead. In other Houſes, the Abbot and Monks were glad to accept of a Penſion for themſelves during life: and ſo being only concerned for their own particular intereſt, reſigned their Houſe to the King. Generally, the Monks had eight Marks a year Penſion, till they were provided for. The Abbots Penſions were proportioned to the Value of their Houſe, and to their Innocence. The Abbots of St. *Albans*, and *Tewksbury*, had 400 Marks a year a piece. The Abbot of St. *Edmundsbury* was more Innocent, for the Viſitors wrote from thence, that they could find no ſcandals in that Houſe: So he (it ſeems) was not eaſily brought to Reſign his Houſe, and had 500 Marks Penſion reſerved to him. And for their inferior Officers ſome had 30. ſome 10. or 8. and the loweſt 6 *lib.* Penſion.

In other places, upon a vacancy, either by death, or deprivation, they did put in an Abbot only to reſign up the Houſe. For after the Kings Supremacy was eſtabliſhed, all thoſe Abbots that had been formerly confirmed by the Pope, were placed in this manner. The King granted a *Conge d'elire* to the Prior and Convent, with a Miſſive Letter, declaring the name of the perſon whom they ſhould chooſe: then they returned an election to the King, who, upon that, gave his aſſent to it by a Warrant under the great Seal, which was certified to the Lord Vice-gerent; who thereupon Confirmed the Election, and returned him back to the King, to take the Oaths: upon which, the Temporalities were reſtored. Thus all the Abbots were now placed by the King, and were generally pickt out to ſerve this turn. Others, in hope of advancement to Biſhopricks, or to be Suffragan Biſhops, as the inferior ſort of them were made generally, were glad to recommend themſelves to the Kings favour, by a quick and cheerful Surrender of their Monaſterie. Upon ſome of theſe inducements

ducements it was, that the greateſt number of the Religious Houſes were reſigned to the King, before there was any Act of Parliament made for their Suppreſſion. In ſeveral Houſes, the Viſitors, who were generally, either Maſters of Chancery, or Auditors of the Court of Augmentations, ſtudied not only to bring them to reſign their Houſes, but to Sign Confeſſions of their paſſed lewd and diſſolute lives. Of theſe, there is only one now extant, which (it is like) eſcaped the general raſure and deſtruction of all Papers of that kind, in Queen *Maries* time. But from the Letters that I have ſeen, I perceive there were ſuch Confeſſions made by many other Houſes. 1538.

Confeſſions of horrid Crimes made in ſeveral Houſes.

That Confeſſion of the Prior and Benedictins of St. *Andrews* in *Northampton* is to be ſeen in the Records of the Court of Augmentations. In which, with the moſt aggravating expreſſions that could be deviſed, they acknowledged their paſt ill life, "for which the Pitt of Hell was ready to "ſwallow them up. They confeſſed that they had neglected the Wor-"ſhip of God, lived in Idleneſs, Gluttony, and Senſuality, with many "other woful expreſſions to that purpoſe.

Other Houſes, as the Monaſtery of *Bettleſden*, reſigned with this Preamble, "That they did profoundly conſider, that the manner and "trade of living, which they, and others of their pretended Religi-"on, had for a long time followed, conſiſted in ſome dumb ceremo-"nies, and other Conſtitutions, of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and other "forreign Potentates; as the Abbot of *Ciſteaux*, by which they were "blindly led, having no true knowledg of Gods Laws; procuring "exemptions from their Ordinary and Dioceſan, by the Power of the "Biſhop of *Rome*, and ſubmitting themſelves wholly to a forreign "Power, who never came hither to reform their abuſes, which were "now found among them. But that now knowing the moſt per-"fect way of living is ſufficiently declared by Chriſt and his Apo-"ſtles; and that it was moſt fit for them to be Governed by the "King, who was their Supream Head on earth; they Submitted them-"ſelves to his Mercy, and ſurrendered up their Monaſtery to him on the "25th of *September* in the 30th year of his Reign. This writing was ſigned by the Abbot, the Sub-prior, and nine Monks. There are five other Surrenders to the ſame purpoſe; by the *Gray*, and *White Friars* of *Stamford*, the *Gray-Friars* of *Coventry*, *Bedford*, and *Ailesbury*, yet to be ſeen. Some are reſigned upon this Preamble, "That they "hoped the King would of new found their Houſe; which was o-"therwiſe like to be ruined, both in Spirituals and Temporals. So did the Abbot of *Chertſey* in *Surrey*, with fourteen Monks, on the 14th of *July* in the 29th year of this Reign, whoſe Houſe was valued at 744 *lib.* I have ſome reaſon to think that this Abbot was for the Reformation, and intended to have had his Houſe new founded to be a Houſe of true and well regulated devotion: And ſo I find the Prior of great *Malverine* in *Worceſterſhire* offered ſuch a Reſignation. He was recommended by Biſhop *Latimer* to *Cromwell*, with an earneſt deſire that his Houſe might ſtand, *not in Monkery, but ſo as to be converted to Preaching, Study, and Prayer.* And the good Prior was willing to compound for his Houſe by a Preſent of 500 Marks to the King, and of 200 to *Cromwell.* He is commended, for being an old worthy man, a good Houſekeeper, and one that daily fed many poor people.

Collect. *Numb.* 3. *ſect.* 4.

1538. people. To this *Latimer* adds; *Alas my good Lord! Shall we not ſee Two or Three in every ſhire changed to ſuch remedy?*

But the Reſolution was taken once to extirpate all. And therefore though the Viſitors interceded earneſtly for one Nunnery in *Oxford-ſhire*, *Godſtow*, where there was great ſtrictneſs of life; and to which were moſt of the young Gentlewomen of the County were ſent to be bred; ſo that the Gentrey of the Country deſired the King would ſpare the Houſe, yet all was uneffectual.

The form of moſt ſurrenders.

The General Form, in which moſt of theſe Reſignations begins, is, "That the Abbot and Brethren, upon full deliberation, certain know-
Collect. *Numb.* 3. *Sect.* 1. "ledg, of their own proper motion, for certain juſt and reaſonable "cauſes, ſpecially moving them in their Souls and Conſciences, did "freely, and of their own accord, give and grant their Houſes to the "King. Others (it ſeems) did not ſo well like this preamble; and therefore did, without any reaſon or preamble, give away their Houſes to the Viſitors, as Feofees in truſt for the Kings uſe. And thus they went on, procuring daily more ſurrenders. So that in the thirtieth year of the Kings Reign there were 159 Reſignations enrolled, of which the Originals of 155 do yet remain. And for the Readers
Collect. *Numb.* 3. *Sect.* 3. further ſatisfaction, he ſhall find, in the Collection at the end of this Book, the names of all theſe Houſes ſo ſurrendred, with other particulars relating to them, which would too much weary him, if inſerted in the thread of this Work. But there was no Law to force any to make ſuch Reſignations. So that many of the great Abbots would not comply with the King in this matter, and ſtood it out till after the following Parliament that was in the 31th year of his Reign.

It was queſtioned by many, whether theſe ſurrenders could be good in Law, ſince the Abbots were but Truſtees and Tenants for Life. It was thought they could not abſolutely alienate, and give away their Houſe for ever. But the Parliament afterwards declared the Reſignations were good in Law. For by their Foundations all was truſted to the Abbot and the Senior Brethren of the Houſe; who
Divers opinions about theſe. putting the Covent-Seal to any Deed, it was of force in Law. It was alſo ſaid, that they thus ſurrendering, had forfeited their Charters and Foundations; and ſo the King might ſeize and poſſeſs them with a good Title, if not upon the Reſignation, yet upon Forfeiture. But others thought, that, whatſoever the Nicety of Law might give the King, yet there was no ſort of equity in it, that a few Truſtees, who were either bribed, or frighted, ſhould paſs away that which was none of theirs, but only given them in Truſt and for Life. Other Abbots were
Some Abbots attainted of Treaſon. more roughly handled. The Prior of *Wooburn* was ſuſpected of favouring the Rebels, of being againſt the Kings Supremacy, and for the Popes; and of being for the General Council then ſummoned to *Mantua*. And he was dealt with to make a ſubmiſſion and acknowledgment. In an account of a long Conference which he had with a Privy Counſellor under his own hand, I find that the great thing which he took offence at, was, That *Latimer* and ſome other Biſhops preached againſt the Veneration of the Bleſſed Virgin, and the other Saints: and that the *Engliſh* Bible then ſet out, differed in many things from the *Latin*, with ſeveral leſſer matters. So that they looked on their Religion as changed,

changed, and wondered that the Judgments of God upon Queen *Anne* had not terrified others from going on to ſubvert the Faith: yet he was prevailed with, and did again ſubmit to the King, and acknowledg his Supremacy; but he afterwards joyned himſelf to the Rebels and was taken with them, together with the Abbot of *Whaley*, and two Monks of his Houſe; and the Abbot of *Gervanx*, with a monk of his Houſe; and the Abbot of *Sawley* in *Lancaſhire*, with the Prior of that Houſe; and the Prior of *Burlington*; who were all attainted of High Treaſon, and Executed. The Abbots of *Glaſtenbury* and *Reading*, were men of great power and Wealth. The one was rated at 3508. *lib.* and the the other at 2116. *lib.* They ſeeing the ſtorm like to break out on themſelves, ſent a great deal of the Plate and Money that they had in their Houſe, to the Rebels in the North. Which being afterwards diſcovered, they were attainted of High Treaſon a year after this; but I mention it here for the affinity of the matter: Further particulars about the Abbot of *Reading* I have not yet diſcovered. But there is an account given to *Cromwel* of the proceedings againſt the Abbot of *Glaſtenbury* in two Letters which I have ſeen, the one was writ by the Sheriff of the County, the other by Sir *John Ruſſell*, who was preſent at his Trial, and was reputed a man of as great Integrity and Virtue as any in that time; which he ſeems to have left as an inheritance to that Noble Family that has deſcended from him. Theſe inform, that he was indicted of Burglary, as well as Treaſon; for having broken the Houſe in his Monaſtery where the Plate was kept, and taken it out, which as Sir *William Thomas* ſays, was ſent to the Rebels. The evidence being brought to the Jury, who (as Sir *John Ruſſel* writes,) were as good and worthy men as had ever been on any Jury in that County; they found him guilty. He was carried to the place of Execution, near his own Monaſtery; where (as the Sheriff writes) he acknowledged his guilt, and begged God and the King pardon for it. The Abbot of *Colcheſter* was alſo attainted of High Treaſon. What the particulars were I cannot tell. For the Record of their Attainders was loſt; But ſome of our own Writers deſervs a ſevere cenſure, who Write it was for denying the King Supremacy; whereas, if they had not undertaken to write the Hiſtory without any information at all, they muſt have ſeen that the whole Clergy, but moſt particularly the Abbots, had over aud over again acknowledged the Kings Supremacy. 1538

For clearing which and diſcovering the Impudence of *Sanders* Relation of this matter, I ſhall lay before the Reader, the Evidences that I find of the Submiſſion of theſe and all the other Abbots to the Kings Supremacy: Firſt, in the Convocation, in the 22d year of this Reign, they all acknowledged the King, *Supream Head of the Church of England.* They did all alſo ſwear to maintain the Act of the Succeſſion of the Crown, made in the 25th year of his Reign, in which the Popes Power was plainly condemned. For in the proceedings againſt *More and Fiſher*, it was frequently repeated to them, that all the Clergy had ſworn it. It is alſo entred in the Journal of the Houſe of Lords, that all the members of both Houſes ſwore it at their breaking up: And the ſame Journals inform us, that the Abbots of *Colcheſter* and *Reading* ſate in that Parliament, and as there

1537. there was no Proteſtation made againſt any of the Acts paſſed in that Seſſion, ſo it is often entred, that the Acts were agreed to by the Unanimous conſent of the Lords. It appears alſo by ſeveral Original Letters, that the heads of all the Religious Houſes in *England* had Signed that Poſition, *that the Pope had no more Juriſdiction in this Kingdom, than any forreign Biſhop whatſoever.* And it was rejected by none but ſome *Carthuſians*, and *Franciſcans* of the *Obſervance*, who were proceeded againſt, for refuſing to acknowledg it: When they were ſo preſſed in it, none can imagine that a Parliamentary Abbot would have been diſpenced with. And in the laſt Parliament, in which the ſecond Oath about the Succeſſion to the Crown was enacted, it was added, that they ſhould alſo ſwear the King to be the Supream head of the Church. The Abbots of *Glaſſenbury* and *Reading* were then preſent, as appears by the Journals, and conſented to it: So little reaſon there is for Imagining that they refuſed that, or any other Complyance that might ſecure them in their Abbies.

In particular, the Abbot of *Reading* had ſo got into *Cromwels* good opinion, that in ſome differences between him and *Shaxton* Biſhop of *Salisbury*, that was *Cromwels* creature, he had the better of the Biſhop. Upon which, *Shaxton*, who was a proud ill-natured man, wrote an high expoſtulating Letter to *Cromwell*, "Complaining of an Injun-"ction he had granted againſt him at the Abbots deſire. He alſo "ſhewed that in ſome conteſts between him and his Reſidentiaries, "and between him and the Major of *Salisbury*, *Cromwel* was always "againſt him: he likewiſe challenged him for not anſwering "his Letters. He tells him, God will judge him for abuſing his "Power as he did; he prays God to have pity on him, and to turn "his heart, with a great deal more provoking Language. He alſo adds many inſolent praiſes of himſelf; and his whole Letter is as extravagant a piece of vanity and inſolence, as ever I ſaw. To this *Cromwel* wrote an anſwer, that ſhews him to have been indeed a great man. The Reader will find it in the Collection, and ſee from it how modeſtly and diſcreetly he carryed his Greatneſs.

Collect. Numb. 8.

But how juſtly ſoever theſe Abbots were attainted, the ſeizing on their Abbey-Lands, purſuant to thoſe Attainders, was thought a great ſtretch of Law; ſince the Offence of an Eccleſiaſtical Incumbent is a Perſonal thing, and cannot prejudice the Church; no more than a ſecular man, who is in an Office, does by being Attainted, bring any diminution of the Rights of his Office on his ſucceſſors. It is true there were ſome words caſt into the thirteenth Act of the Parliament, in the 26th year of this Reign, by which divers Offences were made Treaſon, that ſeemed to have been deſigned for ſuch a purpoſe. The words are, that whatſoever Lands any Traytor had *of any Eſtate of Inheritance in uſe or poſſeſſion, by any Right, Title or Means*, ſhould be forfeited to the King. By which, as it is certain, Eſtates in Tayl were comprehended, ſo the Lands that any Traytor had in Poſſeſſion or uſe, ſeem to be included; and that the rather, becauſe by ſome following words their heirs and Succeſſors are for ever excluded. This either was not thought on when the Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was Attainted, or perhaps was not claimed, ſince the

the King intended not to leſſen the number of Biſhopricks, but rather to increaſe them. Beſides, the words of the Statute ſeem only to belong to an *Eſtate of Inheritance*: within which, Church-Benefices could not be included, without a great force put on them. 'Tis true the word *Succeſſor* favoured theſe ſeiſures, except that be thought an expletory word put in, out of form, but ſtill to be limited to an Eſtate of Inheritance. That word does alſo import, that ſuch Criminals might have ſucceſſors. But if the whole Abbey was forfeited, theſe Abbots could have no ſucceſſors: Yet it ſeems the ſeizures of theſe Abbeys were founded on that Statute, and this ſtretch of the Law occaſioned that Explanation, which was added of the words *Eſtate of Inheritance*, in the Statute made in *Edward* the Sixth's Reign about Treaſons: Where it is expreſſed, that Traitors ſhould forfeit to the Crown, what Lands they had of any *Eſtate of Inheritance*, to which is added *in their own Right*, it ſeems, on deſign to cut off all Pretence for ſuch Proceedings for the future, as had been in this Reign. But if there was any Illegality in theſe ſeizures, the following Parliament did at leaſt tacitly Juſtifie them. For they excepted out of the Proviſos made concerning the Abbies that were ſuppreſſed, ſuch as had been *forfeited and ſeized on by any Attaindors of Treaſon.* 1537.

Another Surrender is not unlike theſe, but rather leſs Juſtifiable. Many of the *Carthuſian* Monks of *London* were executed for their open denying of the Kings Supremacy, and for receiving Books from forreign parts againſt his Marriage and other proceedings; divers alſo of the ſame Houſe, that favoured them, but ſo ſecretly, that clear proof could not be found to convict them, were kept Priſoners in their Cells, till they dyed. But the Prior was a worthy man, of whom *Thomas Bedyl*, one of the Viſitors, writes, *that he was a man of ſuch Charity that he had not ſeen the like, and that the eyes of the people were much on that Houſe, and therefore he adviſed that the Houſe might be converted to ſome good uſe.* But the Prior was made to reſign, with this Preamble, "That many of that Houſe had offended the King, "ſo that their goods might be juſtly confiſcated, and themſelves "adjudged to a ſevere death: which they deſired to avoid, by an "humble Submiſſion, and Surrender of their Houſe to the King. But there were great Complaints made of the Viſitors, as if they had practiſed with the Abbots and Priors to make theſe Surrenders: and that they had conſpired with them to cheat the King, and had privately embezeled moſt of the Plate and furniture. The Abbeſs of *Cheapſtow* complained in particular of Doctor *London* one of the Viſitors, that he had been corrupting her Nuns: and generally it was cryed out on, that under-hand and ill practices were uſed. Therefore to quiet theſe reports, and to give ſome colour to juſtifie what they were about, all the foul Stories that could be found out were publiſhed to defame theſe Houſes. *Battel*-Abbey was repreſented to be a little *Sodom*; ſo was Chriſt Church in *Canterbury*, with ſeveral other Houſes. But for Whoredom and Adultery they found Inſtances without number; and of many other unnatural practices and ſecret Luſts, with arts to hinder Conceptions and make Abortions. But no ſtory became ſo publick, as a diſcovery made of the Prior of the *Croſſed Friars* in *London*; who on a Friday at eleven a Clock in the day was found in bed

1538. cated, and put under an Interdict upon his Account. But afterwards, upon the Interceſſion of the *French* King, King *Henry* and he were reconciled, and the Interdict was taken off. Yet his unquiet Spirit could take no reſt, for he was no ſooner at *Canterbury*, than he began to Embroyl the Kingdom again: and was proceeding by Cenſures againſt the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and ſome other Biſhops, for Crowning the Kings Son in his Abſence. Upon the news of that, the King being then in *Normandy*, ſaid, *If he had faithful Servants he would not be ſo troubled with ſuch a Prieſt*; whereupon ſome zealous or officious Courtiers, came over and killed him: For which, as the King was made to undergoe a ſevere pennance, ſo the Monks were not wanting in their ordinary Arts to give out many miraculous ſtories concerning his Blood. This ſoon drew a Canonization from *Rome*; and he being a Martyr for the Papacy, was more extolled than all the Apoſtles or Primitive Saints had ever been. So that for 300 years, he was accounted one of the greateſt Saints in Heaven, as may appear from the accounts in the leger-Books, of the offerings made to the three greateſt Altars in Chriſts Church in *Canterbury*. The one was to Chriſt, the other to the Virgin, and the third to St. *Thomas*. In one year there was offered at Chriſt's Altar, 3*lib.* 2*s.* 6*d.* To the Virgins Altar, 63*lib.* 5*s.* 6*d.* But to St. *Thomas*'s Altar 832*lib.* 12*s.* 3*d.* But the next year the odds grew greater; for there was not a penny offered at Chriſts Altar, and at the Virgins, only 4*lib.* 1*s.* 8*d.* But at St. *Thomas*'s 954 *lib.* 6 *s.* 3 *d.* By ſuch offerings it came, that his Shrine was of ineſtimable value. There was one Stone offered there by *Lewis* the 7th of *France*, who came over to viſit it, in a Pilgrimage, that was believed the Richeſt in *Europe*. Nor did they think it enough to give him one day in the Calendar the 29th of *December*; but unuſual honours were deviſed, for this Martyr of the liberties of the Church greater than any that had been given to the Martyrs for Chriſtianity. The day of raiſing his body, or as they called it, of his Tranſlation, being the 7th of *July*, was not only a holy-day, but every 50th year, there was a Jubilee for 15 days together, and Indulgence was granted, to all that came to viſit his ſhrine: as appears from the Record of the ſixth Jubilee, after his Tranſlation, *Anno.* 1420; which bears, that there were then about an hundred thouſand ſtrangers come to viſit his Tomb. The Jubilee began at twelve a clock on the Vigil of the feaſt, and laſted 15 days, by ſuch Arts they drew an incredible deal of wealth to his ſhrine. The Riches of that, together with his diſloyal practices, made the King reſolve both to un-ſhrine and un-Saint him at once. And then his skull, which had been much worſhipped, was found an Impoſture. For the true skull was lying with the reſt of his bones in his grave. The ſhrine was broken down, and carryed away; the Gold that was about it, filling two Cheſts, which were ſo heavy that they were a load to Eight ſtrong men to carry them out of the Church. And his bones were as ſome ſay burnt, ſo it was underſtood at *Rome*, but others ſay they were ſo mixed with other dead bones, that it would have been a Miracle indeed to have diſtinguiſhed them afterwards. The King alſo ordered his name to be ſtruck out of the Kalendar, and the office for his Feſtivity to be daſht out of all Breviaries.

Sonmers Antiquities of *Canterbury*.

And

And thus was the Superſtition of *England* to Images and Relicks extirpated. 1538.

Yet the King took care to qualifie the diſtaſte which the Articles publiſhed the former year had given. And though there was no Parliament in the year 1537. yet there was a Convocation; upon the Concluſion of which, there was Printed an Explanation of the chief points of Religion, Signed by nineteen Biſhops, eight Arch-Deacons, and ſeventeen Doctors of Divinity and Law. In which there was an Expoſition of the Creed, the ſeven Sacraments, the ten Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and the Salutation of the Virgin, with an Account of Juſtification and Purgatory. But this work was put in a better Form afterwards, where the Reader will find a more particular account of it. When all theſe Proceedings of the Kings were known at *Rome*, all the Satyrical Penns there were employed to paint him out, as the moſt Infamous Sacrilegious Tyrant that ever was. They repreſented him as one that made War with Heaven and the Saints that were there: That committed outrages on the bodies of the Saints, which the Heatheniſh Romans would have puniſhed ſeverely for any that committed the like on thoſe that were dead, how mean or bad ſoever they had been. All his proceedings againſt the Prieſts or Monks that were Attainted and Executed for high Treaſon, were repreſented as the effects of ſavage and barbarous Cruelty. His ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries, and devouring what the Devotion of former Ages had Conſecrated to God, and his Saints, was called Ravenous and Impious Sacrilege; nor was there any thing omitted that could make him appear to poſterity, the blackeſt Tyrant that ever wore a Crown. They compared him to *Pharaoh*, *Nabuchadonoſor*, *Belſhazar*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, and *Diocletian*; but chiefly to *Julian* the Apoſtate. This laſt Paralel liked them beſt, and his Learning, his Apoſtacy, and pretence of Reforming, were all thought copied from *Julian*; only they ſaid his manners were worſe. Theſe things were every day Printed at *Rome*, and the Informations that were brought out of *England* were generally addreſſed to Cardinal *Pool*, whoſe ſtyle was alſo known in ſome of them: All which poſſeſt the King with the deepeſt and moſt implacable hatred to him that ever he bore to any perſon, and did provoke him to all theſe ſeverities that followed on his Kindred and Family.

New Articles about Religion publiſhed.

Invectives againſt the King Printed at *Rome*.

But the malice of the Court of *Rome* did not ſtop there. For now the Pope publiſhed all theſe Thunders which he had threatned three years before. The Bull of Depoſition is Printed in *Cherubins Bullarum Romanum*, which ſince many have the confidence to deny matters of fact; the Moſt publickly acted, ſhall be found in the Collection Papers, the ſubſtance of it is as follows. "The Pope being Gods "Vicar on Earth; and according to *Jeremyes* Prophecy, ſet over Na- "tions and Kingdoms, *to root out and deſtroy*; and having *the ſupream* "*power over all the Kings in the whole World*; was bound to proceed "to due correction, when milder courſes were ineffectual; therefore "ſince King *Henry*, who had been formerly a *Defender of the Faith*, "had fallen from it; had contrary to an Inhibition made, put away "his Queen, and married one *Anne Bollein*, and had made Impious "and hurtful Laws; denying the Pope to be the Supream Head of

Collect. *Numb.* 9.

The Popes Bulls againſt the King.

1538. "the Church, but aſſuming that Title to himſelf; and had required "all his Subjects under pain of death to ſwear it; and had put the "Cardinal of *Rocheſter* to death, becauſe he would not conſent to "theſe Hereſies; and by all theſe things had rendred himſelf unwor- "thy of his Regal Dignity; and had hardened his heart (as *Pharoah* "did) againſt all the Admonitions of Pope *Clement* the 7th; there- "fore ſince theſe his crimes were ſo notorious, he in imitation of what "the Apoſtle did to *Elimas* the Magician, proceeds to ſuch Cenſures "as he had deſerved; and with the advice of his Cardinals, does "firſt exhort him and all his Complices, to return from their errours, "to annull the Acts lately made; and to proceed no farther upon "them: which he requires him and them to do, under the pains of "Excommunication and Rebellion, and of the Kings loſing his King- "dom; whom he required within 90 dayes, to appear at *Rome*, by "himſelf or Proxy, and his Complices within 60 dayes, to give an "account of their Actions; otherwiſe he would then proceed to a fur- "ther ſentence againſt them. And Declares, that if the King and his "Complices do not appear, he has fallen from the right to his Crown, "and they from the right to their Eſtates; and when they die, they "were to be denied Chriſtian Burial. He puts the whole Kingdom "under an Interdict; and declares all the Kings Children by the ſaid "*Anne*, and the Children of all his Complices, to be under the "ſame pains, though they be now under age; and Incapacitates them "for all honours or employments; and declares all the Subjects or "Vaſſals of the Kings or his Complices, abſolved from all Oaths or "Obligations to them, and requires them to acknowledg them no "more. And declares him and them Infamous, ſo that they might nei- "ther be witneſſes nor make Wills. He requires all other perſons "to have no dealings with him or them, neither by Trading, nor any "other way, under the pain of Excommunication; the annulling their "Contracts, and the expoſing goods ſo Traded in, to all that ſhould "catch them. And that all Clergymen ſhould within five dayes after "the expiration of the time prefixed, go out of the Kingdom; (lea- "ving only ſo many Prieſts as would be neceſſary for Baptizing In- "fants, and giving the Sacrament to ſuch as died in Penitence) un- "der the pains of Excommunication and Deprivation. And Charges "all Noble-men and others in his Dominions, under the ſame pains, "to riſe up in Arms againſt him, and to drive him out of his King- "dom; and that none ſhould take Arms for him, or any way aſſiſt "him: and Declares all other Princes abſolved from any Confede- "racies made, or to be made, with him; and earneſtly obteſts the Em- "perour and all Kings, and requires other Princes under the former "pains, to trade no more with him; and in caſe of their diſobedience "he puts their Kingdomes under an Interdict. And requires all "Princes and Military perſons, in the vertue of Holy Obedience, to "make War upon him, and to force him to return to the Obedience "of the Apoſtolick See; and to ſeize on all Goods, or Merchandizes "belonging to the King or his Complices, where-ever they could find "them; and that ſuch of his Subjects that were ſeized on, ſhould "be made Slaves. And requires all Biſhops, That Three dayes after the "time that was ſet down was elapſed, to intimate this Sentence in all

their

"their Churches, with putting out of Candles, and other Ceremonies 1538.
"that ought to be uſed, in the moſt ſolemn and publick manner that
"might be. And all who hindered the Publication of this Sentence, are
"put under the ſame Pains. He ordained this Sentence to be affixed at
"*Rome*, *Tournay*, and *Dunkirk*; which ſhould ſtand for a ſufficient
"publication; and concludes, that if any ſhould endeavour to oppoſe,
"or enervate any of the premiſes, he ſhould incur the indignati-
"tion of Almighty God, and the Holy Apoſtles, St. *Peter* and *Paul*.
"Dated at *Rome* the 30th of *Auguſt*, 1635. But the Pope found the Princes of Chriſtendom liked the precedent, of uſing a King in that manner, ſo ill, that he ſuſpended the Execution of this Bull till this time, that the ſuppreſſion of Abbies, and the burning of *Thomas Beckets* Bones (for it was ſo repreſented at *Rome*, though our writers ſay they were buried;) did ſo inflame the Pope, that he could forbear no longer; and therefore by a new ſentence he did all he could to ſhake him in his Throne.

"The Preamble of it was, That as our Saviour had pity on St. *Peter*
"after his fall, ſo it became St. *Peters* ſucceſſors to imitate our Saviour
"in his Clemency; and that therefore though he having heard of King
"*Henry*'s crimes, had proceeded to a ſentence againſt him; (Here the
"former Bull was recited.) Yet ſome other Princes who hoped he
"might be reclaimed by gentler methods, had interpoſed for a ſuſpen-
"ſion of the Sentence: and he being eaſie to believe, what he ſo ear-
"neſtly deſired, had upon their Interceſſion ſuſpended it. But now he
"found they had been deceived in their hopes, and that he grew
"worſe and worſe; and had done ſuch diſhonour to the Saints, as to
"raiſe St. *Thomas* of *Canterburies* body, to arraign him of High Trea-
"ſon, and to burn his Body, and Sacrilegiouſly to rob the Riches that
"had been offered to his Shrine, as alſo to ſuppreſs St. *Auſtins* Abbey
"in *Canterbury*; and that having thruſt out the Monks, he had put
"in wild Beaſts into their grounds, having transformed himſelf into a
"Beaſt. Therefore he takes off the Suſpenſion, and publiſhes the
"Bull, commanding it to be executed: Declaring that the affix-
"ing it at *Diepe* or *Bulloign* in *France*, at St. *Andrews* or *Calliſtren*,
"(that is *Callſtream*, a Town near the border of *England*,) in *Scotland*
"or *Tuam*, or *Artifert* in *Ireland*, or any two of theſe, ſhould be
"a ſufficient Publication. Dated the 7th of *December*, *Anno Dom.*
"1538.

No man can read theſe Bulls, but he muſt conclude that if the Pope be the Infallible and Univerſal Paſtor of the Church, whom all are bound to obey, he has a full authority over all Kings, to proceed to the higheſt Cenſures poſſible: and ſince the matters of fact, enumerated in the Sentence as the grounds of it, were certainly true; then if the Pope is either cloathed with the powers of Depoſing Princes, or if otherwiſe, he lied to the world when he pretended to it thus, and taught falſe Doctrine, which cannot ſtand with Infallibility. And the pretended grounds of the ſentence as to matter of fact, being evidently true, this muſt be a juſt Sentence; and therefore all that acknowledged the Infallibility of that See, were bound to obey it, and all the Rebellions that followed, during the reign of the King or his Children, were founded on this ſentence, and muſt be juſtified by it; otherwiſe the

Popes

1538. Popes Infallibility muſt fall to the ground. But this was to be ſaid for the Pope, that though he had raiſed the ſeveral branches of this Sentence, higher than any of his Predeceſſors had ever done; yet as to the main, he had very good and Authentick Precedents for what he did, from the Depoſitions of Emperours or Kings; that were made by former Popes for about 500 years together. This I thought needful to be more fully opened, becauſe of the preſent Circumſtances we are now in; ſince hereby every one that will conſider things, muſt needs ſee that the belief of the Popes Infallibility does neceſſarily inferr the acknowledgment of their power of depoſing Heretical Kings. For it is plain, the Pope did this *ex Cathedra*, and as a Paſtor Feeding and Correcting his Flock.

But not content with this he alſo Wrote to other Princes, inflaming them againſt the King; Particularly to the Kings of *France*, and *Scotland*. To the laſt of theſe he ſent a *Breve*; declaring King *Henry* a Heretique, a Schiſmatique, a manifeſt Adulterer, a publick Murtherer, a Rebel, and convict of High Treaſon againſt him, the Pope his Lord; for which Crimes he had depoſed him, and offered his Dominions to him, if he would go and Invade them. And thus the breach between him and the Pope was paſt reconciling: and at *Rome* it was declared equally meritorious to fight againſt him, as againſt the *Turk*. But *Card. Pool* made it more meritorious in his Book. Yet the Thunders of the *Vatican* had now loſt their force; ſo that theſe had no other effect but to enrage the King more againſt all ſuch as were ſuſpected to favour their intereſts, or to hold any correſpondence with Cardinal *Pool*. Therefore he firſt procured a Declaration againſt the Popes pretentions, to be Signed by all the Biſhops of *England*: In which, after they declared againſt the Popes Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, upon the grounds formerly touched, they concluded, "That the People ought to be Inſtructed, that Chriſt did expreſly forbid his "Apoſtles or their Succeſſors to take to themſelves the power of "the Sword, or the authority of Kings. And that, if the Biſhop of "*Rome*, or any other Biſhop aſſumed any ſuch power, he was a Ty-"rant and Uſurper of other mens Rights, and a ſubverter of the "Kingdom of Chriſt. This was ſubſcribed by 19 Biſhops, (all that were then in *England*,) and 25 Doctors of Divinity and Law. It was at ſome time before *May* 1538. For *Edward Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford* who was one that ſigned it died the 8th. of *May* that year. There was no Convocation called by Writ for doing this. For as there is no mention of any ſuch Writ in the Regiſters, ſo if it had been done by Convocation, *Cromwell* had ſigned it firſt; but his hand not being at it, it is more probable that a meeting of the Clergy was called by the Kings Miſſive Letters; or that as was once done before; the Paper was drawn at *London*, and ſent over the Kingdom to the Epiſcopal Sees, for the Biſhops hands to it.

Leſley, Hiſt. Scot.

The Clergy in *England* declared againſt theſe.

There is another original Paper extant, Signed at this time by eight Biſhops: from which I conjecture thoſe were all that were then about *London*. It was to ſhew, "That by the Commiſſion which "Chriſt gave to Church-men, they were only Miniſters of his Goſ-"pel, to Inſtruct the people in the purity of the Faith: But that by "other places of Scripture, the Authority of Chriſtian Princes over

Collect. *Numb.* 10.

all

"all their Subjects, as well Biſhops and Prieſts, as others, was alſo "clear. And that the Biſhops and Prieſts have charge of Souls with- "in their Cures, Power to adminiſter Sacraments, and to teach the "word of God: To the which word of God, Chriſtian Princes ac- "knowledg themſelves ſubject; and that in caſe the Biſhops be neg- "ligent, it is the Chriſtian Princes Office to ſee them do their du- ty. This, being Signed by *John Hilſey* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, muſt be after the year 1537. in which he was conſecrated; and *Latimer* and *Shaxton* alſo Signing, it muſt be before the year 1539. in which they reſigned. But I believe it was Signed at the ſame time that the other was: And the deſign of it was to refuſe thoſe Calumnies ſpread at *Rome*, as if the King had wholly Suppreſſed all Eccleſia- ſtical Offices, and denyed them any divine Authority, making them wholly dependent on the Civil Power, and Acting by Commiſſion only from him. And therefore they explained the limits of both theſe Powers, in ſo clear and moderate a way, that it muſt have ſtopt the Mouths of all Oppoſers. But whether there was any pub- lick uſe made of this Paper, I can by no means diſcover. 1538.

The King did alſo ſet forward the Printing of the *Engliſh* Bible, which was finiſhed this year, at *London*, by *Grafton* the Printer, who Printed 1500 of them at his own Charge. This Bible *Crom- wel* preſented to the King, and procured his Warrant, allowing all his Subjects in all his Dominions to read it, without controul or hazard. For which, the Arch-Biſhop wrote *Cromwel* a Letter of moſt hearty thanks, "dated the 13th of *Auguſt*. Who did now rejoyce that he "ſaw this day of Reformation, which he concluded was now riſen in "*England*, ſince the Light of Gods word did ſhine over it with- "out any Cloud. The Tranſlation had been ſent over to *France* to be Printed at *Paris*: the workmen in *England* not being judged able to do it, as it ought to be. Therefore in the year 1537. it was re- commended to *Bonners* care, who was then Ambaſſador at *Paris*, and was much in *Cromwels* favour, who was ſetting him up againſt *Gardiner*. He procured the King of *France*'s leave to Print it at *Pa- ris*, in a large Volume: but upon a complaint made by the *French* Clergy, the Preſs was ſtopt, and moſt of the Copies were ſeized on and publickly burnt: but ſome Copies were conveyed out of the way, and the work-men and fourms were brought over to *England*: where it was now finiſhed and publiſhed. And Injunctions were giv- en out in the Kings name, by *Cromwel* to all Incumbents, "to pro- "vide one of theſe Bibles, and ſet it up publickly in the Church, "and not to hinder or diſcourage the reading of it, but to encourage "all perſons to peruſe it, as being the true lively word of God, which "every Chriſtian ought to believe, embrace, and follow, if he expected "to be ſaved. And all were exhorted, not to make conteſts about "the Expoſition or ſenſe of any difficult place, but to refer that to "men of higher judgment in the Scriptures. Then ſome other Rules "were added, about the Inſtructing the people in the Principles of "Religion, by teaching the Creed, the Lords Prayer, and ten Com- "mandments in *Engliſh*: And that in every Church there ſhould be "a Sermon, made every quarter of an year, at leaſt, to declare to "the people the true Goſpel of Chriſt, and to exhort them to the "works

The Bible Printed in *Engliſh*.

New injunctions ſet out by the King.

Collect. *Numb.* 11.

1538. "works of Charity, Mercy, and Faith : and not to truſt in other "mens works, or Pilgrimages, to Images, or Relicks, or ſaying o- "ver Beads, which they did not underſtand ; ſince theſe things tend- "ed to Idolatry and Superſtition, which of all offences did moſt pro- "voke Gods Indignation. They were to take down all Images, which "were abuſed by Pilgrimages, or offerings made to them ; and to "ſuffer no Candles to be ſet before any Image ; only there might be "Candles before the Croſs, and before the Sacrament, and about the Se- "pulchre : And they were to Inſtruct the people, that Images ſerv- "ed only as the Books of the un-learned, to be remembrances of the "Converſations of them whom they repreſented : but if they made "any other uſe of Images, it was Idolatry : for remedying whereof, "as the King had already done in part, ſo he intended to do more "for the aboliſhing ſuch Images, which might be a great offence to "God, and a danger to the Souls of his Subjects. And if any of "them had formerly Magnified ſuch Images, or Pilgrimages, to ſuch "purpoſes ; They were ordered openly to recant, and acknowledg, "that in ſaying ſuch things they had been led by no ground in Scrip- "ture ; but where deceived by a vulgar error, which had crept in- "to the Church, through the Avarice of thoſe who had profit by "it. They were alſo to diſcover all ſuch as were Letters of the read- "ing of Gods word in *Engliſh*, or hindred the Execution of theſe "Injunctions. Then followed orders for keeping of Regiſters in their "Pariſhes, for Reading all the Kings Injunctions once every quarter "at leaſt : That none were to alter any of the Holy-days without di- "rections from the King : And all the Eves of the Holy-days for- "merly abrogated, were declared to be no Faſting-days : The "Commemoration of *Thomas Becket* was to be clean omitted : The "kneeling for the Avies after Sermon were alſo forbidden ; which "were ſaid in hope to obtain the Popes Pardon. And whereas in "their Proceſſions they uſed to ſay ſo many Suffrages with an *Ora* "*pro nobis* to the Saints, by which they had not time to ſay the Suf- "frages to God himſelf, they were to teach the people, that it were "better to omit the *Ora pro nobis*, and to ſing the other Suffrages which "were moſt neceſſary and moſt effectual.

Theſe Injunctions ſtruck at three main Points of Popery : containing encouragements to the vulgar, to Read the Scriptures in a known tongue, and putting down all worſhip of Images, and leaving it free for any Curate to leave out the Suffrages to the Saints. So that they were looked on as a deadly blow to that Religion. But now thoſe of that party did ſo Artificially comply with the King, that no advantages could be found againſt any of them for their diſobedience. The King was Maſter at home, and no more to be diſobeyed. He had not only broken the Rebellion of his own Subjects, and ſecured himſelf by Alliance from the dangers threatned him by the Pope ; but all their expectations from the Lady *Mary* were now clouded : For on the 12th of *October* 1537. Queen *Jane* had born him a Son ; who was Chriſtned *Edward* ; the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* being one of his God-Fathers. This very much encouraged. all that were for Reformation, and diſheartned thoſe who were againſt it. But the joy for this young Prince was qualified by the Queens death,

Prince *Edward* born.

two

two days after; which afflicted the King very much: for of all his Wives, ſhe was the deareſt to him. And his grief for that loſs is given as the reaſon, why he continued two years a Widower. But others thought he had not ſo much tenderneſs in his Nature, as to be much or long troubled for any thing. Therefore the ſlowneſs of his Marrying was aſcribed to ſome reaſons of State. But the Birth of the Prince was a great diſappointment to all thoſe whoſe hopes reſted on the Lady *Maries* ſucceeding her Father: Therefore they ſubmitted themſelves with more than ordinary Compliance to the King. 1538.

Gardiner was as buſie as any in declaiming againſt the Religious Houſes, and took occaſion in many of his Sermons to commend the King for ſuppreſſing them: The Arch-Biſhop of *York* had recovered himſelf at Court: And I do not find that he interpoſed in the Suppreſſion of any of the Religious Houſes, except *Hexham*, about which he wrote to *Cromwel*, that it was a great Sanctuary when the *Scots* made Inroads: And ſo he thought that the continuing of it might be of great uſe to the King. He added in that Letter, "that he did "carefully ſilence all the Preachers of Novelties. But ſome of theſe "boaſted, that they would ſhortly have Licences from the King, as "he heard they had already from the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; "but he deſired *Cromwel* to prevent that miſchief. This is all that I find of him. Great Compliances by the Popiſh party.

There is a Pardon granted to *Stokeſly* Biſhop of *London*, on the 3d of *July*, in the 30th year of his Reign being this year, for having Acted by Commiſſion from *Rome*, and ſued out Bulls from thence. If theſe crimes were done before the Separation from *Rome*, they were remitted by the General Pardon: If he took a particular Pardon, it ſeems ſtrange that it was not enrolled till now. But I am apt to believe it was rather the Omiſſion of a Clerk, than his being guilty of ſuch a Tranſgreſſion about this time; for I ſee no cauſe to think the King would have Pardoned ſuch a Crime in a Biſhop in thoſe days. All that Party had now by their complyance and Submiſſion gained ſo much on the King, that he began to turn more to their Councils, than he had done of late years. *Gardiner* was returned from *France*, where he had been Ambaſſador for ſome years: He had been alſo in the Emperors Court, and there were violent preſumptions that he had ſecretly reconciled himſelf to the Pope, and entred into a Correſpondence with him. For one of the Legates Servants diſcourſed of it at *Ratisbone*, to one of Sir *Henry Knevets* retinue (who was joyned in the Embaſſy with *Gardiner*,) whom he took to be *Gardiners* Servant, and with whom he had an old acquaintance. The matter was traced, and *Knevet* ſpoke with the *Italian* that had firſt let it fall, and was perſwaded of the truth of the thing: But *Gardiner* ſmelling it out, ſaid, That *Italian* upon whoſe Teſtimony the whole matter depended, was corrupted to ruine him; and complained of it to the Emperors Chancellor *Granvel*: Upon which *Ludovico* (that was the *Italian* name) was put in Priſon. And it ſeems the King either looked on it as a Contrivance of *Gardiners* enemies, or at leaſt ſeemed to do ſo, for he continued ſtill to employ him. Yet on many occaſions he expreſſed great contempt of him, and uſed him

1538 not as a Councellor, but as a ſlave. But he was a man of great cunning, and had obſerved the Kings temper exactly, and knew well to take a fit occaſion for moving the King in any thing, and could improve it dextrouſly. He therefore repreſented to the King, that nothing would ſo ſecure him both at home, and abroad, againſt all the miſchief the Pope was contriving, as to ſhew great zeal againſt Hereticks, chiefly the *Sacramentaries*, (by that name they branded all that denied the Corporal preſence of Chriſt in the Euchariſt.) And the King being all his life, zealous for the belief of the Corporal preſence, was the more eaſily perſwaded to be ſevere on that Head: And the rather becauſe the Princes of *Germany*, whoſe friendſhip was neceſſary to him, being all *Lutherans*, his proceedings againſt the *Sacramentaries* would give them no offence.

Gardiner ſtirs up the King againſt thoſe called *Sacramentaries.*

An occaſion at that time preſented it ſelf as opportunely as they could have wiſhed, one *John Nicolſon*, alias *Lambert*, was then queſtioned by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* for that opinion. He had been Miniſter of the *Engliſh* Company at *Antwerp*; where being acquainted with *Tindal* and *Frith*, he improved that knowledg of Religion, which was firſt infuſed in him by *Bilney*: But Chancellor *More* ordered the Merchants to diſmiſs him; ſo he came over to *England*, and was taken by ſome of Arch-Biſhop *Warham's* officers, and many Articles were objected to him. But *Warham* died ſoon after, and the change of Counſels that followed occaſioned his Liberty. So he kept a School at *London*, and hearing Doctor *Taylor*, afterwards Biſhop of *Lincoln*, Preach of the preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament, he came to him upon it, and offered his reaſons why he could not believe the Doctrine he had Preached: Which he put in Writing, digeſting them into ten Arguments. *Taylor* ſhewed this to Doctor *Barnes*, who as he was bred among the *Lutherans*, ſo had not only brought over their opinions, but their temper with him: He thought that nothing would more obſtruct the progreſs of the Reformation than the venting that Doctrine in *England*. Therefore *Taylor* and he carryed the Paper to *Cranmer*, who was at that time alſo of *Luthers* opinion, which he had drunk in from his friend *Oſiander*. *Latimer* was of the ſame belief. So *Lambert* was brought before them, and they ſtudyed to make him retract his Paper: But all was in vain, for *Lambert* by a fatal reſolution appealed to the King.

And *Lambert* in particular.

Who had appealed to the King.

This *Gardiner* laid hold on, and perſwaded the King to proceed ſolemnly and ſeverely in it. The King was ſoon prevailed with, and both Intereſt and Vanity concurred to make him improve this opportunity, for ſhewing his zeal and Learning. So Letters were written to many of the Nobility and Biſhops, to come and ſee this Tryal; in which the King intended to ſit in Perſon, and to manage ſome part of the Argument. In *November*, on the day that was prefixed, there was a great appearance in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, of the Biſhops, and Clergy, the Nobility, Judges, and the Kings Council; with an incredible number of Spectators. The Kings Guards were all in White, and ſo was the Cloth of State.

When the Priſoner was brought to the Barr. The Tryal was opened by a Speech of Doctor *Dayes*, which was to this effect: "That this Aſſembly was not at all convened to diſ-

And was publickly tryed at *Weſtminſter.*

"pute

"pute about any Point of Faith; but that the King being Supream "Head, intended openly to condemn and confute that mans Hereſie "in all their preſence. Then the King commanded him to declare his opinion about the Sacrament. To which *Lambert* began his anſwer with a Preface, acknowledging the Kings great goodneſs, that he would thus hear the Cauſes of his Subjects, and commending his great Judgment and Learning. In this the King interrupted him, telling him in Latine, that he came not there to hear his own praiſes ſet forth, and therefore commanded him to ſpeak to the matter. This he uttered with a ſtern Countenance; At which *Lambert* being a little diſordered, the King asked him again, whether was Chriſt's body in the Sacrament or not? He anſwered in the Words of St. *Auſtine*, *It was his Body in a certain manner.* But the King bade him anſwer plainly, whether it was Chriſts Body or not? So he anſwered, *That it was not his Body.* Upon which the King urged him with the words of Scripture, *This is my Body*; and then he commanded the Arch-Biſhop to confute his Opinion, who ſpoke only to that part of it, which was grounded on the Impoſſibility of a Bodies being in two places at once. And that he confuted from Chriſts appearing to St. *Paul*; ſhewing that though he is alwayes in Heaven, yet he was ſeen by St. *Paul* in the Air. But *Lambert* affirmed, that he was then only in Heaven; and that St. *Paul* heard a Voice, and ſaw a Viſion, but not the very body of Chriſt. Upon this they diſputed for ſome time: in which it ſeems the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* thought *Cranmer* argued but faintly, for he interpoſed in the Argument. 1538. Arguments brought againſt him.

Tonſtals arguments run all upon Gods Omnipotency, that it was not to be limited by any appearances of difficulties, which flowed from our want of a right underſtanding of things; and our Faculties being weak, our notions of Impoſſibilities were proportioned to theſe. But *Stokeſley* thought he had found out a Demonſtration that might put an end to the whole Controverſie; for he ſhewed, that in Nature we ſee one ſubſtance changed into another, and yet the accidents remain. So when Water is boyled, till it evaporates into Air, one ſubſtance is changed into another, and moyſture that was the accident remains, it being ſtill moiſt. This (as one of the eye-witneſſes relates) was received with great applauſe, and much joy appeared in the Biſhops looks upon it. But whether the Spectators could diſtinguiſh well between Laughter for Joy, and a ſcornful ſmile, I cannot tell: For certainly this Crotchet muſt have provoked the latter rather; ſince it was a Sophiſme, not to be forgiven any above a Junior Sophiſter; thus from an accidental converſion, where the ſubſtance was ſtill the ſame, only altered in its Form and Qualities, (according to the Language of that Philoſophy, which was then moſt in vogue,) to infer a ſubſtantial mutation, where one ſubſtance was annihilated, and a new one produced in its place. But theſe arguments it ſeems diſorder'd *Lambert* ſomewhat; and either the Kings ſtern looks, the variety of the Diſputants, ten, one after another, engaging with him, or the greatneſs of the preſence, with the length of the action, which continued five hours, put him in ſome confuſion; it is not improbable but they might in the end bring him to be quite ſilent. This one that was preſent ſaid, flowed from his being ſpent and wearied; and that he ſaw what

1538. what he ſaid was little conſidered: but others aſcribed it to his being confounded with the arguments that were brought againſt him. So the general applauſe of the Hall, gave the victory on the Kings ſide. When he was thus ſilent, the King asked him if he was convinced by theſe arguments, and whether he would live or die? He anſwered, *That he committed his Soul to God, and ſubmitted his Body to the Kings Clemency.* But the King told him, if he did not recant he muſt die, for he would not be a Patron of Hereticks; and ſince he would not do that, the King ordered *Cromwel* to read the Sentence, (which he as "the Kings Vice-gerent did,) declaring him an Incorrigible Heretick, and condemning him to be burnt. Which was ſoon after executed in *Smithfield*, in a moſt barbarous manner; for when his Legs and Thighs were burnt to the Stumps, there not being fire enough to conſume the reſt of him ſuddenly, two of the Officers raiſed up his body on their Halberds, he being yet alive, and crying out, *None but Chriſt, none but Chriſt*; and then they let him fall down into the Fire, where he was quickly conſumed to aſhes. He was a learned and good man. His anſwers to the Articles objected to him by *Warham* and a Book which in his Impriſonment he wrote for juſtifying his opinion, which he directed to the King; do ſhew both great Learning for thoſe times, and a very good Judgment.

He is condemned.

And Burned.

This being done, the party that oppoſed the Reformation, perſwaded the King that he had got ſo much reputation to himſelf by it, that it would effectually refute all aſperſions, which had been caſt on him, as if he intended to change the Faith: neither did they forget to ſet on him in his weak ſide, and magnifie all that he had ſaid, as if the Oracle had uttered it: By which they ſaid it appeared he was indeed a Defender of the Faith, and the Supream Head of the Church. And he had ſo good a conceit of what was then done, that he intended to purſue theſe ſeverities further; and therefore ſoon after he reſolved on Summoning a Parliament, partly for confirming what he had done, and compleating what remained to be done further, in the ſuppreſſion of the Monaſteries; and likewiſe for making a new Law for puniſhing ſome Opinions, which were then ſpreading about the Sacrament, and ſome other Articles, as will ſoon appear.

The Popiſh party gain ground at Court.

Now the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*'s Intereſt at Court, ſuffered a great diminution: His chief friend among the Biſhops, was *Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*, who was much eſteemed, and imployed by the King. He was a Privy-Councellor, and had been imployed in a Negotiation with the Princes of *Germany*, to whom he was a very acceptable Miniſter. They propoſed, That the King would receive the *Ausburg* Confeſſion, except in ſuch things as ſhould be altered in it by common Conſent, and defend it in a free Council, if any ſuch were called; and that neither of them ſhould acknowledg any Council called by the Pope: That the King ſhould be called the Patron of their League, and they ſhould mutually aſſiſt one another, the King giving 100000 Crowns a year towards the defence of the League.

The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* being then in *France*, did much diſſwade the King from making a Religious League with them; againſt which he

he gave ſome plauſible politick reaſons, for his Conſcience never ſtrugled with a maxim of State. But the King liked moſt of the propoſitions; only he would not accept the Title of Defender of their League, till ſome differences in the Doctrine were agreed. So they were to have ſent over *Sturmius* as their Agent; and *Melanchthon*, *Bucer*, and *George Draco*, to confer with the Kings Divines. But upon Queen *Anne's* fall this vaniſhed; and though the King entered into a Civil League with them, and had frequently a mind to bring over *Melanchthon*, for whom he had a great value, yet it never took effect. There were three things in which the *Germans* were more poſitive than in any other point of Reformation. Theſe were, the Communion in both kinds, the worſhip in a known Tongue, and an allowance for the marriage of the Clergy. All the people had got theſe things in their heads; ſo that it was generally believed, that if the Pope had in time conſented to them, the Progreſs of the Reformation had been much ſtopped. The expreſs words of the Inſtitution, and the Novelty of the contrary practice, had engaged that Nation very early for Communion in both kinds. Common ſenſe made them all deſire to underſtand what they did and ſaid in the Worſhip of God; and the lewd and diſſolute practices of the unmarried Clergy, were ſo publick, that they thought the honour of their Families, of which that Nation is extremely ſenſible, could not be ſecured, unleſs the Clergy might have Wives of their own. But at theſe the King ſtuck more, than at other things that were more diſputable. For in all other points that were material, he had ſet up the Doctrine of the *Ausburg* Confeſſion; and there was good ground to hope that the Evidence of at leaſt two of theſe would have brought over the King to a fuller Agreement, and firmer Union with them. But the Biſhop of *Hereford's* death gave a great blow to that deſign. For though that party thought they had his room well filled, when they had got *Bonner* to be his Succeſſor; yet they found afterwards what a fatal miſtake they committed, in raiſing him now to *Hereford*, and tranſlating him within a few months to *London*, vacant by *Stokeſleys* death. But during the vacancy of the See of *Hereford*, *Cranmer* held a Viſitation in it, where he left ſome Injunctions (to be found in the Collection) which chiefly related to the encouraging of reading the Scriptures, and giving all due obedience to the Kings Injunctions. For the other Biſhops that adhered to *Cranmer*, they were rather clogs than helps to him. *Latimers* ſimplicity and weakneſs made him be deſpiſed: *Shaxtons* proud and litigious humour drew hatred on him: *Barlow* was not very diſcreet; and many of the Preachers whom they cheriſhed, whether out of an unbridled forwardneſs of temper, or a true zeal that would not be managed and governed by politick and prudent meaſures, were flying at many things that were not yet aboliſhed. Many complaints were brought of theſe to the King. Upon which, letters were ſent to all the Biſhops in the Kings name, to take care that as the People ſhould be inſtructed in the truth, ſo they ſhould not be unwarily charged with too many novelties; ſince the publiſhing theſe, if it was not tempered with great diſcretion, would raiſe much contention, and other inconveniencies that might be of dangerous conſequence. But it ſeems this Caveat did not produce what was deſigned by

1538.

The Kings correſpondence with the *German* Princes.

Bonners diſſimulation.

Coll. Numb. 12.

1538. by it, or at leaſt the oppoſite party were ſtill bringing in new Complaints: for I have ſeen an original Letter of *Cromwels* to the Biſhop of *Landaffe*, bearing date the 6th of *January*: In which he makes mention of the Kings Letters ſent to that purpoſe, and requires him to look to the Execution of them, both againſt the violence of the new Preachers, and againſt thoſe that ſecretly carried on the pretended authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*; otherwiſe he threatens to proceed againſt him in an other manner. All theſe things concurred to leſſen *Cranmers* intereſt in the Court; nor had he any firm friend there but *Cromwel*, who was alſo careful to preſerve himſelf: There was not a Queen now in the Kings boſome to favour their motions. Queen *Jane* had been their friend, though ſhe came in *Anne Bolleyns* room that had ſupported them moſt. The King was obſerved to be much guided by his Wives, as long as they kept their intereſt with him. Therefore *Cromwel* thought the only way to retrieve a deſign that was almoſt loſt, was to engage the King in an Alliance with ſome of the Princes of *Germany*; from whence he had heard much of the Beauty of the Lady *Anne* of *Cleve*, the Duke of *Cleve's* Siſter, whoſe elder ſiſter was married to the Duke of *Saxony*.

Goll. Numb. 13.

A new Parliament.

But while he was ſetting this on foot, a Parliament was ſummoned to meet the 28th of *April*. To which all the Parliamentary Abbots had their Writs. The Abbots of *Weſtminſter*, St. *Albans*, St. *Edmundſbury*, St *Mary York*, *Glaſſenbury*, *Gloceſter*, *Ramſey*, *Eveſham*, *Peterborrough*, *Reading*, *Malmesbury*, *Croyland*, *Selby*, *Thorny*, *Winchelcomb*, *Waltham*, *Cirenceſter*, *Teukesbury*, *Colcheſter* and *Taveſtoke*, ſate in it. On the 5th of *May*, the Lord Chancellour acquainted them, that the King being moſt deſirous to have all his Subjects of one mind in Religion; and to quiet all Controverſies about it, had commanded him to move to them, that a Committee might be appointed for examining theſe different opinions, and drawing up Articles for an agreement, which might be reported and conſidered by the Houſe. To this the Lords agreed, and named for a Committee, *Cromwel* the Vice-gerent, the two Arch-Biſhops, the Biſhops of *Dureſme*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Ely*, *Bangor*, *Carliſle* and *Worceſter*: Who were ordered to go about it with all haſte, and were diſpenced with for their attendance in the Houſe, till they had ended their buſineſs. But they could come to no agreement; for the Arch-biſhop of *Canterbury*, having the Biſhops of *Ely* and *Worceſter* to ſecond him, and being favoured by *Cromwel*, the other five could carry nothing againſt them: Nor would either party yeeld to the other, ſo that 11 dayes paſſed in theſe debates.

The 6 Articles are propoſed.

On the 16th of *May*, the Duke of *Norfolk* told the Lords, That the Committee that was named had made no progreſs, for they were not of one mind; which ſome of the Lords had objected, when they were firſt named. Therefore he offered ſome Articles to the Lords conſideration, that they might be examined by the whole Houſe, and that there might be a perpetual Law made for the obſervation of them, after the Lords had freely delivered their minds about them. The Articles were.

"*Firſt*, Whether in the Euchariſt, Chriſts real Body was preſent "without any Tranſubſtantiation?" (ſo it is in the Journal *abſque "Tranſubſtantiatione*) it ſeems ſo the Corporal Preſence had been "eſtabliſhed,

"eſtabliſhed, they would have left the manner of it indefinite. 1539.
"*Secondly*, Whether that Sacrament was to be given to the Laity
"in both kinds?

"*Thirdly*, Whether the Vows of Chaſtity, made either by Men or
"Women, ought to be obſerved, by the Law of God?

"*Fourthly*, Whether by the Law of God private Maſſes ought to
"be celebrated?

Fifthly, Whether Prieſts by the Law of God might marry?

"*Sixthly*, Whether Auricular Confeſſion were neceſſary by the Law
"of God?

Againſt theſe the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* argued long. For the firſt, he was then in his opinion a *Lutheran*, ſo he was not like to ſay much againſt it. But certainly he oppoſed the ſecond much; ſince there was not any thing for which thoſe with whom he held correſpondence were more earneſt, and ſeemed to have greater advantages, both from Chriſts own words in the Inſtitution, and the conſtant practice of the Church for 12 ages. Reaſons againſt them.

For the *Third*, It ſeemed very hard to ſuppreſs ſo many Monaſteries, and ſet the Religious perſons at liberty, and yet bind them up to Chaſtity. That ſame Parliament by another Act, abſolved them from their vow of Poverty, giving them Power to purchaſe Lands: now it was not reaſonable to bind them up to ſome parts of their Vow, when they abſolved them from the reſt. And it was no ways prudent to bind them up from Marriage, ſince, as long as they continued in that State, they were ſtill capable to re-enter into their Monaſteries, when a fair occaſion ſhould offer; whereas they upon their Marrying, did effectually lay down all poſſible pretenſions to their former Houſes.

For the *Fourth*, The Aſſerting the Neceſſity of private Maſſes, was a plain Condemnation of the Kings proceedings in the Suppreſſion of ſo many Religious Houſes, which were Societies chiefly dedicated to that purpoſe. For if theſe Maſſes did profit the Souls departed, the deſtroying ſo many Foundations could not be juſtified. And for the living, theſe private Maſſes were clearly contrary to the firſt Inſtitution, by which that which was bleſſed and conſecrated was to be diſtributed: And it was to be a Communion, and ſo held by the Primitive Church, which admitted none, ſo much as to ſee the Celebration of that Sacrament, but thoſe who received it: Laying Cenſures upon ſuch as were preſent at the reſt of that office, and did not ſtay and Communicate.

For the *Fifth*, it touched *Cranmer* to the quick, for he was then Marryed. The Scripture did in no place enjoyn the Celibat of the Clergy. On the contrary Scripture ſpeaks of their Wives, and gives the Rules of their living with them. And St. *Paul* in expreſs words condemns all mens leaving their Wives, without exception, ſaying *That the man hath not Power over his own body but the Wife.* In the Primitive Church, though thoſe that were in orders did not Marry, yet ſuch as were Marryed before Orders kept their Wives, of which there were many Inſtances, and when ſome moved in the Council of *Nice*, that all that had been Marryed, when they entred into Orders, ſhould put away their Wives, it was rejected, and ever ſince the

Greek

1539. *Greek* Churches have allowed their Prieſts to keep their Wives. Nor was it ever commanded in the Weſtern Church, till the Popes began their Uſurpation. Therefore the prohibition of it being only grounded on the Papal Conſtitutions, it was not reaſonable to keep it up, ſince that Authority on which it was built was now overthrown.

What was ſaid concerning Auricular Confeſſion, I cannot ſo eaſily recover. For though *Cranmer* argued three days againſt theſe Articles, I can only gather the ſubſtance of his Arguments from what himſelf wrote on ſome of theſe Heads afterwards. For nothing remains of what paſſed there, but what is conveyed to us in the Journal, which is ſhort and defective.

On the 24th of *May* the Parliament was Prorogued to the 30th, upon what reaſon it does not appear. It was not to ſet any of the Bills backward; for it was agreed, that the Bills ſhould continue in the State in which they were then, till their next meeting. When they met again; on the 30th of *May* being *Friday*, the Lord Chancellor intimated to them, that not only the Spiritual Lords, but the King himſelf, had taken much pains to bring things to an agreement which was effected. Therefore he moved in the Kings name, that a Bill might be brought in for puniſhing ſuch as offended againſt theſe Articles. So the Lords appointed the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Ely*, and St. *Davids*, and Doctor *Petre*, a maſter of Chancery, (afterwards Secretary of State,) to draw one Bill; and the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Dureſm*, and *Wincheſter*, and Doctor *Tregonnel*, another Maſter of Chancery, to draw another Bill about it; and to have them both ready, and to offer them to the King by Sunday next. But the Bill that was drawn by the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, and thoſe with him, was beſt liked: yet it ſeems the Matter was long conteſted, for it was not brought to the Houſe before the 7th of *June*; and then the Lord Chancellor offered it, and it was read the firſt time. On the 9th of *June* it had the ſecond reading, and on the 10th it was engroſſed and read the third time. But when it paſſed, the King deſired the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* to go out of the Houſe, ſince he could not give his conſent to it; but he humbly excuſed himſelf, for he thought he was bound in conſcience to ſtay and vote againſt it. It was ſent down to the Houſe of Commons, where it met with no great oppoſition; for on the 14th it was agreed to, and ſent up again: And on the 28th it had the force of a Law by the Royal Aſſent.

The Title of it was, an Act *for aboliſhing Diverſity of opinions in certain Articles concerning Chriſtian Religion.* It is ſaid in the Preamble, that the King, "conſidering the bleſſed effects of union, and the miſchiefs "of diſcord, ſince there were many different opinions, both among "the Clergy and Laity, about ſome points of Religion, had called "this Parliament, and a Synod at the ſame time, for removing theſe "differences, where ſix Articles were propoſed, and long debated by "the Clergy: And the King himſelf had come in perſon to the Par-"liament, and Council, and opened many things of high Learning "and great knowledg about them: And that he, with the Aſſent of "both Houſes of Parliament, had agreed on the following Articles.

An Act paſt for them.

"*Firſt*

"*Firſt*, That in the Sacrament of the Altar after the Conſecration 1539.
"there remained no Subſtance of Bread and Wine, but under theſe
"forms, the Natural Body and Blood of Chriſt were preſent. *Secondly*,
"That Communion in both kinds was not neceſſary to Salvation to all
"perſons by the Law of God; but that both the Fleſh and Blood of
"Chriſt were together in each of the kinds. *Thirdly*, That Prieſts
"after the order of Prieſthood might not Marry by the Law of God.
"*Fourthly*, That vows of Chaſtity ought to be obſerved by the Law
"of God. *Fifthly*, That the uſe of private Maſſes ought to be con-
"tinued; which as it was agreeable to Gods Law, ſo men received
"great benefit by them. *Sixthly*, That Auricular Confeſſion was ex-
"pedient, and neceſſary, and ought to be retained in the Church.
"The Parliament thanked the King, for the pains he had taken in
"theſe Articles: And Enacted, that if any after the 12th of *July*,
"did ſpeak, preach, or write againſt the firſt Article, they were to
"be judged Hereticks, and to be burnt without any abjuration; and
"to forfeit their real and perſonal Eſtates to the King. And thoſe
"who preached or obſtinately diſputed againſt the other Articles,
"were to be judged Felons; and to ſuffer death as Felons, without
"benefit of Clergy. And thoſe, who either in word or writing, ſpake
"againſt them, were to be Priſoners during the Kings pleaſure, and
"forfeit their goods and Chattels to the King, for the firſt time: And
"if they offended ſo the ſecond time, they were to ſuffer as Felons.
"All the Marriages of Prieſts are declared void; and if any Prieſt did
"ſtill keep any ſuch woman, whom he had ſo Marryed, and lived
"familiarly with her, as with his Wife, he was to be judged a Fe-
"lon: And if a Prieſt lived carnally with any other woman, he was
"upon the firſt Conviction to forfeit his Benefices, Goods, and Chat-
"tels, and to be Impriſoned during the Kings pleaſure; and upon the
"ſecond Conviction, was to ſuffer as a Felon. The women ſo of-
"fending, were alſo to be puniſhed in the ſame manner, as the Prieſts;
"and thoſe who contemned, or abſtained from Confeſſion, or the Sa-
"crament, at the accuſtomed times, for the firſt offence were to for-
"feit their Goods and Chattels, and be Impriſoned; and for the ſe-
"cond, were to be adjudged of Felony. And for the Execution of
"this Act, Commiſſions were to be iſſued out to all Arch-Biſhops
"and Biſhops, and their Chancellors and Commiſſaries, and ſuch o-
"thers in the ſeveral ſhires as the King ſhould name, to hold their
"Seſſions quarterly, or oftner; and they were to proceed upon pre-
"ſentments, and by a Jury. Thoſe Commiſſioners were to ſwear,
"that they ſhould execute their Commiſſion indifferently, without
"favour, affection, corruption, or malice. As Eccleſiaſtical Incumbents
"were to read this Act in their Churches once a quarter. And in
"the end a Proviſo was added, concerning vows of Chaſtity. That
"they ſhould not oblige any, except ſuch as had taken them at or
"above the Age of 21 years; or had not been compelled to take
"them.

This Act was received, by all that ſecretly favoured Popery, with great joy; for now they hoped to be revenged on all thoſe who had hitherto ſet forward a Reformation. It very much quieted the Bigots; who were now perſwaded that the King would not ſet up Heſie which is variouſly cenſured.

1539. reſie, ſince he paſſed ſo ſevere an Act againſt it; and it made the total Suppreſſion of Monaſteries go the more eaſily thorough. The Popiſh Clergy liked all the Act very well, except that ſevere branch of it againſt their unchaſt practices. This was put in by *Cromwel* to make it cut with both edges. (Some of our inconſiderate Writers, who never peruſed the Statutes, tell us it was done by a different Act of Parliament; but greater faults muſt be forgiven them who write upon hearſay.) There was but one comfort that the poor Reformers could pick out of the whole Act, that they were not left to the Mercy of the Clergy, and their Eccleſiaſtical Courts, but were to be tryed by a Jury; where they might expect more candid and gentle dealing. Yet the denying them the benefit of Abjuration, was a ſeverity beyond what had ever been put in practiſe before: So now they began to prepare for new ſtorms and a heavy perſecution.

An Act about the Suppreſſion of the greater Monaſteries.

The other chief buſineſs of this Parliament was the Suppreſſion of Monaſteries. It is ſaid in the Preamble of that Act, "That divers Abbots, Priors, and other Heads of Religious Houſes, had, ſince the "4th of *February* in the 27th year of the Kings Reign, without con"ſtraint, of their own accord, and according to the due courſe of "the Common Law, by ſufficient writings of Record, under their "Covent-Seals, given up their Houſes and all that belonged to them "to the King. Therefore all Houſes that were ſince that time ſup"preſſed, diſſolved, relinquiſhed, forfeited, or given up, are Confirm"ed to the King and his Succeſſors for ever: And all Monaſteries that "ſhould thereafter be ſuppreſſed, forfeited, or given up, are alſo Con"firmed to the King and his Succeſſors. And all theſe Houſes, with "the Rents belonging to them, were to be diſpoſed of by the Court "of Augmentations for the Kings profit; excepting only ſuch as were "come into the Kings hands by Attaindors of Treaſon, which be"longed to the Exchequer. Reſerving to all perſons, except the Pa"trons, Founders, and Donors of ſuch Houſes, the ſame right to any "parts of them, or juriſdiction in them, which they could have claim"ed if that Act had never been made. Then followed many clauſes "for Annulling all Deeds and Leaſes, made within one year before "the Suppreſſion of any Religious Houſe, to the prejudice of it, or "different from what had been granted formerly. And all Church"es or Chappels, which belonged to theſe Monaſteries, and were for"merly exempted from the Viſitation or Juriſdiction of their Ordina"ry, are declared to be within the Juriſdiction of the Biſhop, of the "Dioceſs, or of any other that ſhould be appointed by the King.

This Act paſſed in the Houſe of Peers, without any Proteſtation made by any of the Abbots, though it appears by the Journal that at the firſt reading of it, there were eighteen Abbots preſent, at the ſecond reading twenty, and ſeventeen at the third reading, and the Abbots of *Glaſtenbury Colcheſter* and *Reading*, were among thoſe who were preſent; ſo little reaſon there is to think they were attainted for any open withſtanding the Kings proceedings, when they did not proteſt againſt this Act, which was ſo plainly levelled at them. It was ſoon diſpatched by the Commons; and offered to the Royal Aſſent. By it, no Religious Houſes were ſuppreſſed, as is generally taken for granted; but only the Surrenders, that either had been, or were to

be

be made, were Confirmed. The laſt Proviſo for Annulling all Exemptions of Churches and Chappels, had been a great happineſs to the Church, if it had not been for that Clauſe; *That the King might appoint others to viſit them*; which in a great degree did enervate it. For many of thoſe who afterwards purchaſed theſe Lands with the Impropriated Tithes, got this likewiſe in their Grants, that they ſhould be the Viſitors of the Churches and Chappels formerly exempted: from whence great diſorders have ſince followed in theſe Churches, which not falling within the Biſhops Juriſdiction, are thought not liable to his Cenſures; ſo that the Incumbents in them, being under no reſtraints, have often been ſcandalous to the Church; and given occaſion to thoſe who were diſaffected to the Hierarchy, to cenſure the Prelates, for theſe offences which they could not puniſh; ſince the offenders were thus excepted out of their Juriſdiction. This abuſe, which firſt ſprang from the Ancient Exemptions that were Confirmed or Granted by the See of *Rome*, has not yet met with an effectual Remedy. 1539.

Upon the whole matter, this Suppreſſion of Abbies was univerſally cenſured, and beſides the common Exceptions which thoſe that favoured the old Superſtition made, it was queſtioned whether the Lands that formerly belonged to Religious Houſes, ought to have returned to the Founders and Donors by way of *Reverter*, or to have fallen to the Lords of whom the Lands were holden by way of *Eſcheat*, or to have come to the Crown. It is true, by the *Roman* Law, or at leaſt by a Judgment of the Senate in *Theodoſius*'s time, the Endowments of the Heatheniſh Temples were upon a full debate, whether they ſhould return to the right Heirs, or be Confiſcated, in the end adjudged to the *Fiſc* or the Emperors Exchequer; upon this reaſon, that by the will of the Donors, they were totally alienated from them and their Heirs. But in *England* it went otherwiſe. And when the Order of the Knights-Templers was diſſolved, it was then judged in favour of the Lord by Eſcheat. For though the Founders and Donors had totally alienated theſe Lands from themſelves and their heirs, yet there was no reaſon from thence to conclude any thing that might wrong the Superior Lord of his Right in the caſe of an Eſcheat. And this muſt have held good, if thoſe alienations and Endowments had been abſolute without any condition. But the Endowments being generally rather of the Nature of Covenants and Contracts, and made in Conſideration of ſo many Maſſes to be ſaid for their Souls, then it was moſt juſt, that, upon a non-performance of the Condition, and when that publick Error and Cheat which the Monks had put upon the World was diſcovered, the Lands ſhould have returned to the Founders and Patrons and their Heirs and Succeſſors. Nor was there any grounds for the Lords to pretend to them by Eſcheat, eſpecially where their Anceſtors had conſented to, and confirmed thoſe Endowments. Therefore there was no need of Excluding them by any ſpecial Proviſo. But for the Founders and Donors, certainly if there had not been a Particular Proviſo made againſt them, they might have recovered the Lands which their Anceſtors had ſuperſtitiouſly given away; and the Surrenders which Religious perſons made to the Crown, could not have cut off their

1539. their Title. But this Act did that effectually. It is true, many of the greateſt of them were of Royal Foundation, and theſe would have returned to the Crown without Diſpute.

Another about the Erecting new Biſhopricks.

On the 23 of *May*, in this Seſſion of Parliament a Bill was brought in by *Cromwel*, for giving the King Power to Erect new Biſhopricks by his Letters Patents. It was read that day for the firſt, ſecond, and third time; and ſent down to the Commons. The Preamble of it was, "That it was known what ſlothful and ungodly Life had been "led by thoſe who were called Religious. But that theſe Houſes "might be converted to better uſes; that Gods word might be better "ſet forth, Children brought up in Learning, Clarks nouriſhed in the "Univerſities, and that old decayed Servants might have Livings, "poor people might have Alms-Houſes to maintain them, Readers "of *Greek*, *Hebrew*, and *Latine*, might have good Stipend, daily Alms "might be Miniſtred, and Allowance might be made for mending "of the high-ways, and Exhibition for Miniſters of the Church, for "theſe ends, if the King thought fit to have more Biſhopricks or Cathe-"dral Churches erected out of the Reat of theſe Houſes; full Power was "given to him to erect, and found them; and to make Rules and "Statutes for them, and ſuch Tranſlations of Sees or diviſions of them "as he thought fit. But on this Act I muſt adde a ſingular Remark. The Preamble and material parts of it, were drawn by the King himſelf; and the firſt draught of it under his hand is yet extant; which ſhows his extraordinary application and underſtanding of buſineſs. But in the ſame Paper there is a Liſt of the Sees which he intended to found; of which what was done afterwards came ſo far ſhort, that I know nothing to which it can be ſo reaſonably imputed, as the declining of *Cranmers* Intereſt at Court; who had propoſed the Erecting of new Cathedrals and Sees, with other things mentioned in the Preamble of the Statute, as a great mean for Reforming the Church. The Sees which the King then deſigned, with the Abbies out of which they were to be Erected, follow, as it is in the Paper under the Kings own hand.

The Kings deſign about theſe.

Eſſex and *Waltham*. *Hartford*. St. *Albans*.

Bedfordſhire and *Buckinghamſhire*. *Dunſtable*. *Newenham*. *Clowſtown*.

Oxford and *Berkſhire*. *Oſnay* and *Tame*.

Northampton and *Huntington*. *Peterborough*.

Middleſex. *Weſtminſter*.

Leiceſter and *Rutland*. *Leiceſter*.

Gloceſterſhire. St. *Peters*.

Lancaſhire. *Fountaines* and the Arch-deaconry of *Richmond*.

Suffolk. *Edmonds-bury*.

Stafford and *Salop*. *Shrewsbury*.

Nottingham and *Derby*. *Welbeck*. *Werkſop*. *Thurgarton*.

Cornwall. *Lanceſton*. *Bedmynne*. *Wardreth*.

Over

Over theſe is written *The Biſhopricks to be made.* In another corner of the Page he writes as follows. 1539.

"*Places to be altered according to our device, which have Sees in them:* "*Chriſt*'s-*Church* in *Canterbury*, St. *Swithins*, *Ely*, *Dureſm*, *Rocheſter*, with a part of *Leeds*, *Worceſter*, and all others having the ſame: Then a little below. *Places to be altered into Colledges and Schools. Burton* ſuper *Trent.* More is not written in that Paper. But I wonder much that in this Liſt *Cheſter* was forgotten. Yet it was Erected before any of them. For I have ſeen a Commiſſion under the Privy Seal to the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, to take the Surrender of the Monaſtery of *Hamond* in *Shropſhire*, bearing date the 24th of *Auguſt* this year. So it ſeems the See of *Cheſter* was Erected and endowed before the Act paſſed, though there is among the Rolls a Charter for Endowing and founding of it afterwards. *Briſtow*, is not mentioned in this Paper, though a See was afterwards Erected there. It was not before the end of the next year that theſe Sees were founded; and there was in that Interval ſo great a Change made, both of the Counſels and Miniſters, that no wonder the things now deſigned were never accompliſhed.

Another Act paſſed in this Parliament, concerning the obedience due to the Kings Proclamations. There had been great exceptions made to the Legality of the Kings proceedings, in the Articles about Religion, and other Injunctions publiſhed by his authority, which were complained of as contrary to Law; ſince by theſe the King had without conſent of Parliament, altered ſome Laws, and had laid Taxes on his Spiritual Subjects. Upon which an Act paſſed, which ſets "forth in the preamble, the contempt and diſobedience of the Kings "Proclamations, by ſome who did not conſider what a King by his "Royal power might do; which if it continued, would tend to the "diſobedience of the Laws of God, and the diſhonour of the Kings "Majeſty, (who may full ill bear it.) Conſidering alſo, that many oc-"caſions might require ſpeedy Remedies, and that delaying theſe till "a Parliament met, might occaſion great prejudices to the Realm; "and that the King by his Royal power given of God, might do ma-"ny things in ſuch caſes; Therefore it is Enacted, That the King "for the time being, with advice of his Council, might ſet forth Pro-"clamations with pains and penalties in them, which were to be o-"beyed as if they were made by an Act of Parliament. But this "was not to be ſo extended, that any of the Kings Subjects ſhould "ſuffer in their Eſtates, Liberties, or Perſons, by vertue of it: Nor "that by any of the Kings Proclamations, Laws or Cuſtoms were to "be broken and ſubverted. Then follow ſome Clauſes about the publiſhing of Proclamations, and the way of proſecuting thoſe who contemned and diſobeyed them. It is alſo added, That if any of-"fended againſt them, and in further contempt went out of the "Realm, he was to be adjudged a Traitor. This alſo gave power to "the Counſellours of the Kings Succeſſor, if he were under age, to "ſet forth Proclamations in his name, which were to be obeyed in "the ſame manner with theſe ſet forth by the King himſelf. This Act gave great power to the Judges, ſince there were ſuch Reſtrictions in ſome branches of it, which ſeemed to leſſen the great extent

An Act about the Kings Proclamations.

of

1539. of the other parts of it; ſo that the Expoſitors of the Law had much referred to them: upon this Act were the great changes of Religion in the Non-age of *Edward* the 6th grounded.

An Act about Precedence. There is another Act, which but collaterally belongs to Eccleſiaſtical affairs; and therefore ſhall be but ſlightly touched. It is the Act of the Precedency of the Officers of State, by which the Lord Vicegerent has the Precedence of all perſons in the Kingdom next the Royal Family: and on this I muſt make one Remark, which may ſeem very improper for one of my profeſſion; eſpecially when it is an animadverſion on one of the greateſt men that any age has produced, the moſt Learned Mr. *Selden*. He in his Titles of Honour, ſayes, "That this Statute was never printed in the Statute-Book, and "but incorrectly by another, and that therefore he inſers it Literally as "is in the Record. In which there are two miſtakes. For it is Printed in the Statute-Book, that was ſet down in that Kings Reign; though left out in ſome latter Statute-Books; and that which he prints, is not exactly according to the Record. For as he prints it, the Biſhop of *London* is not named in the precedency; which is not according to the Parliament-Roll, in which the Biſhop of *London* has the precedence next the Arch-Biſhop of *York*; and though this is corrected in a Poſthumous edition; yet in that ſet out by himſelf, it is wanting: Nor is that Omiſſion among the Errours of the Preſs, for though there are many of theſe gathered to be amended, this is none of them. This I do not take notice of out of any vanity, or humour of Cenſuring a man ſo great in all ſorts of Learning; but my deſign is only to let ingenious perſons ſee, that they ought not to take things on truſt eaſily, no not from the greateſt Authors.

Some Acts of Attainders. Theſe are all the publick Acts that relate to Religion, which were paſſed in this Parliament. With theſe there paſſed an Act of Attaindor of the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, and the Lord *Montacute*, with many others, that were either found to have had a great hand in the late Rebellion; or were diſcovered to hold correſpondence with Cardinal *Pool*, who was then trafficking with forreign Princes, and projecting a League among them againſt the King. But of this I ſhall give a more full account at the end of this Book; being there to open the grounds of all the Attaindors that were paſſed in theſe laſt years of the Kings Reign. There is one remarkable thing that belongs to this Act.

Some were to be attainted in abſence; others they had no mind to bring to make their anſwer, but yet deſigned to attain them. Such were the Marchioneſs of *Exeter*, and the Counteſs of *Sarum*, Mother to Cardinal *Pool*, whom by a groſs miſtake, *Speed* fancies to have been condemned without Arraignment or Tryal, as *Cromwel* had been by Parliament. For ſhe was now condemned a year before him. About the Juſtice of doing this there was ſome debate; and to clear it, *Cromwel* ſent for the Judges, and asked their opinions, Whether a man might be attainted in Parliament without being brought to make his anſwer? They ſaid it was a dangerous Queſtion. That the Parliament ought to be an example to all inferiour Courts; and that when any perſon was charged with a Crime, he, by the common Rule of

Juſtice

Juſtice and Equity ſhould be heard to plead for himſelf. But the Parliament being the Supream Court of the Nation, what way ſoever they proceeded, it muſt be good in Law; and it could never be queſtioned, whether the party was brought to anſwer or not. And thus a very ill preſident was made, by which the moſt innocent perſon in the world might be ruined. And this, as has often been obſerved in the like caſes, fell very ſoon heavily on the Author of the Counſel, as ſhall appear. 1539.

When the Parliament was Prorogued, on the 28th of *June*, the King apprehending that the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* might be much caſt down with the Act for the ſix Articles, ſent for him and told him; That he had heard how much, and with what Learning he had argued againſt it; and therefore he deſired he would put all his arguments in writing, and bring them to him. Next day he ſent the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and the Lord *Cromwel*, to dine with him. Ordering them to aſſure him of the Kings conſtant and unſhaken kindneſs to him, and to encourage him all they could. When they were at Table with him at *Lambeth*, they run out much on his commendation, and acknowledged he had oppoſed the Act with ſo much Learning, Gravity and Eloquence; that even thoſe that differed from him were much taken with what he ſaid, and that he needed fear nothing from the King. *Cromwel* ſaying, that this difference the King put between him, and all his other Councellors; that when complaints were brought of others, the King received them, and tried the truth of them; but he would not ſo much as hearken to any complaint of the Arch-Biſhop. From that he went on to make a Paralel between him and Cardinal *Wolſey*: That the one loſt his Friends by his haughtineſs and pride, but the other gained on his Enemies by his gentleneſs and mildneſs. Upon which the Duke of *Norfolk* ſaid, he might beſt ſpeak of the Cardinal, for he knew him well, having been his man. This nettled *Cromwel*, who anſwered, that though he had ſerved him, yet he never liked his manners: and that though the Cardinal had deſigned, (if his attempt for the Popedome had been ſucceſsful,) to have made him his Admiral; yet he had reſolved not to accept of it, nor to leave his Countrey. To which the Duke of *Norfolk* replied with a deep Oath, *That he Lied*; with other reproachful language. This troubled *Cranmer* extremely, who did all he could to quiet and reconcile them. But now the Enmity between thoſe two great Miniſters broke out to that height, that they were never afterwards hearty friends.

The Kings care of *Cranmer*. *Antiq. Brit. in vita* Cran.

But *Cranmer* went about that which the King had commanded: and made a Book of the reaſons that led him to oppoſe the ſix Articles in which the places out of the Scriptures, the Authorities of the ancient Doctors, with the arguments drawn from theſe, were all digeſted in a good method. This he commanded his Secretary to write out in a fair hand, that it might be given the King. The Secretary returning with it from *Croydon*, where the Arch-Biſhop was then, to *Lambeth*, found the Key of his Chamber was carried away by the Arch-Biſhops Almoner: So that he being obliged to go over to *London*, and not daring to truſt the Book to any others keeping, carried it with himſelf; where both he and the Book met with an un-lookt-

Cranmer writes his reaſons againſt the ſix Articles.

for

1538. for encounter. Some others that were with him in the Wherry, would needs go to the *Southwark* ſide, to look on a Bear-baiting that was near the River, where the King was in perſon. The Bear broke looſe into the River, and the Dogs after her. They that were in the Boat leaped out, and left the poor Secretary alone there. But the Bear got into the Boat, with the Dogs about her, and ſunk it. The Secretary apprehending his life was in danger, did not mind his Book, which he loſt in the water. But being quickly reſcued, and brought to land, he begun to look for his Book, and ſaw it floating in the River. So he deſired the Bear-ward to bring it to him; who took it up, but before he would reſtore it, put it into the hands of a Prieſt that ſtood there, to ſee what it might contain. The Prieſt reading a little in it found it a Confutation of the ſix Articles: and told the Bearward that whoſoever claimed it, would be hanged for his pains. But the Arch-Biſhops Secretary thinking to mend the matter, ſaid it was his Lords Book. This made the Bear-ward more intractable, for he was a ſpiteful Papiſt, and hated the Arch-Biſhop; ſo that no offers nor entreaties could prevail with him to give it back. Whereupon *Morice*, (that was the Secretaries name,) went and opened the matter to *Cromwel* the next day, *Cromwel* was then going to Court, and he expected to find the Bearward there, looking to deliver the Book to ſome of *Cranmers* Enemies; he therefore ordered *Morice* to go along with him. Where, as they had expected, they found the fellow with the Book about him; upon whom *Cromwel* called, and took the Book out of his hands, threatning him ſeverely for his preſumption in medling with a Privy Councellors Book.

But though *Cranmer* eſcaped this hazard, yet in *London* the ſtorm of the late act was falling heavily on them that were obnoxious. *Shaxton* and *Latimer*, the Biſhops of *Salisbury* and *Worceſter*, within a week after the Seſſion of Parliament, as it appears, reſigned their Biſhopricks. For on the 7th of *July* the Chapters of theſe Churches Petitioned the King for his leave to fill thoſe Sees, they being then vacant by the free Reſignation of the former Biſhops. Upon which the *Conge d'Elire* for both was granted. Nor was this all, but they being preſented as having ſpoken againſt the ſix Articles, were put in Priſon, where the one lay till the King died, and the other till a little before his death, as ſhall be ſhewn in its proper place. There were alſo Commiſſions iſſued out, for proceeding upon that Statute: and thoſe who were Commiſſioned for *London*, were all ſecret favourers of Popery; ſo they proceeded moſt ſeverely, and examined many Witneſſes againſt all who were preſented: whom they Interrogated not only upon the expreſs words of the Statute, but upon all ſuch collateral or preſumptive circumſtances, as might entangle them, or conclude them guilty. So that in a very little while 500 perſons were put in priſon, and involved in the breach of the Statute. Upon this not only *Cranmer* and *Cromwel*, but the Duke of *Suffolk*, and *Audley* the Chancellour repreſented to the King how hard it would be, and of what ill conſequence, to execute the Law upon ſo many perſons. So the King was prevailed with to pardon them all; and I find no further proceeding upon this Statute till *Cromwel* fell.

Proceedings upon that Act.

But the oppoſite Party uſed all the Arts poſſible to inſinuate themſelves

ſelves into the King. And therefore, to ſhew how far their compli- 1539.
ance would go, *Bonner* took a ſtrange commiſſion from the King, on the 12th of *November* this year. It has been certainly Enrolled; but it is not there now, ſo that I judge it was razed in that ſuppreſſion of Records, which was in Queen *Maries* time. But, as men are commonly more careleſs at home, *Bonner* has left it on Record in his own Regiſter. Whether the other Biſhops took ſuch Commiſſions from this King, I know not. But I am certain there is none ſuch in *Cranmers* Regiſter: and it is not likely, if any ſuch had been taken out by him, that ever it would have been razed. The Commiſſion it ſelf will be found in the Collection of Papers at the end. The ſubſtance of it is, "That ſince all Juriſdictions both Eccleſiaſtical and Civil, Collect. *Numb.* 14.
"flowed from the King as Supream Head, and he was the foundation "of all power; it became thoſe who exerciſed it only (*Precario*) at the "Kings courteſie, gratefully to acknowledge, that they had it only of "his bounty; and to declare that they would deliver it up again, when "it ſhould pleaſe him to call for it. And ſince the King had conſti-"tuted the Lord *Cromwel* his Vice-gerent in Eccleſiaſtical affairs; yet "becauſe he could not look into all thoſe Matters, therefore the King, "upon *Bonners* petition, did Empower him in his own ſtead, to ordain "ſuch as he found worthy, to preſent and give inſtitution, with all "the other parts of Epiſcopal Authority, for which he is duely Com-"miſſionated; and this to laſt during the Kings pleaſure only. And, "all the parts of the Epiſcopal Function being reckoned up, it con-"cluded with a ſtrict Charge to the Biſhop to Ordain none but ſuch "of whoſe Integrity, good life and learning he had very good aſſu-"rance. For as the Corruptions of the Chriſtian Doctrine, and of "mens manners, had chiefly proceeded from ill Paſtours; ſo it was "not to be doubted, but good Paſtours well-choſen would again reform "the Chriſtian Doctrine, and the Lives of Chriſtians. After he had taken this Commiſſion, *Bonner* might have been well called one of the *Kings Biſhops*. The true reaſon of this profound Compliance, was, That the Popiſh party apprehended that *Cranmers* great intereſt with the King, was chiefly grounded on ſome opinions he had, of the Eccleſiaſtical Officers being as much ſubject to the Kings power as all other Civil Officers were. And this having endeared him ſo much to the King, therefore they reſolved to out-do him in that point. But there was this difference, that *Cranmer* was once of that opinion; and if he followed it at all, it was out of Conſcience: but *Bonner*, againſt his Conſcience, (if he had any,) complied with it.

Now followed the final diſſolution of the Abbeys; there are 57 Surrenders upon Record this year. The originals of about 30 of theſe are yet to be ſeen. Thirty ſeven of them were Abbies or Priories, Diſſolution of the great Abbies. and 20 Nunneries. The good Houſe of *Godſtow* now fell with the reſt, though among the laſt of them. Now the great Parliament Abbots ſurrendred apace; as thoſe of *Weſtminſter*, St. *Albans*, St. *Edmundſbury*, *Canterbury*, St. *Mary* in *York*, *Selby*, St. *Peters* in *Gloceſter*, *Cirenceſter*, *Waltham*, *Winchcombe*, *Malmſbury* and *Battel*. Three others were attainted; *Glaſſenbury*, *Reading*, and *Colcheſter*. The Deeds of the reſt are loſt. Here it will not be unacceptable to the Reader, to know who were the Parliamentary Abbots. There were in all 28, as they

1539 were commonly given. *Fuller* has given a Catalogue of them in three places of his Hiſtory of *Abbies*; but as every one of theſe differs from the others; ſo none of them are according to the Journals of Parliament; The Lord *Herbert* is alſo miſtaken in his account. I ſhall not riſe higher in my enquiry than this Reign, for anciently many more Abbots and Priors ſate in Parliament, beſide other Clergy that had likewiſe their Writs; and of whoſe right to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, there was a queſtion moved in *Edward* the ſixths Reign, as ſhall be opened in its proper place. Much leſs will I preſume to determine ſo great a point in Law, whether they ſate in the Houſe of Lords, as being a part of the Eccleſiaſtical State, or as holding their Lands of the King by Baronage? I am only to obſerve the matter of fact, which is, That in the Journals of Parliament in this Reign, theſe 28 Abbots had their writs, *Abington*, St. *Albans*, St. *Auſtins Canterbury*, *Battel*, St. *Bennets* in the *Holm*, *Berdeny*, *Cirenceſter*, *Colcheſter*, *Coventry*, *Croyland*, St. *Edmundsbury*, *Eveſham*, *Glaſſenbury*, *Gloceſter*, *Hide*, *Malmsbury*, St. *Maries* in *York*, *Peterborough*, *Ramſey*, *Reading*, *Selby*, *Shrewsbury*, *Tavenſtock*, *Teukesbury*, *Thorney*, *Waltham*, *Weſtminſter* and *Winchelcomb*; to whom alſo the Prior of St. *Johns* may be added. But beſides all theſe, I find that in the 28 year of this King, the Abbot of *Burton* upon *Trent* ſate in Parliament. Generally *Coventry* and *Burton* were held by the ſame man, as one Biſhop held both *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, though two different Biſhopricks; but in that year they were held by two different perſons, and both had their Writts to that Parliament. The method uſed in the ſuppreſſion of theſe Houſes will appear by one compleat Report made, of the Suppreſſion of the Abbey of *Tewksbury*, which out of many I copyed, and is in the Collection. From it the Reader will ſee, what proviſion was made for the Abbot, the Prior, the other Officers, and the Monks, and other ſervants of the Houſe; and what Buildings they ordered to be defaced and what to remain; and how they did eſtimate the Jewels, Plate, and other Ornaments. But Monaſteries were not ſufficient to ſtop the appetite of ſome that were about the King; for Hoſpitals were next lookt after. One of theſe was this year ſurrendred by *Thomas Thirleby* with two other Prieſts; he was Maſter of St. *Thomas* Hoſpital in *Southwark*, and was deſigned Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, to which he made his way by that Reſignation. He was a learned and modeſt man, but of ſo fickle or cowardly a temper, that he turned alwayes with the Stream in every change that was made, till Queen *Elizabeth* came to the Crown; but then, being aſhamed of ſo many turns, he reſolved to ſhew he could once be firm to ſomewhat.

Collect. *Numb.* 3. *Sect.* 5.

Some Hoſpitals ſurrendred.

The Abbeys ſold or given away.

Now were all the Monaſteries of *England* ſuppreſſed, and the King had then in his hand the greateſt opportunity of making Royal and Noble Foundations, that ever King of *England* had. But whether out of policy to give a general Content to the Gentry, by ſelling to them at low rates, or out of eaſineſs to his Courtiers, or out of an unmeaſured laviſhneſs in his expence, it came far ſhort of what he had given out he would do, and what himſelf ſeemed once to have deſigned. The clear yeerly value of all the Suppreſſed Houſes is caſt up, in an account then ſtated to be *viz.* 131607. *lib.* 6. *s.* 4. *d.* as the Rents were

were then rated, but was at leaſt ten times ſo much in true value. 1539.
Of which he deſigned to convert 18000. *lib.* into a Revenue for eighteen Biſhopricks and Cathedrals. But of theſe he only erected ſix, as ſhall be afterwards ſhewn. Great ſums were indeed laid out on building and fortifying many Ports, in the Channel, and other parts of *England*, which were raiſed by the Sale of Abbey-Lands.

At this time many were offering projects for Noble Foundations, on which the King ſeemed very earneſt: But it is very likely, that before he was aware of it, he had ſo out-run himſelf in his Bounty, that it was not poſſible for him to bring theſe to any effect. Yet I ſhall ſet down one of the projects, which ſhews the greatneſs of his mind that deſigned it; that is, of Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, who was afterwards one of the wiſeſt Miniſters that ever this Nation bred. The King deſigned to found a Houſe for the Study of the Civil Law, and the purity of the *Latine* and *French* Tongues: So he ordered Sir *Nicolas Bacon*, and two others, *Thomas Denton*, and *Robert Cary*, to make a full project, of the nature, and orders of ſuch a Houſe, who brought it to him in a writing; the original whereof is yet extant. The deſign of it was, that there ſhould be frequent pleadings, and other exerciſes in the *Latine* and *French* tongues: and when the Kings Students were brought to ſome ripeneſs, they ſhould be ſent with his Embaſſadors to Forreign parts, and trained up in the knowledg of forreign affairs; and ſo the Houſe ſhould be the Nurſery for Ambaſſadors. Some were alſo to be appointed to write the Hiſtory of all Embaſſies, Treaties, and other foreign Tranſactions: as alſo of all Arraignments, and publick Tryals at home. But before any of them might write on theſe Subjects, the Lord Chancellour was to give them an Oath, that they ſhould do it truly, without reſpect of perſons, or any other corrupt affection. This noble Deſign miſcarried. But if it had been well laid and regulated, it is eaſie to gather what great and publick advantages might have flowed from it. Among which, it is not inconſiderable, that we ſhould have been delivered from a Rabble of ill-Writers of Hiſtory, who have without due care or enquiry, delivered to us the Tranſactions of that time ſo imperfectly, that there is ſtill need of enquiring into Regiſters and Papers for theſe matters. Which in ſuch a Houſe had been more certainly and clearly conveighed to poſterity, than can be now expected, at ſuch a diſtance of time; and after ſuch a raſure of Records, and other confuſions, in which many of theſe Papers have been loſt. And this help was the more neceſſary, after the ſuppreſſion of Religious Houſes: in moſt of which a Chronicle of the times was kept, and ſtill filled up as new Tranſactions came to their knowledg. It is true, moſt of theſe were written by men of weak Judgments, who were more punctual in delivering Fables and Trifles, than in opening obſervable Tranſactions. Yet ſome of them were men of better underſtandings; and it is like were directed by their Abbots, who being Lords of Parliament, underſtood affairs well: only an invincible humor of lying, when it might raiſe the credit of their Religion, or Order, or Houſe, runs through all their Manuſcripts.

A project of a Semminary for Miniſters of State.

In Biblioth. Nob. D. D. *Gul. Pierpoint.*

One thing was very remarkable, which was this year granted, at

1539. *Cranmers* Interceſſion. There was nothing could ſo much recover Reformation, that was declining ſo faſt, as the free uſe of the Scriptures; and though theſe had been ſet up in the Churches a year ago, yet he preſſed, and now procured leave, for private perſons to buy Bibles, and keep them in their Houſes. So this was granted by Letters Patents directed to *Cromwel*, bearing date the 13th of *November*. The Subſtance of which was, "That the King was deſirous to have "his Subjects attain the knowledg of Gods word, which could not "be effected by any means ſo well, as by granting them the free and "liberal uſe of the Bible in the *Engliſh* tongue; which to avoid diſ- "ſenſion, he intended ſhould paſs among them only by one Tranſla- "tion. Therefore *Cromvel* was charged to take care, that for the ſpace "of five years there ſhould be no Impreſſion of the Bible, or any part "of it, but only by ſuch as ſhould be aſſigned by him. But *Gardiner* oppoſed this, all he could: and one day, in a Conference before the King, he provoked *Cranmer* to ſhew any difference between the Authority of the Scriptures, and of the Apoſtolical Canons, which he pretended were equal to the other writings of the Apoſtles. Upon which, they diſputed for ſome time. But the King perceived ſolid Learning tempered with great Modeſty in what *Cranmer* ſaid; and nothing but vanity and affectation in *Gardiner*'s reaſonings. So he took him up ſharply, and told him, that *Cranmer* was an old and experienced Captain, and was not to be troubled by freſh-men and Novices.

A Proclamation about the free uſe of the Scriptures.

Collect. *Numb.* 15.

The great matter of the Kings Marriage came on at this time. Many reports were brought the King of the beauty of *Anne* of *Cleve*, ſo that he inclined to ally himſelf with that Family. Both the Emperor, and the King of *France*, had courted him to Matches which they had projected. The Emperor propoſed the Dutcheſs of *Milan*, his kinſwoman, and Daughter to the King of *Denmark*. He was then deſigning to break the League of *Smalcald*, and to make himſelf maſter of *Germany*: And therefore he took much pains with the King, to divide him from the Princes there; which was in great part effected by the Statute for the ſix Articles: Upon which the Ambaſſadors of the Princes had complained, and ſaid, That whereas the King had been in ſo fair a way of union with them, he had now broke it off, and made ſo ſevere a Law about Communion in one kind, Private Maſſes, and the Celibate of the Clergy, which differed ſo much from their Doctrine, that they could entertain no further correſpondence with him, if that Law was not mitigated. But *Gardiner* wrought much on the Kings vanity and paſſions; and told him that it was below his Dignity, and high Learning, to have a Company of dull *Germans* and ſmall Princes, dictate to him in matters of Religion. There was alſo another thing which he oft made uſe of, (though it argues ſomewhere a great Ignorance of the Conſtitution of the Empire,) That the King could not expect theſe Princes would ever be for his Supremacy; ſince if they acknowledged that in him, they muſt likewiſe yield it to the Emperor. This was a great miſtake. For as the Princes of *Germany* never acknowledged the Emperor to have a ſoveraignty in their Dominions; ſo they did acknowledg the Diet, in which the Soveraignty of the Empire lies, to

The King deſigns to Mary *Anne* of *Cleve*.

to have a Power of making or changing what Laws they pleaſed about Religion. And in things that were not determined by the Diet, every Prince pretended to it as highly in his own Dominions, as the King could do in *England*. But as untrue as this Allegation was it ſerved *Gardiner's* turn; for the King was ſufficiently irritated with it againſt the Princes, ſo that there was now a great coldneſs in their correſpondence. Yet the Project of a Match with the Dutcheſs of *Milan* failing, and theſe propoſed by *France* not being acceptable, *Cromwel* moved the King about an Alliance with the Duke of *Cleve*; who, as he was the Emperors Neighbour in *Flanders*, had alſo a pretenſion to the Dutchie of *Guelders*, and his eldeſt Daughter was Marryed to the Duke of *Saxony*. So that the King having then ſome apprehenſions of a War with the Emperor, this ſeemed a very proper Alliance to give him a Diverſion. 1538.

There had been a Treaty between her Father, and the Duke of *Lorrain*, in order to a match between the Duke of *Lorrain's* Son, and her. But they both being under Age, it went no further than a Contract between their Fathers. *Hans Holbin* having taken her Picture, ſent it over to the King. But in that he beſtowed the common complement of his Art, ſomewhat too liberally, on a Lady that was in a way to be Queen. The King liked the Picture, better than the Original, when he had the occaſion afterwards to compare them. The Duke of *Saxony*, who was very zealous for the *Auſburg* Confeſſion, finding the King had declined ſo much from it, diſſwaded the Match. But *Cromvel* ſet it on mightily; expecting a great Support from a Queen of his own making: whoſe friends being all *Lutherans*, it tended alſo to bring down the Popiſh Party at Court, and again to recover the ground they had now loſt. Thoſe that had ſeen the Lady did much commend her beauty, and perſon. But ſhe could ſpeak no Language but *Dutch*; to which the King was a ſtranger. Nor was ſhe bred to Muſick, with which the King was much taken. So that except her perſon had charmed him, there was nothing left for her to gain upon him by. After ſome Months Treaty, one of the Counts Palatine of the *Rhine*, with other Ambaſſadors from the Duke of *Saxony*, and her Brother the Duke of *Cleves*, (for her Father was lately dead,) came over, and concluded the Match.

Who comes over to *England*.

In the end of *December*, ſhe was brought over to *England*: And the King, being impatient to ſee her, went down *Incognito* to *Rocheſter*. But when he had a ſight of her, finding none of theſe charms which he was made believe were in her, he was ſo extreamly ſurprized, that he not only did not like her, but took an Averſion to her, which he could never after overcome. He ſwore they had brought over a *Flanders* Mare to him, and was very ſorry he had gone ſo far, but glad it had proceeded no further. And preſently he reſolved, if it were poſſible, to break off the matter, and never to yoke himſelf with her. But his Affairs were not then in ſuch a condition, that he could ſafely put that affront on the Dukes of *Saxony* and *Cleves* which the ſending back of this Lady would have done. For the *Germans*, being of all Nations moſt ſenſible of every thing in which the Honour of their Family is touched; he knew they would reſent ſuch an Injury. And it was not ſafe for him to Adventure that at ſuch

But is much diſliked by the King.

1539. a time. For the Emperor was then in *Paris*, whither he had gone to an Enterview with *Francis*. And his Reception was not only as Magnificent as could be, but there was all the Evidence poſſible of hearty Friendſhip and kindneſs. The King alſo underſtood, that between them there was ſomewhat projected againſt himſelf. And now *Francis* that had been as much obliged by him, as poſſibly one Prince could be by another; was not only forgetful of it, but intended to take advantage from the diſtractions and diſcontents of the *Engliſh*, to drive them out of *France*, if it were poſſible. And it is not to be doubted but the Emperor would gladly have embroyled theſe two Kings, that he might have a better opportunity both to make himſelf Maſter of *Germany*; and to force the King of *England* into an Alliance, by which the Lady *Mary* ſhould be Legitimated, and the Princes of *Germany* be left deſtitute of a Support, which made them Inſolent and Intractable. The King apprehended the Conjunction of thoſe two great Princes againſt himſelf, which was much ſet forward by the Pope; and that they would ſet up the King of *Scotland* againſt him, who with that forreign Aſſiſtance, and the diſcontents at home, would have made War upon great advantages; eſpecially thoſe in the North of *England*, being ill affected to him: And therefore he judged it neceſſary for his Affairs not to loſe the Princes of *Germany*. Only he reſolved, firſt, to try if any Nullities or Pre-contracts could excuſe him fairly at their hands. He returned to *Greenwich* very Melancholy. He much blamed the Earl of *Southampton*, who being ſent over to receive her at *Callice*, had written an high Commendation of her Beauty. But he excuſed himſelf, that he thought the thing was ſo far gone, that it was decent to write as he had done. The King lamented his condition in that Marriage; and expreſſed great trouble, both to the Lord *Ruſſel*, Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, and others about him. The laſt of thoſe told him, this was one "Advantage that mean perſons had over Princes: That great Prin-"ces muſt take ſuch Wives as are brought them, whereas meaner per-"ſons go and chuſe Wives for themſelves. But when the King ſaw *Cromwel*, he gave his grief a freer vent to him. He, finding the King ſo much Troubled, would have caſt the chief blame on the Earl of *Southampton*, for whom he had no great kindneſs: And ſaid, when he found her ſo far ſhort of what reports and Pictures had made her, he ſhould have ſtayed her at *Callice*, till he had given the King notice of it. But the Earls Commiſſion being only to bring her over; he ſaid, It had been too great a preſumption in him, to have interpoſed in ſuch a manner. And the King was convinced he was in the right. So now, all they had to inſiſt on, was the clearing of that Contract that had paſſed between her and the Marqueſs of *Lorain*: which the Ambaſſadors, who had been with the King, had undertaken ſhould be fully done, and brought over with her in due form of Law. So after the Lady was brought in great State to *Greenwich*, the Council met, and ſent for the Ambaſſadors of the Duke of *Cleves* that conducted her over; and deſired to ſee what they had brought for clearing the breach of that Contract with the Marqueſs of *Lorrain*. But they had brought nothing, and made no account of it; ſaying, that the Contract was in their Minority, when they could give

no

no conſent; and that nothing had followed on it, after they came to be of Age. But this did not ſatisfie the Kings Council, who ſaid, theſe were but their words, and they muſt ſee better proofs. The Kings Marriage was Annulled with *Anne Bolcyn* upon a pre-contract; therefore he muſt not again run the like hazard. So *Oliſleger* and *Hogeſden*, the Ambaſſadors from *Cleve*, did by a formal Inſtrument Proteſt before *Cromwel*, that in a peace made between their late Maſter *John* Duke of *Cleve*, and *Anthony* Duke of *Lorrain*, one of the conditions was, that this Lady being then under Age, ſhould be given in Marriage to *Francis* Son to the Duke of *Lorrain*, who was likewiſe under Age; which Treaty they affirmed they ſaw and read. But that afterwards *Henry de Groſſe* Ambaſſador of *Charles* Duke of *Gueldres*, upon whoſe mediation that peace had been concluded, declared in their hearing, that the Eſpouſals were Annulled and of no effect; and that this was Regiſtred in the Chancery of *Cleve*, of which they promiſed to bring an Authentical Extract within three Months to *England*. Some of the Counſellors, who knew the Kings ſecret diſlike of her perſon, would have inſiſted more on this. But the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and the Biſhop of *Dureſm*, ſaid, if there was no more than that, it could be no juſt hindrance to the Solemnization of the Marriage. So the King, ſeeing there was no remedy, and being much preſſed both by the Miniſters of *Cleve*, and by the Lord *Cromwel*, Marryed her on the 6th of *January*: But expreſſed ſo much averſion and diſlike of her, that every body about him took notice of it. Next day the Lord *Cromwel* asked him how he liked her then. He told him, *He was not every man*; therefore he would be free with him; He liked her worſe than he did. He ſuſpected ſhe was no Maid; and had ſuch ill ſmells about her, that he loathed her more than ever, and did not believe he ſhould ever conſummate the Marriage. This was ſad news to *Cromwel*, who knew well how delicate the King was in theſe matters; and that ſo great a Misfortune muſt needs turn very heavy on him, that was the chief Promoter of it. He knew his Enemies would draw great advantages from this; and underſtood the Kings temper too well, to think his Greatneſs would laſt long, if he could not induce the King to like the Queen better. But that was not to be done; for though the King lived five Months with her in that State, and very oft lay in the Bed with her, yet his Averſion rather encreaſed than abated. She ſeemed not much concerned at it: and, as their Converſation was not great, ſo ſhe was of an heavy Compoſition, and was not much diſpleaſed, to be delivered from a Marriage in which ſhe had ſo little ſatisfaction. Yet one thing ſhews that ſhe wanted not Capacity. For ſhe learned the *Engliſh* Language very ſoon: and before her Marriage was Annulled, ſhe ſpoke *Engliſh* freely, as appears by ſome of the Depoſitions.

1539.

1540.

But yet Marries her.

And could never love her.

There was an Inſtrument brought over from *Cleve*, taken out of the Chancery there; by which it appeared, That *Henry de Groſſe*, Ambaſſador from the Duke of *Gueldres*, had on the 15th of *February* in the year 1535. declared the Nullity of the former Contract, in expreſs words, which are ſet down in high *Dutch*, but thus put in *Latine*. *Sponſalia illa progreſſum ſuum non habitura* (I will not anſwer for

1539. for the *Latine*,) *ex quo dictus Dux Carolus admodum doleret, & propterea quædam feciſſet, & amplius facturus eſſet.* And *Pallandus*, that was Ambaſſador from the Duke of *Cleves* in the Duke of *Guelders* Court, wrote to his Maſter, *Illuſtriſſimum Ducem Gueldriæ certo ſcire prima illa Sponſalia inter Domicellam Annam fore inania & progreſſum ſuum non habitura.* When this was ſhewed the King, his Council found great exceptions to it, upon the Ambiguity of the word *Sponſalia*; it not being expreſſed, whether they were Eſpouſals by the words of the preſent, or of the future tenſe; and intended to make uſe of that when there ſhould be a fit opportunity for it.

A Parliament called. On the 12th of *April* a Seſſion of Parliament was held. The Journal ſhews that neither the Abbot of *Weſtminſter*, nor any other Abbot was preſent. After the Lord Chancellor had opened the reaſons for the Kings meeting them at that time, as they related to the Civil Government, *Cromwel* as Lord Vice-gerent ſpake next in the Kings name; and ſaid, "There was nothing which the King ſo much de-
Where *Cromwel* ſpeaks as Lord vice-gerent. "ſired, as a firm union among all his Subjects, in which he placed "his chief ſecurity. He knew there were many Incendiaries, and much "Cockle grew up with the Wheat. The raſhneſs and licentiouſneſs "of ſome, and the inveterate Superſtition and ſtiffneſs of others in "the Ancient Corruptions, had raiſed great diſſenſions to the ſad "regret of all good Chriſtians. Some were called Papiſts, others He-"reticks; which bitterneſs of Spirit ſeemed the more ſtrange, ſince "now the Holy Scriptures, by the Kings great care of his people, "were in all their hands, in a Language which they underſtood. But "theſe were groſly perverted by both ſides, who ſtudied rather to "juſtifie their paſſions out of them, than to direct their belief by "them. The King leaned neither to the right nor to the left hand, "neither to the one nor the other Party, but ſet the pure and ſin-"cere Doctrine of the Chriſtian Faith only before his eyes: And "therefore was now reſolved to have this ſet forth to his Subjects, "without any corrupt mixtures; and to have ſuch decent Ceremo-"nies continued, and the true uſe of them taught, by which all a-"buſes might be cut off, and Diſputes about the Expoſition of the "Scriptures ceaſe, that ſo all his Subjects might be well inſtructed "in their Faith, and directed in the reverent worſhip of God; and "reſolved to puniſh ſeverely all tranſgreſſors, of what ſort or ſide ſoe-"ver they were. The King was reſolved, That Chriſt, That the "Goſpel of Chriſt, and the truth ſhould have the victory. And "therefore had appointed ſome Biſhops and Divines to draw up an "Expoſition of thoſe things that were neceſſary for the Inſtitution "of a Chriſtian-man: Who were, the two Arch-Biſhops, the Biſhop "of *London*, *Dureſme*, *Wincheſter*, *Rocheſter*, *Hereford*, and St. *Davids*; "and Doctors *Thirleby*, *Robertſon*, *Cox*, *Day*, *Oglethorp*, *Redmayn*, *Edge-*"*worth*, *Crayford*, *Symonds*, *Robins*, and *Treſham*. He had alſo appoint-"ed others to examine what Ceremonies ſhould be retained, and what "was the true uſe of them; who were the Biſhops of *Bath* and *Wells*, "*Ely*, *Sarum*, *Chicheſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Landaff*. The King had al-"ſo commanded the Judges, and other Juſtices of the Peace, and "perſons commiſſioned for the Execution of the Act formerly paſ-"ſed, to proceed againſt all tranſgreſſors, and puniſh them according

to

"to Law. And he Concluded with an high Commendation of the "King, whoſe due praiſes, he ſaid, a man of far greater Eloquence "than himſelf was, could not fully ſet forth. The Lords approved of this Nomination, and ordered that theſe Committees ſhould ſit conſtantly, on Mundays, Wedenſdays, and Fridays: and no other days they were to ſit in the afternoon. But their Proceedings will require ſo full a Relation, that I ſhall firſt open the other Affairs that paſſed in this Seſſion, and leave theſe to the laſt. 1540.

On the 14th of *April* the King created *Cromwel* Earl of *Eſſex*; the Male line of the *Bourchiers*, that had carryed that Title, being extinguiſhed. This ſhews that the true Cauſes of *Cromwels* fall muſt be found in ſome other thing, than his making up the Kings Marriage: who had never thus raiſed his Title, if he had intended ſo ſoon to pull him down. He is made Earl of *Eſſex*.

On the 22d of *April*, a Bill was brought in for Suppreſſing the Knights of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*. Their firſt Foundation was to be a Guard to the Pilgrims that went to the Holy Land. For ſome Ages that was extolled as the higheſt expreſſion of devotion and reverence to our Saviour, to go and view the places of his abode; and chiefly the places where he was Crucified, Buried, and aſcended to Heaven. Upon which, many entred into a Religious Knighthood, who were to defend the Holy Land, and conduct the Pilgrims. Thoſe were of two ſorts; The *Knights-Templars* and *Hoſpitallers*. The former were the greater and richer, but the other were alſo very conſiderable. The Popes and their Clergy did every-where animate all Princes, and great perſons, to undertake expeditions into theſe parts: Which were very coſtly and dangerous, and proved fatal to almoſt all the Princes that made them. Yet the belief of the pains of Purgatory, from which all were delivered by the Popes Power, who went on this Expedition; ſuch as dyed in it being alſo reckoned Martyrs; wrought wonderfully on a blind and Superſtitious Age. But ſuch as could not go, were perſwaded, That if on their death-beds they vowed to go upon their recovery, and left ſome Lands to maintain a Knight that ſhould go thither and fight againſt the Infidels, it would do as well. Upon this, great and vaſt Endowments were made. But there were many Complaints made of the *Templars*, for betraying and robbing the Pilgrims, and other horrid abuſes, which may reaſonably be believed to have been true; though other Writers of that Age lay the blame rather on the Covetouſneſs of the King of *France*, and the Popes malice to them: Yet in a General Council the whole Order was Condemned, and Suppreſſed, and ſuch of them as could be taken, were cruelly put to death. The Order of the *Hoſpitallers* ſtood, yet did not grow much after that. They were beaten out of the *Holy-Land* by the *Sultans*, and lately out of the Iſle of *Rhodes*, and were at this time in *Malta*. Their great Maſter depended on the Pope and the Emperor: ſo it was not thought fit, to let a Houſe that was ſubject to a Forreign Power ſtand longer. And it ſeems they would not willingly Surrender up their Houſe, as others had done. Therefore it was neceſſary to force them out of it by an Act of Parliament; which on the 22d of *April* was read the firſt time, and on the 26th the 2d time, and on the 29th the third time; by which both The *Suppreſſion* of the Knights of St. *John* at *Jeruſalem*.

1540. their Houſe in *England*, and another they had in *Kilmainam* in *Ireland*, were ſuppreſſed; great penſions being reſerved by the Act to the Priors, a 1000 *lib.* to him of St. *Johns* near *London*, and 500 Marks to the other, with very conſiderable allowances for the Knights, which in all amounted near to 3000 *lib.* yearly. But on the 14th of *May* the Parliament was Prorogued to the 25th, and a vote paſſed that their Bills ſhould remain in the State they were in.

Upon their next meeting, as they were going on in their buſineſs, a great Change of Court broke out. For on the 13th of *June*, at the Council Table, the Duke of *Norfolk* in the Kings name challenged the Lord *Cromwel* of high Treaſon, and Arreſting him, ſent him Priſoner to the Tower. He had many Enemies among all ſorts of perſons. The Nobility deſpiſed him, and thought it leſſened the greatneſs of their Titles, to ſee the Son of a Black-Smith raiſed ſo many degrees above them. His aſpiring to the Order of the Garter was thought inexcuſable vanity: and his having ſo many places heaped on him, as Lord Privy Seal, Lord Chamberlain of *England*, and Lord Vice-gerent, with the Maſterſhip of the Rolls, with which he had but lately parted, drew much envy on him. All the Popiſh party hated him out of meaſure. The Suppreſſion of the Abbies was laid wholly at his door: The Attaindors and all other ſevere proceedings were imputed to his Counſels. He was alſo thought to be the perſon that had kept the King and the Emperor at ſuch diſtance: And therefore the Duke of *Norfolk*, and *Gardiner*, beſide private Animoſities, hated him on that account. And they did not think it impoſſible, if he were out of the way, to bring on a Treaty with the Emperor; which they hoped would open the way for one with the Pope. But other more ſecret reaſons wrought his ruin with the King. The fear he was in of a Conjunction between the Emperor and *France* did now abate: For he underſtood that it went no further than Complements. And though he clearly diſcovered, having ſent over the Duke of *Norfolk* to *Francis*, that he was not to depend much on his friendſhip; yet at the ſame time he knew that the Emperor would not yield up the Dutchy of *Milan* to him, upon which his heart was much ſet. So he ſaw they could come to no agreement. Therefore he made no great account of the loſs of *France*, ſince he knew the Emperor would willingly make an Alliance with him: The hopes of which made him more indifferent, whether the *German* Princes were pleaſed with what he did, or not: ſince he had now attained the end he had propoſed to himſelf in all his Negotiations with them, which was to ſecure himſelf from any trouble the Emperor might give him. Therefore *Cromwels* Counſels were now diſliked, for he had always enclined the King to favour thoſe Princes againſt the Emperor. Another ſecret cauſe was, that as the King had an unconquerable averſion to his Queen; ſo he was taken with the Beauty and behaviour of Miſtreſs *Katharine Howard* Daughter to the Lord *Edmond Howard*, a Brother of the Duke of *Norfolks*. And as this deſigned Match raiſed the credit of her Uncle, ſo the ill conſequences of the former drew him down who had been the chief Counſellor in it. The King alſo found his Government was grown uneaſie, and therefore judged it was no ill Policy to caſt over all that had been done a-

Cromwel's Fall.

The King in love with Miſtreſs Katharine Howard.

miſs

miſs, upon a Miniſter who had great Power with him: and being now in diſgrace, all the blame of theſe things would be taken off from the King, and laid on him, and his Ruin would much appeaſe diſcontents, and make them more moderate in cenſuring the King or his Proceedings. It is ſaid that other Particulars were charged on him, which loſt him the Kings favour. If this be true, it is like they related to the encouragement he was ſaid to have given to ſome Reformers, in the oppoſition they made to the ſix Articles: Upon the Execution of which the King was now much ſet. His fall was ſo ſecretly carryed, that though he had often before looked for it, knowing the Kings uneaſie and jealous temper; yet at that time he had no apprehenſions of it, till the Storm broke upon him. In his fall he had the common fate of all diſgraced Miniſters, to be forſaken by his Friends, and inſulted over by his Enemies. Only *Cranmer* retained ſtill ſo much of his former ſimplicity, that he could never learn theſe Court Arts. Therefore he wrote to the King about him next day, "He much magnified his diligence in the Kings ſervice and "preſervation, and diſcovering all Plots as ſoon as they were made: "That he had always loved the King above all things, and ſerved "him with great fidelity and ſucceſs: That he thought no King of "*England* had ever ſuch a ſervant; upon that account he had loved "him, as one that loved the King above all others. But if he was "a Traytor, he was glad it was diſcovered. But he prayed God "earneſtly, to ſend the King ſuch a Councellor in his ſtead, who could "and would ſerve him as he had done. This ſhews, both the firmneſs of *Cranmers* friendſhip to him, and that he had a great Soul, not turned by the changes of mens fortunes, to like or diſlike them, as they ſtood or declined from their greatneſs. And had not the Kings kindneſs for *Cranmer* been deeply rooted, this Letter had ruined him. For he was the moſt impatient of Contradiction, in ſuch caſes, that could be. *Cromwels* ruin was now Decreed, and he who had ſo ſervily complyed with the Kings pleaſure in procuring ſome to be Attainted the year before, without being brought to make their anſwer, fell now under the ſame ſeverity. For whether it was that his Enemies knew, That if he were brought to the Bar he would ſo juſtifie himſelf that they would find great difficulties in the Proceſs; or whether it was that they blindly reſolved to follow that injuſtifiable Precedent, of paſſing over ſo neceſſary a Rule to all Courts, of giving the Party accuſed an hearing; the Bill of Attaindor was brought in to the Houſe of Lords, *Cranmer* being abſent that day, as appears by the Journal on the 17th of *June*, and read the firſt time, and on the 19th was read the ſecond and third time, and ſent down to the Commons. By which it appears, how few friends he had in that Houſe, when a Bill of that nature went on ſo haſtily. But it ſeems he found in the Houſe of Commons ſomewhat of the ſame meaſure, which ten years before he had dealt to the Cardinal, though not with the ſame ſucceſs. For his matter ſtuck ten days there. At length a new Bill of Attaindor was brought up, conceived in the Houſe of Commons, with a Proviſo annexed to it. They alſo ſent back the Bill which the Lords ſent to them. But it is not clear from the Journals what they meant by theſe two Bills. It ſeems they rejected

1539.

Cranmers friendſhip to Cromwel.

1539. cted the Lords Bill, and yet ſent it up with their own, either in reſpect to the Lords, or that they left it to their choice, which of the two Bills they would offer to the Royal Aſſent. But though this be an unparliamentary way of proceeding, I know no other ſenſe which the words of the Journal can bear, which I ſhall ſet down in the Margent, that the Reader may Judge better concerning it. * And that very day the King aſſented to it, as appears by the Letter written the next day by *Cromwel* to the King.

Journal Procer. *Parag.* 58. *Item Billa attincturæ Thomæ* Cromwel Comitis Eſſex *de crimine Hereſis & Læſæ Majeſtatis, per Communes de novo concepta, & Aſſenſa, & ſimul cum proviſione eidem annexa. Quæ quidem Billa* 1°, 2do, & 3^tio^, *lecta eſt; & proviſio ejuſdem concernens Decanatum* Welſenſem *ter lecta eſt*, & communi omnium Procerum conſenſu nemine diſcrepante expedita; *& ſimul cum ea referebatur Billa Attincturæ quæ prius miſſa erat in Domum Communium.*

Cromwels attaindor.

Collect. *Numb.* 16.

The Act ſaid, "that the King having raiſed *Thomas Cromwel* from "a baſe degree, to great Dignities and high Truſts, yet he had now "by a great number of Witneſſes, perſons of honour, found him to "be the moſt Corrupt Traitor, and deceiver of the King and the "Crown, that had ever been known in his whole Reign. He had "taken upon him to ſet at liberty divers perſons put in Priſon for miſ-"priſion of Treaſon, and others that were ſuſpected of it. He had "alſo received ſeveral bribes, and for them granted Licenſes to carry "Money, Corn, Horſes, and other things out of the Kingdom, con-"trary to the Kings Proclamations. He had alſo given out many "Commiſſions without the Kings knowledg; and being but of a baſe "Birth, had ſaid, *That he was ſure of the King*. He had granted ma-"ny Paſsports, both to the Kings Subjects and Forreigners for paſ-"ſing the Seas, without ſearch. He being alſo an Heretick, had diſ-"perſed many Erroneous Books among the Kings Subjects, particu-"larly ſome that were contrary to the Belief of the Sacrament. And "when ſome had informed him of this, and had ſhewed him theſe "Hereſies in Books Printed in *England*, he ſaid, *they were good, and* "*that he found no fault in them*; and ſaid, *It was as Lawful for eve-*"*ry Chriſtian man to be the Miniſter of that Sacrament as a Prieſt*. And "whereas the King had conſtituted him Vice-gerent for the Spiritu-"al affairs of the Church, he had under the Seal of that office li-"cenſed many that were ſuſpected of Hereſie to Preach over the "Kingdom; and he had both by word and in writing ſuggeſted to "ſeveral Sheriffs, That it was the Kings pleaſure they ſhould diſcharge "many Priſoners, of whom ſome were Indicted, others apprehended "for Hereſie. And when many particular complaints were brought "to him of deteſtable Hereſies, with the names of the offenders; he "not only defended the Hereticks, but ſeverely checkt the Informers: "and vexed ſome of them by Impriſonment, and other ways. The "particulars of all which were too tedious to be recited. And he "having entertained many of the Kings Subjects about himſelf, whom "he had infected with Hereſie, and imagining he was by force able "to defend his Treaſons and Hereſies; on the laſt of *March* in the "30th year of the Kings Reign, in the Pariſh of St. *Peters the poor* "in *London*, when ſome of them complained to him of the new "Preachers, ſuch as *Barnes* and others, he ſaid; *Their Preaching was* "*good*; and ſaid alſo among other things, *That if the King would* "*turn from it, yet he would not turn: And if the King did turn, and*

"*all*

H. Holben pinxit.

R. White sculpsit.

Natus 1490
Regis vicarius
Generalis 1536

Eques Periscelidis
1537.
Capite truncatus
July, 18th 1540.

Printed for Richard Chiſwell at the Roſe and Crowne in S.t Pauls Churchyard

"*all his people with him, he would fight in the Field in his own perſon,* 1539.
"*with his Sword in his hand againſt him, and all others:* And then he
"pulled out his Dagger, and held it up, and ſaid, *or elſe this Dagger*
"*thruſt me to the heart, if I would not die in that quarrel againſt them*
"*all; and I truſt if I live one year or two, it ſhall not be in the Kings*
"*Power to reſiſt, or lett it, if he would*: and ſwearing a great Oath,
"ſaid, *I would do ſo indeed.* He had alſo by Oppreſſion and Bribery
"made a great Eſtate to himſelf; and extorted much Money from
"the Kings Subjects, and being greatly enriched, had treated the No-
"bility with much contempt. And on the laſt of *January* in the 31th
"year of the Kings Reign, in the Pariſh of St. *Martins* in the Fields,
"when ſome had put him in mind to what the King had raiſed him,
"he ſaid, *If the Lords would handle him ſo, he would give them ſuch a*
"*Break-faſt as was never made in* England, *and that the proudeſt of them*
"*ſhould know it.* For all which Treaſons and Hereſies, he was At-
"tainted to ſuffer the pains of death, for Hereſie and Treaſon, as
"ſhould pleaſe the King, and to forfeit all his Eſtate and goods to
"the Kings uſe, that he had on the laſt of *March* in the 31ſt year
"of the Kings Reign, or ſince that time. There was added to this
"Bill, a Proviſo; That this ſhould not be hurtful to the Biſhop of
"*Bath* and *Wells*, and to the Dean and Chapter of *Wells*; with whom,
it ſeems, he had made ſome exchanges of Lands.

From theſe particulars the Reader will clearly ſee, why he was not brought to make his anſwer, moſt of them relating to Orders and Directions he had given, for which it is very probable he had the Kings Warrant. And for the matter of Hereſie, it has appeared how far the King had proceeded towards a Reformation, ſo that what he did that way, was moſt likely done by the Kings Order: But the King now falling from theſe things, it was thought they intended to ſtifle him by ſuch an Attaindor; that he might not diſcover the ſecret Orders or directions given him for his own Juſtification. For the particulars of Bribery and Extortion, they being mentioned in general expreſſions, ſeem only caſt into the heap to defame him. But for thoſe Treaſonable words, it was generally thought that they were a Contrivance of his Enemies: ſince it ſeemed a thing very extravagant, for a Favourite in the height of his Greatneſs to talk ſo rudely. And if he had been guilty of it, *Bedlam* was thought a fitter place for his Reſtraint than the *Tower*. Nor was it judged likely that he having ſuch great and watchful Enemies at Court, any ſuch diſcourſes could have layn ſo long ſecret: Or if they had come to the Kings knowledg, he was not a Prince of ſuch a temper as to have forgiven, much leſs imployed and advanced a man after ſuch diſcourſes. And to think that during theſe fifteen months, after the words were ſaid to have been ſpoken, none would have had the zeal for the King, or the malice to *Cromwel*, as to repeat them, were things that could not be believed. The formality of drawing his Dagger made it the more ſuſpected; for this was to affix an overt-Act to theſe words, which in the opinion of many Lawyers was neceſſary to make words Treaſonable. But as if theſe words had not been ill enough, ſome writers ſince have made them worſe; as if he had ſaid, *He would thruſt his Dagger in the Kings heart*: About which *Fuller* hath made another

Cenſures paſt upon it.

Story

1539. ſtory to excuſe theſe words, as if they had not been meant of the King, but of another. But all that is founded on a miſtake, which, if he had looked in the Record, he had corrected.

The King deſigns a divorce from his Queen.

Cromwels Fall was the firſt ſtep towards the Kings Divorce. For on the 24th of *June* he ſent his Queen to *Richmond*, pretending the Countrey air would agree better with her. But on the 6th of *July* a motion was made, and aſſented to in the Houſe of Lords, that they ſhould make an addreſs to the King, deſiring him to ſuffer his Marriage with the Queen to be tryed. Upon which, the Lord Chancellor, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Biſhop of *Dureſm*, were ſent down to the Commons; to repreſent the matter to them, and to deſire their concurrence in the Addreſs. To which they agreed, and ordered twenty of their number to go along with the Peers. So the whole Houſe of Lords with theſe Commoners, went to the King; and told him they had a matter of great conſequence to propoſe to him, but it was of that Importance that they firſt begged his leave to move it. That being obtained, they deſired the King would order a Tryal to be made, of the validity of his Marriage. To which the King conſented, and made a deep Proteſtation as in the preſence of God, that he ſhould conceal nothing that related to it, and all its circumſtances; And that there was nothing he held dearer than the Glory of God, the good of the Common-wealth, and the declaration of truth. So a Commiſſion was iſſued out to the Convocation to try it.

It's referred to the convocation.

On the 7th of *July* it was brought before the Convocation, of which the Reader will ſee a fuller account in the Collection at the end than is needful to be brought in here. The caſe was opened by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and a Committee was appointed to conſider it; and they deputed the Biſhop of *Dureſm*, and *Wincheſter*, and *Thirleby*, and *Richard Leighton* Dean of *York*, to examine the witneſſes that day. And the next day they received the Kings own Depoſition; with a long Declaration of the whole matter, under *Cromwels* hand in a Letter to the King; and the Depoſitions of moſt of the Privy Councellors, of the Earl of *Southampton*, the Lord *Ruſſel* then Admiral, of Sir *Anthony Brown*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Doctor *Chambers*, and Doctor *Butts*, the Kings Phyſicians, and of ſome Ladies that had talked with the Queen. All which amounted to this; that the King expected that the Precontract with the Marqueſs of *Lorrain*, ſhould have been more fully cleared. That the King always diſliked her, and Marryed her full ſore againſt his heart; and ſince that time he had never conſummated the Marriage. So the ſubſtance of the whole evidence being conſidered, it amounted to theſe three Particulars. *Firſt*, That there had been a Contract between the Marqueſs of *Lorrain* and the Queen, which was not ſufficiently cleared: for it did not yet appear whether theſe Eſpouſals were made by the Parties themſelves, or in the words of the preſent tenſe. Then it was ſaid, That the King having Marryed her againſt his will, he had not given a pure, inward, and compleat conſent: And ſince a mans Act is only what is inward, extorted or forced promiſes do not bind. And *Thirdly*, That he had never conſummated the Marriage. To which was added the great intereſt the whole Nation had in the Kings having more iſſue, which they ſaw he could

Collect. *Numb.* 17.
Collect. *Numb.* 18.

Reaſons pretended for it.

could never have by the Queen. This was furiouſly driven on by the Popiſh Party. And *Cranmer*, whether overcome with theſe arguments, or rather with fear, for he knew it was contrived to ſend him quickly after *Cromwel*, conſented with the reſt. So that the whole Convocation without one diſagreeing Vote, Judged the marriage null, and of no force: and that both the King, and the Lady, were free from the bond of it. 1540. Convocation agree to it. Collect. *Numb.* 19.

This was the greateſt piece of Compliance that ever the King had from the Clergy. For as they all knew there was nothing of weight in that præcontract; ſo they laid down a moſt pernicious Precedent, for invalidating all publick Treaties and Agreements: ſince if one of the Parties being unwilling to it, ſo that his conſent were not inward, he was not bound by it, there was no ſafety among men more. For no man can know whether another conſents inwardly: And when a man does any thing with great averſion, to infer from thence, that he does not inwardly conſent, may furniſh every one with an excuſe, to break looſe from all engagements: For he may pretend he did it unwillingly, and get his friends to declare that he privately ſignified that to them. And for that argument, which was taken from the want of Conſummation; they had forgotten what was pleaded on the Kings behalf 10 years before, That conſent without Conſummation, made a Marriage compleat; by which they concluded, that though Prince *Arthur* had not Conſummated his Marriage with Queen *Katherine*; yet his conſent did ſo complete it, that the King could not afterwards lawfully marry her. But as the King was reſolved on any terms, to be rid of this Queen; ſo the Clergy were alſo reſolved not to incur his diſpleaſure: In which they rather ſought for reaſons to give ſome colour to their Sentence, than paſt their judgment upon the ſtrength of them. This only can be ſaid for their excuſe, that theſe were as juſt and weighty reaſons, as uſed to be admitted by the Court of *Rome* for a Divorce; and moſt of them being Canoniſts, and knowing how many Precedents there were to be found for ſuch Divorces, they thought they might do it as well as the Popes had formerly done. It is cenſured.

On the 9th of *July*, Sentence was given: Which was ſigned by both Houſes of Convocation, and had the two Arch-biſhops Seals put to it; of which whole Tryal the Record does yet remain, having eſcaped the Fate of the other Books of Convocation. The Original depoſitions are alſo yet extant.

Only I ſhall add here a reflection upon *Cromwels* misfortune, which may juſtly abate the loftineſs of haughty men. The day after he was attainted, being required to ſend to the King a full account under his hand of the buſineſs of his Marriage; which Account he ſent, as will be found in the Collection; he Concludes it with theſe abject words: "I a moſt woful Priſoner, ready to take the death, when it ſhall "pleaſe God and your Majeſty: and yet the frail fleſh inciteth me "continually to call to your Grace for Mercy, and Grace for "mine offences. And thus Chriſt ſave, preſerve, and keep you. "Written at the *Tower* this Wedneſday the laſt of *June*, with "the heavy heart, and trembling hand, of your Highneſs moſt "heavy, and moſt miſerable Priſoner, and poor ſlave, *Thomas Cromwel.* Collect. *Numb.* 17.

And

1539. "And a little below that, *Moſt Gracious Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, "Mercy.*

Report made to the Parl.

On the 10th of *July* the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* reported to the Houſe of Lords, That the Convocation had judged the Marriage Null, both by the Law of God, and the Law of the Land. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* delivered the Judgment in Writing; which being read, he enlarged on all the reaſons of it. This ſatisfied the Lords, and they ſent down *Cranmer* and him to the Commons, to give them the ſame account. Next day the King ſent the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Southampton*, and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to let the Queen know what was done: who was not at all troubled at it, and ſeemed not ill pleaſed. They told her, that the King would by Letters Patents Declare her his Adopted Siſter, and give her precedence before all the Ladies of *England*, next his Queen and Daughters: and aſſign her an Eſtate of 3000 *lib.* a year; and that ſhe had her choice either to live in *England*, or to return home again. She accepted the offer, and under her hand declared her conſent and approbation of the Sentence; and choſe to live ſtill in *England*, where ſhe was in great honour, rather than return under that diſgrace to her own Countrey. She was alſo deſired to write to her Brother, and let him know, that ſhe approved of what was done in her matter, and that the King uſed her as a Father, or a Brother; and therefore to deſire him and her other friends not to take this matter ill, or leſſen their friendſhip to the King. She had no mind to do that, but ſaid, it would be time enough when her Brother wrote to her, to ſend him ſuch an anſwer. But it was anſwered, That much depended on the firſt Impreſſions that are received of any matter. She in concluſion ſaid, ſhe would obey the King in every thing he deſired her to do. So ſhe wrote the Letter as they deſired it; and the day following, being the 12th of *July*, the Bill was brought into the Houſe, for annulling the Marriage, which went eaſily through both Houſes.

The Queen conſents to it.

Collect. *Numb.* 20.

An Act about the Incontinence of Prieſts.

On the 16th of *July*, a Bill was brought in, for moderating the Statute of the ſix Articles in the Clauſes that related to the marriage of the Prieſts, or their Incontinency with other Women. On the 17th, it was agreed by the whole Houſe without a contradictory vote, and ſent down to the Commons; who on the 21th, ſent it up again. By it the pains of Death were turned to forfeitures of their Goods and Chattels, and the rents of their Eccleſiaſtical promotions, to the King.

Another about Religion.

On the 20th of *July* a Bill was brought in concerning a Declaration of the Chriſtian Religion, and was then read the firſt, 2d, and 3d, time, and paſſed without any oppoſition, and ſent down to the Commons, who agreeing to it, ſent it up again the next day. "It contained, that "the King as Supream Head of the Church, was taking much pains "for an Union among all his Subjects in matters of Religion: and for "preventing the further progreſs of Hereſie, had appointed many of "the Biſhops and the moſt learned Divines, to declare the principal "Articles of the Chriſtian Belief, with the Ceremonies, and way of "Gods ſervice to be obſerved. That therefore a thing of that weight "might not be raſhly done, or haſted through, in this Seſſion of Parliament;

" liament; but be done with that care which was requiſite; There- 1540.
" fore it was Enacted, that whatſoever was determined by the Arch-Bi-
" ſhops, Biſhops, and the other Divines, now Commiſſionated for
" that effect, or by any others appointed by the King, or by the whole
" Clergy of *England*, and publiſhed by the Kings Authority concer-
" ning the Chriſtian Faith, or the Ceremonies of the Church, ſhould
" be believed and obeyed by all the Kings Subjects; as well as if
" the particulars ſo ſet forth had been ennumerated in this Act,
" any Cuſtom or Law to the Contrary notwithſtanding. To
" this, a ſtrange Proviſo was added, which deſtroyed the former
" Clauſe; That nothing ſhould be done or determined by the Au-
" thority of this Act, which was contrary to the Laws and Statutes
" of the Kingdom. But whether this Proviſo was added by the Houſe
of Commons, or originally put into the Bill, does not appear. It was
more likely it was put in at the firſt by the Kings Council: for theſe
contradictory Clauſes raiſed the Prerogative higher, and left it in the
Judges power to determine which of the two ſhould be followed; by
which all Eccleſiaſtical matters were to be brought under Tryals at
Common Law: for it was one of the great deſigns, both of the Miniſters
and Lawyers at this time, to bring all Eccleſiaſtical Matters to the
Cognizance of the Secular Judge.

But another Bill paſſed, which ſeems a little odd, concerning the
circumſtances of that time. " That whereas many Marriages had been
" annulled in the time of Popery, upon the pretence of Precontracts,
" or other degrees of kindred, than thoſe that were prohibited by the
" Law of God: Therefore, after a Marriage was conſummated, no
" pretence of any pre-contract, or any degrees of kindred or alliance,
" but thoſe mentioned in the Law of God, ſhould be brought or made
" uſe of, to annull it; ſince theſe things had been oft pretended,
" only to diſſolve a Marriage, when the parties grew weary of each o-
" ther, which was contrary to Gods Law. Therefore it was Enacted that
" no pretence of precontract, not conſummated, ſhould be made uſe
" of to annull a Marriage duly ſolemnized, and conſummated; and
" that no degrees of kindred, not mentioned by the Law of God, ſhould
" be pleaded to annull a Marriage. This Act gave great occaſion of
cenſuring the Kings former proceedings againſt Queen *Anne Boleyn*,
ſince that which was now condemned had been the pretence for
diſſolving his Marriage with her. Others thought the King did it on
deſign to remove that Impediment out of the way of the Lady *Eli-
zabeth*'s ſucceeding to the Crown; ſince that judgment upon which
ſhe was Illegitimated, was now indirectly cenſured: And that other
branch of the Act, for taking away all prohibitions of Marriages,
within any degrees but thoſe forbidden in Scripture, was to make way
for the Kings Marriage with *Katherine Howard*, who was Couſin Ger-
man to Queen *Anne Boleyn*; for that was one of the prohibited de-
grees by the Canon Law.

The Province of *Canterbury* offered a Subſidy of four ſhillings in the pound, of all Eccleſiaſtical preferments, to be payed in two years, and in that acknowledgment of the great liberty they enjoyed by being delivered from the Uſurpations of the Biſhops of *Rome*; and in recompence the great charges of the King had been at, and was ſtill to

Subſidies granted by the Clergy.

1540. be at, in building Havens, Bullwarks, and other Forts, for the defence of his Coaſts, and the ſecurity of his Subjects. This was confirmed in Parliament. But that did not ſatisfie the King; who had husbanded the money that came in by the ſale of Abbey Lands, ſo ill, that now he wanted money, and was forced to aske a ſubſidy for his Marriage of the Parliament: this was obtained with great difficulty. For
And Laiety. it was ſaid, That if the King was already in want, after ſo vaſt an income, eſpecially being engaged in no Warr, there would be no end of his neceſſities; nor could it be poſſible for them to ſupply them. But it was anſwered, that the King had laid out a great Treaſure in fortifying the Coaſt: and though he was then in no viſible Warr, yet the charge he was at in keeping up the Warr beyond Sea, was equal to the expence of a Warr; and much more to the advantage of his people, who were kept in peace and plenty. This obtained a Tenth, and four 15ths. After the paſſing of all theſe Bills, and many others that concerned the publick, with ſeveral other Bills of Attaindor, of ſome that favoured the Popes Intereſts, or Correſponded with Cardinal *Pool*; which ſhall be mentioned in another place, the King ſent in a General Pardon, with the Ordinary Exceptions; and in particular, excepted *Cromwel*, the Counteſs of *Sarum*, with many others, then in perſon; Some of them were put in for oppoſing the Kings Supremacy, and others for tranſgreſſing the Statute of the ſix Articles; On the 24th of *July* the Parliament was diſſolved.

Cromwels Death. And now *Cromwel*, who had been ſix weeks a Priſoner, was brought to his Execution. He had uſed all the endeavours he could for his own preſervation. Once he wrote to the King in ſuch melting terms, that he made the Letter to be thrice read, and ſeemed touched with it. But the charms of *Katharine Howard*, and the endeavours of the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* at length prevailed. So a Warrant was ſent to cut off his Head, on the 28th of *July* at *Tower-hill*. When he was brought to the Scaffold, his kindneſs to his Son made him very cautious in what he ſaid; he declined the purging of himſelf, but ſaid, he was by Law condemned "to die, and thanked God for bringing him to that death, for his "offences. He acknowledged his Sins againſt God, and his offences "againſt his Prince, who had raiſed him from a baſe degree. He "declared that he died in the Catholick Faith, not doubting of any "Article of Faith, or of any Sacrament of the Church: and denied "that he had been a Supporter of thoſe who believed ill opinions: "He confeſſed he had been ſeduced, but now died in the Catholick "Faith, and deſired them to pray for the King, and for the Prince, "and for himſelf: and then prayed very fervently for the remiſſion of his paſt ſins, and admittance into Eternal Glory: and having given the Sign, the Executioner cut off his Head very barbarouſly.

His Character. Thus fell that great Miniſter, that was raiſed meerly upon the ſtrength of his natural parts. For as his Extraction was mean, ſo his Education was low: All the learning he had, was, that he had got the new-Teſtament in Latine by heart. His great wiſdom, and dexterity in buſineſs, raiſed him up through ſeveral ſteps, till he was become as great as a Subject could be. He carryed his greatneſs with wonder-

wonderful temper and moderation; and fell under the weight of popular *Odium*, rather than Guilt. The diſorders in the Suppreſſion of Abbeys were generally charged on him. Yet when he fell, no Bribery, nor cheating of the King, could be faſtned on him; though ſuch things came out in ſwarms on a diſgraced Favourite, when there is any ground for them. By what he ſpoke at his death, he left it much doubted of what Religion he dyed. But it is certain he was a *Lutheran*. The term *Catholick-Faith* uſed by him in his laſt ſpeech ſeemed to make it doubtful, but that was then uſed in *England*, in its true ſenſe, in Oppoſition to the Novelties of the See of *Rome*, as will afterwards appear, on another occaſion. So that his Profeſſion of the Catholich-Faith was ſtrangely perverted, when ſome from thence Concluded that he dyed in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*. But his praying in *Engliſh*, and that only to God through Chriſt, without any of theſe tricks that were uſed when thoſe of that Church died, ſhewed he was none of theirs. With him the Office of the Kings Vice-gerent in Eccleſiaſtical affairs died, as it roſe firſt in his perſon: and as all the Clergy oppoſed the ſeting up a new Officer, whoſe Intereſt ſhould oblige him to oppoſe a Reconciliation with *Rome*, ſo it ſeems none were fond to ſucceed in an Office, that proved ſo fatal to him that had firſt carryed it. The King was ſaid to have lamented his death, after it was too late; but the fall of the new Queen, that followed not long after, and the miſeries which fell alſo on the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Family, ſome years after, were looked on as the Scourges of Heaven, for their cruel proſecution of this unfortunate Miniſter. 1540.

With his fall, the progreſs of the Reformation, which had been by his endeavours ſo far advanced, was quite ſtopt. For all that *Cranmer* could do after this, was to keep the ground they had gained. But he could never advance much further. And indeed every one expected to ſee him go next. For, as one *Goſtwick* Knight for *Bedfordſhire*, had named him in the Houſe of Commons, as the Supporter and Promoter of all the Hereſie that was in *England*; ſo the Popiſh party reckoned they had but half done their work, by deſtroying *Cromwel*; and that it was not finiſhed till *Cranmer* followed him. Therefore all poſſible endeavors were uſed to make diſcoveries of the Encouragement, which, as was believed he gave to the Preachers of the condemned Doctrines. And it is very probable, that had not the Incontinence of *Katherine Howard* (whom the King declared Queen on the 8th of *Auguſt*,) broken out not long after, he had been Sacrificed the next Seſſion of Parliament. Deſigns againſt *Cranmer*.

But now I return to my proper buſineſs, to give an account of Church-matters for this year; with which theſe great Changes in Court had ſo great a Relation, that the Reader will excuſe the digreſſion about them.

Upon *Cromwels* fall, *Gardiner*, and thoſe that followed him, made no doubt but they ſhould quickly recover what they had loſt of late years. So their greateſt attempt was upon the Tranſlation of the Scriptures. The Convocation Books (as I have been forced often to lament,) are loſt; ſo that here I cannot ſtir, but as *Fuller* leads me: who aſſures the World that he Copied out of the Records with his

own Pen what he publiſhed. And yet I doubt he has miſtaken himſelf in the year; and that which he calls the Convocation of this year, was the Convocation of the year 1542. For he tells us that their 7th Seſſion was the 10th of *March*. Now in this year the Convocation did not ſit down till the 13th of *April*, but that year it ſate all *March*. So likewiſe he tells us of the Biſhops of *Weſtminſter*, *Gloceſter*, and *Peterborough*, bearing a ſhare in this Convocation: whereas theſe were not Conſecrated before Winter, and could not ſit as Biſhops in this Synod. And beſides, *Thirleby* ſate at this time in the lower Houſe; as was formerly ſhewn in the Proceſs about *Anne* of *Cleves* Marriage. So that their attempt againſt the new Teſtament belongs to the year 1542.

A Commiſſion ſits about Religion.

But they were now much better employed, though not in the way of Convocation. For a ſelect number of them ſate by vertue of a Commiſſion from the King confirmed in Parliament. Their firſt work was to draw up a Declaration of the Chriſtian Doctrine, *for the neceſſary erudition of a Chriſtian man*. They thought that to ſpeak of Faith in general, ought naturally to go before an Expoſition of the Chriſtian Belief; and therefore with that they began.

An Explanation of Faith.

The Church of *Rome*, that deſigned to keep her Children in ignorance, had made no great account of Faith: which they generally taught, conſiſted chiefly in an Implicite Believing whatever the Church propoſed; without any explicite knowledg of particulars. So that a Chriſtian Faith, as they had explained it, was a Submiſſion to the Church. The Reformers finding that this was the Spring of all their other errors, and that which gave them colour and Authority; did on the other hand ſet up the ſtrength of their whole Cauſe on an Explicite believing the truth of the Scriptures, becauſe of the Authority of God, who had revealed them. And ſaid, that as the great Subject of the Apoſtles Preaching, was *Faith*, ſo that which they every-where taught, was to read and believe the Scriptures. Upon which followed nice Diſputing, what was that ſaving Faith by which the Scriptures ſay *we are Juſtified*. They could not ſay it was barely crediting the Divine Revelation, ſince in that ſenſe the Devils believed. Therefore they generally placed it, at firſt, in their being aſſured that they ſhould be ſaved by Chriſts dying for them. In which, their deſign was to make Holineſs and all other Graces neceſſary requiſites in the Compoſition of Faith; though they would not make them formally parts of it. For ſince Chriſts death has its full vertue and effect upon none but thoſe who are regenerate, and live according to his Goſpel; none could be aſſured that he ſhould be ſaved by Chriſts death, till he firſt found in himſelf theſe neceſſary qualifications which are delivered in the Goſpel. Having once ſetled on this phraſe, their followers would needs defend it, but really made it worſe by their Explanations. The Church of *Rome* thought they had them at great advantages in it, and called them *Solifidians*, and ſaid they were againſt good works: though whatever unwary expreſſions ſome of them threw out, they always declared good works indiſpenſably neceſſary to Salvation. But they differed from the Church of *Rome*, in two things that were material: There was alſo a third, but there the difference was more in the manner of expreſſion. The

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one was, what were good works. The Church of *Rome* had generally delivered, that works which did an immediate honour to God or his Saints, were more valuable, than works done to other men: and that the honour they did to Saints in their Images, and Relicks, and to God in his Prieſts, that were dedicated to him, were the higheſt pieces of Holineſs: as having the beſt Objects. This was the foundation of all that Trade, which brought in both Riches and Glory to their Church. On the other hand, the Reformers taught that juſtice and mercy, with other good works done in obedience to Gods Commandments, were only neceſſary. And for theſe things ſo much magnified at *Rome*, they acknowledged there ought to be a decent ſplendor in the worſhip of God: and good proviſion to be made for the encouragement of thoſe who dedicated themſelves to his Service in the Church: and that what was beyond theſe, was the effect of Ignorance and Superſtition. The other main difference was about the Merit of good works: which the Friars had raiſed ſo high, that people were come to think they bought and ſold with Almighty God, for Heaven, and all other his bleſſings. This the Reformers judged was the height of Arrogance: And therefore taught that good works were indeed abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation: but that the purchaſe of Heaven was only by the Death and Interceſſion of Jeſus Chriſt. With theſe material differences they joyned another that conſiſted more in words. Whether Obedience was an eſſential part of Faith. The Reformers ſaid it certainly accompanyed and followed Faith: but thought not fit to make it an Ingredient in the nature of Faith. Theſe things had been now much canvaſſed in diſputes: And it was thought by many, that men of ill lives made no good uſe of ſome of the Expreſſions of the Reformers, that ſeparated Faith from good works, and came to perſwade themſelves, that if they could but attain to a firm aſſurance, That they ſhould be ſaved by Chriſt, all would be well with them. Therefore now when they went about to ſtate the true Notion of Faith, *Cranmer* commanded Doctor *Redmayn*, who was eſteemed the moſt learned and judicious Divine of that time, to write a ſhort Treatiſe on theſe Heads: which he did with that ſolidity and clearneſs, that it will ſufficiently juſtifie any advantagious Character that can be given of the Author; and according to the Concluſions of that Treatiſe they laid down the nature of Faith, thus: That it ſtands in two ſeveral ſenſes in Scripture, "The one is a perſwaſion "of the truths, both of natural and revealed Religion, wrought in "the mind by Gods holy Spirit: And the other is ſuch a belief as be-"gets a ſubmiſſion to the will of God, and hath Hope, Love, and "Obedience to Gods Commandments joyned to it: which was *Abra-"ham's* Faith, and that which according to St. *Paul* wrought by Cha-"rity, and was ſo much commended in the Epiſtle to the *Hebrews*. "That this was the Faith which in Baptiſm is profeſſed, from which "Chriſtians are called the *Faithful*: And in thoſe Scriptures where it "is ſaid, That we are juſtified by Faith, they declared, we may not "think that we be juſtified by Faith, as it is a ſeparate vertue from "Hope and Charity, Fear of God, and Repentance; but by it is meant "Faith, neither only, nor alone, but with the foreſaid vertues coup-"led together; containing (as is aforeſaid) the Obedience to the

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1539. "whole Doctrine and Religion of Chriſt. But for the Definition of "Faith, which ſome propoſed, as if it were a certainty that one was "Predeſtinated, they found nothing of it, either in the Scriptures, "or the Doctors: and thought that could not be known: for though "God never failed in his Promiſes to men, yet ſuch was the frailty of "men, that they often failed in their promiſes to God, and ſo did for-"feit their right to the promiſes, which are all made upon conditions "that depend on us.

Cranmers Opinion about it.

Upon this occaſion I ſhall digreſs a little, to ſhow with what care *Cranmer* conſidered ſo weighty a point. Among his other Papers, I find a Collection of a great many places out of the Scripture, concerning Juſtification by Faith, together with a vaſt number of Quotations, out of *Origen*, *Baſil*, *Jerome*, *Theodoret*, *Ambroſe*, *Auſtin*, *Proſper*, *Chryſoſtom*, *Gennadius*, *Beda*, *Heſychius*, *Theophylact*, and *Oecumenius*; together with many later writers, ſuch as *Anſelm*, *Bernard*, *Peter Lombard*, *Hugo Cardinalis*, *Lyranus*, and *Bruno*; in which the ſenſe of thoſe Authors in this Point did appear; all drawn out with his own hand. To this is added another Collection of many places of the Fathers, in which they ſpeak of the *merit of good works*: and at the end of the whole Collection he writes theſe words, "This Propoſition that we be "juſtified by Chriſt only, and not by our good works; is a very true "and neceſſary Doctrine of St. *Pauls*, and the other Apoſtles, taught "by them, to ſet forth thereby the Glory of Chriſt, and the Mercy of "God through Chriſt. And after ſome further diſcourſe to the ſame purpoſe, he concludes, although all that be juſtified muſt of neceſſi-"ty have Charity, as well as Faith; yet neither Faith nor Charity "be the worthineſs nor merits of our Juſtification: but that is to be "aſcribed only to our Saviour Chriſt: who was offered upon the croſs "for our ſins, and roſe again for our Juſtification. This I ſet down to let the World ſee that *Cranmer* was not at all concerned in thoſe niceties, which have been ſo much enquired into ſince that time, about the inſtrumentality of Faith, in Juſtification; all that he then conſidered, being that the glory of it might be aſcribed only to the Death and Interceſſion of Jeſus Chriſt.

They explain the Apoſtles Creed.

After this was thus laid down, there followed an Explanation of the Apoſtles Creed; full of excellent matters; being a large Paraphraſe on every Article of the Creed, with ſuch ſerious and practical Inferences, that I muſt acknowledg, after all the practical Books we have had, I find great Edification in reading that over and over again. The Style is ſtrong, nervous, and well-fitted for the weakeſt capacities. There is nothing in this that is controverted between the Papiſts and the Reformers; except the Definition of *the Holy Catholick Church*, which they give thus. *That it comprehends all Aſſemblies of men over the whole World, that receive the Faith of Chriſt: who ought to hold an unity of Love, and Brotherly agreement together, by which they become members of the Catholick Church.* Upon which a long excurſion is made, to ſhew the unjuſtice and unreaſonableneſs of the plea of the Church of *Rome*; who place the unity of the Catholick Church, in a ſubmiſſion to the Biſhop of their City; without any ground from Scripture, or the Ancient writers.

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From that they proceeded to Examine the ſeven Sacraments: And here fell in ſtiff debates, which remain in ſome Authentick Writings, that give a great light to their proceedings. The method which they followed was this. Firſt, the whole buſineſs they were to conſider, was divided into ſo many heads; which were propoſed as Queries, and theſe were given out to ſo many Biſhops and Divines: And at a prefixed time every one brought his opinion in writing, upon all the Queries. So concerning the ſeven Sacraments, the Queries were given out to the two Arch-Biſhops, the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Carliſle*, (though the laſt was not in the Commiſſion,) And to the Biſhops of *Dureſm*, *Hereford*, and St. *Davids*. For though the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was in this Commiſſion, yet he did nothing in this particular; but I Imagine that he was gone out of Town, and that the Biſhop of *Carliſle* was appointed to ſupply his abſence. The Queries were alſo given to Doctor *Thirleby*, then Biſhop Elect of *Weſtminſter*, to Doctor *Robertſon*, *Day*, *Redmayn*, *Cox*, *Leighton*, (though not in the Commiſſion) *Symmonds*, *Treſham*, *Coren*, (though not in the Commiſſion,) *Edgeworth*, *Ogle thorp*, *Crayford*, *Wilſon*, and *Robins*. When their anſwers were given in, two were appointed to compare them, and draw an Extract of the particulars, in which they agreed or diſagreed: which the one did in *Latine*, and the other in *Engliſh*; only thoſe who compared them, it ſeems, doing it for the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbary*, took no notice of his Opinions in the Extract they made. And of theſe, the Original anſwers of the two Arch-Biſhops, the Biſhops of *London*, *Rocheſter*, and *Carliſle*, and theſe Doctors, *Day*, *Robertſon*, *Redmayn*, *Cox*, *Leighton*, *Symmonds*, *Treſham*, *Coren*, *Edgeworth*, and *Ogle thorp*, are yet extant. But the Papers given in by the Biſhops of *Dureſm*, *Hereford*, and St. *Davids*, and the Elect of *Weſtminſter*, and Doctors, *Crayford*, *Wilſon*, and *Robins*, though they are mentioned in the Extracts made out of them, yet are loſt. This the Reader will find in the Collection; which, though it be ſomewhat large, yet I thought ſuch pieces were of too great Importance, not to be communicated to the World; ſince it is perhaps as great an Evidence of the ripeneſs of their proceedings, as can be ſhewed in any Church, or any Age of it. And though other Papers of this ſort do not occur in this Kings Reign; yet I have reaſon to conclude from this Inſtance, that they proceeded with the ſame maturity in the reſt of their deliberations. In which I am the more confirmed, becauſe I find another inſtance like this, in the Reformation that was further carried on in the ſucceeding Reign of *Edward* the 6th; of many Biſhops and Divines giving in their opinions under their hands, upon ſome heads then examined and changed. In *Cranmers* Paper ſome ſingular opinions of his about the nature of Eccleſiaſtical Offices will be found; but as they are delivered by him with all poſſible modeſty, ſo they were not eſtabliſhed as the Doctrine of the Church, but laid aſide as particular conceits of his own, and it ſeems that afterwards he changed his opinion. For he Subſcribed the Book that was ſoon after ſet out; which is directly contrary to thoſe opinions ſet down in theſe Papers. *Cranmer* was for reducing the Sacraments to two, but the Popiſh party was then prevalent, ſo the old number of ſeven was agreed to.

1540. The ſeven Sacraments.

With great maturity.

Collect. *Numb.* 21.

Baptiſm

1539. Baptiſm was explained in the ſame manner that had been done three years before, in the Articles then ſet out; only the matter of Original Sin was more enlarged on.

Secondly, Pennance was formally placed in the abſolution of the Prieſt; which by the former Articles was only declared a thing deſirable, and not to be contemned if it might be had; yet all merit of good works was rejected, though they were declared neceſſary: and ſinners were taught to depend wholly on the Sufferings of Chriſt; with other good directions about Repentance.

Thirdly, In the Explanation of the Euchariſt, Tranſubſtantiation was fully aſſerted: as alſo the Concomitancy of the Blood with the Fleſh; ſo that Communion in both kinds was not neceſſary. The uſe of hearing Maſs, though one did not Communicate, was alſo aſſerted. To which were added very good Rules about the diſpoſition of mind that ought to accompany this Sacrament.

Fourthly, Matrimony was ſaid to be Inſtituted of God, and Sanctified by Chriſt: The degrees in the *Moſaical* Law were declared obligatory, and none elſe: and the Bond of Marriage was declared not ſeparable on any account.

Fifthly, Orders were to be adminiſtred in the Church, according to the New-Teſtament: but the particular forms, of Nominating, Electing, Preſenting, or appointing Eccleſiaſtical Miniſters, was left to the Laws of every Countrey, to be made by the aſſent of the Prince. The Office of Church-men was to Preach, Adminiſter the Sacraments, to bind and looſe, and to pray for the whole Flock: But they muſt execute theſe, with ſuch limitation as was allowed by the Laws of every Kingdom. The Scripture, they ſaid, made expreſs mention only of the two Orders of Prieſts and Deacons. To theſe the Primitive Church had added ſome Inferior degrees, which were alſo not to be contemned. But no Biſhop had any Authority over other Biſhops by the Law of God. Upon which followed a long Digreſſion, confuting the pretenſions of the Biſhops of *Rome*; with an Explanation of the Kings Authority in Eccleſiaſtical matters; which was before hand ſet down in another place, to ſhew what they underſtood by the Kings being *Supream Head of the Church*.

Sixthly, Confirmation was ſaid to have been uſed in the Primitive Church, in Imitation of the Apoſtles; who by laying on their hands conferred the Holy-Ghoſt, in an extraordinary manner. And therefore was of great advantage, but not neceſſary to Salvation.

Seventhly, Extream-unction was ſaid to have been derived from the practice of the Apoſtles, mentioned by St. *James*, for the health both of Body, and Soul: And though the ſick perſon was not always recovered of his bodily ſickneſs by it, yet remiſſion of ſins was obtained by it; and that which God knew to be beſt for our bodily condition, to whoſe will we ought always to ſubmit. But this Sacrament was only fruitful to thoſe who by pennance were reſtored to the State of Grace.

The ten Commandments.

Then followed an Explanation of the Ten Commandements, which contains many good rules of Morality, drawn from every one of them. The 2d Commandment *Gardiner* had a minde to have ſhortned, and to caſt it into the firſt. *Cranmer* was for ſetting it down as it was in the

the Law of *Moſes*. But a temper was found: it was placed as a Diſtinct Commandment, but not at full length; the words, *For I the Lord thy God*, &c. being left out, and only thoſe that go before being ſet down. In the Explanation of this Commandment, Images were ſaid to be profitable for putting us in mind of the great bleſſings we have received by our Saviour, and of the vertues and holineſs of the Saints, by which we were to be ſtirred up to imitate them: So that they were not to be deſpiſed, though we be forbidden to do any godly honour to them. And therefore the Superſtition of preferring one Image to another, as if they had any ſpecial vertue in them, or the adorning them richly, and making Vowes and Pilgrimages to them, is condemned; yet the Cenſing of Images, and Kneeling before them, are not condmned: but the people muſt be taught, that theſe things were not to be done to the Image it ſelf, but to God and his honour. To the third Commandment, they reduced the Invocation of Gods name for his Gifts. And they condemned the Invocation of Saints, when ſuch things were prayed for from them, which were only given by God. This was the giving his Glory to Creatures: yet to pray to Saints as Interceſſors is declared lawful, and according to the Doctrine of the Catholick Church. Upon the 4th Commandement a Reſt from labour every 7th day is ſaid to be Ceremonial, and ſuch as only obliged *Jews*: but the Spiritual ſignification of Reſt among Chriſtians, was to abſtain from Sin, and other Carnal pleaſures. But beſides that, we were alſo bound by this Precept ſometimes to ceaſe from labour, that we may ſerve and worſhip God both in publick and private: And that on the dayes appointed for this purpoſe, people ought to examine their lives, the paſt week, and ſet to amendment, and give themſelves to prayer, reading, and meditation. Yet in caſes of neceſſity, ſuch as ſaving their Corn, or Cattel, men ought not ſuperſtitiouſly to think that it is a Sin to work on that day; but to do their work without ſcruple. Then follow very profitable Expoſitions of the other Commandments, with many grave and weighty admonitions concerning the duties by them enjoyned, and againſt thoſe ſins which are too Common in all Ages. 1540.

After that, an Explanation of the Lords Prayer was added. In the preface to which, it is ſaid, that it is meet and requiſite that the unlearned people ſhould make their Prayers in their Mother-Tongue; whereby they may be the more ſtirred to Devotion, and to mind the things they prayed for. Then followed an Expoſition of the Angels Salutation of the Bleſſed Virgin: In which, the whole Hiſtory of the Incarnation of Chriſt was opened, and the *Ave Maria* explained; which Hymne was chiefly to be uſed, in Commemoration of Chriſts Incarnation, and likewiſe to ſet forth the praiſes of the Bleſſed Virgin. The next article is about Free-will, which they ſay muſt be in man, otherwiſe all Precepts and Exhortations are to no purpoſe. They defined it *a power of the will, joyned with Reaſon, whereby a reaſonable creature, without conſtraint, in things of reaſon, diſcerneth and willeth good and evil; but chooſeth good by the aſſiſtance of Gods grace and evil of it ſelf.* This was perfect in the State of Innocency, but is much impaired by *Adams* Fall, and now by an eſpecial grace (offered to all men, but enjoyed only by thoſe who by their free-will do accept the ſame,) it

The Lords Prayer.

The *Ave Maria*.

Free-will.

1540. it was reſtored, that with great watchfulneſs we may ſerve God acceptably. And as many places of Scripture ſhew, That free-will is ſtill in man, ſo there be many others which ſhew that the grace of God is neceſſary, that doth both prevent us, and aſſiſt us, both to begin, and perform every good work. Therefore all men ought moſt gratefully to receive and follow the motions of the Holy Ghoſt, and to beg Gods grace with earneſt devotion, and a ſtedfaſt Faith: which he will grant to all that ſo ask it, both becauſe he is naturally good and he has promiſed to grant our deſires. For he is not the author of Sin, nor the Cauſe of mans Damnation; but this men draw on themſelves, who by vice have corrupted theſe Natures which God made good. Therefore all Preachers were warned ſo to moderate themſelves in this high point, that they neither ſhould ſo preach the Grace of God as to take away Free-will, nor ſo extol Free-will, as injury might be done to the Grace of God.

Juſtification. After this they handled Juſtification. Having ſtated the miſeries of man by nature, and the guilt of Sin, with the unſpeakable goodneſs of God in ſending Chriſt to redeem us by his death, who was the Mediator between God and man; They next ſhew how men are made partakers of the bleſſings which he hath procured. Juſtification is the making of us righteous before God, whereby we are reconciled to him, and made heirs of Eternal life: that by his Grace we may walk in his ways, and be reputed juſt and righteous in the day of Judgment, and ſo attain Everlaſting Happineſs. God is the chief cauſe of our Juſtification: yet man prevented by Grace is by his free-conſent and obedience a worker toward the attaining his own Juſtification. For though it is only procur'd through the merits of Chriſts death, yet every one muſt do many things to attain a right and claim to that which, though it was offered to all, yet was applied but to a few. We muſt have a ſtedfaſt Faith, true Repentance, real purpoſes of amendment; committing Sin no more, but ſerving God all our lives; which if we fall from, we muſt recover it, by Penance, Faſting, Almes, Prayer, with other good works, and a firm Faith, going forward in mortification and obedience to the Laws of God: It being certain that men might fall away from their Juſtification. All curious reaſonings about Predeſtination were to be ſet apart; there being no certainty to he had of our Election, but by feeling the motions of Gods Spirit in us, by a good and virtuous life, and perſevering in it to the end. Therefore it was to be taught, that as on the one hand we are juſtified freely by the free Grace of God, ſo on the other hand, when it is ſaid *We are juſtified by Faith*, it muſt be underſtood of ſuch a Faith, in which the fear of God, Repentance, Hope, and Charity, be included, all which muſt be joyned together in our Juſtification: and though theſe be imperfect, yet God accepteth of them freely thorough Chriſt.

Good Works. Next, good works were explained, which were ſaid to be abſolutely neceſſary to Salvation. But theſe were not only outward corporal works, but inward Spiritual works, as the Love and Fear of God, Patience, Humility, and the like. Nor were they Superſtitions, and mens Inventions, ſuch as thoſe in which Monks and Friers exerciſed themſelves: nor only moral works done by the power of Natural

ral reaſon: but the works of Charity, flowing from a pure heart, a good Conſcience, and Faith unfeigned; which were meritorious towards the attaining of Everlaſting life. Other works were of an Inferior ſort; ſuch as Faſting, Almſdeeds, and other fruits of Penance. And the merit of good works is reconciled with the freedom of Gods mercies to us, ſince all our works are done by his Grace; ſo that we have no cauſe of boaſting, but muſt aſcribe all to the Grace and goodneſs of God. The laſt Chapter is about Prayers for Souls departed, which is the ſame that was formerly ſet out in the Articles three years before. 1540.

All this was finiſhed and ſet forth this year, with a Preface written by thoſe of the Clergy who had been imployed in it: declaring with what care they had examined the Scriptures, and the ancient Doctors, out of whom they had faithfully gathered this Expoſition of the Chriſtian Faith. To this the King added another Preface ſome years after, declaring that although he had caſt out the darkneſs, by ſetting forth the Scriptures to his people, which had produced very good effects; yet, as hypocriſie and ſuperſtition were purged away, ſo a Spirit of preſumption, diſſenſion, and carnal liberty was breaking in. For repreſſing which he had by the advice of his Clergy, ſet forth a Declaration of the true knowledg of God, for directing all mens belief and practice; which both Houſes of Parliament had ſeen, and liked very well. So that he verily truſted it contained a true and ſufficient Doctrine, for the attaining everlaſting life. Therefore he required all his people, to read and print in their hearts, the Doctrine of this Book. He alſo willed them to remember, that as there were ſome Teachers, whoſe Office it was to inſtruct the people; ſo the reſt ought to be taught, and to thoſe it was not neceſſary to read the Scriptures: and that therefore he had reſtrained it from a great many, eſteeming it ſufficient for ſuch to hear the Doctrine of the Scriptures taught by their Preachers, which they ſhould lay up in their hearts, and practiſe in their lives. Laſtly, he deſired all his Subjects to pray to God to grant them the Spirit of Humility, that they might read and carry in their hearts the Doctrine ſet forth in this Book. But though I have joyned the account of this Preface, to the Extract here made of the Biſhops Book, yet it was not prefixed to it, till above two years after the other was ſet out.

All this ſet forth in a Book,

And publiſhed by the Kings Authority.

When this was publiſhed, both parties found cauſe in it both to be glad and ſorrowful. The Reformers rejoyced to ſee the Doctrine of the Goſpel thus opened more and more; for they concluded that Ignorance and prejudices, being the chief ſupports of the Errours they complained of; the inſtructing people in Divine Matters, even though ſome particulars diſpleaſed them, yet would awaken and work upon an inquiſitive humour that was then a-ſtirring; and they did not doubt but their Doctrines were ſo clear, that Inquiries into Religion would do their buſineſs. They were alſo glad to ſee the Morals of Chriſtianity ſo well cleared, which they hoped would diſpoſe people to a better taſte of Divine matters; ſince they had obſerved that purity of Soul does mightily prepare people for ſound opinions. Moſt of the Superſtitious conceits and practices, which had for ſome ages em-

It is variouſly cenſured.

1540. baſed the Chriſtian Faith, were now removed; and the great fundamental of Chriſtianity, the Covenant between God and man in Chriſt, with the conditions of it, was plainly and ſincerely declared. There was alſo another principle laid down, that was big with a further Reformation: for every Nations Church was declared a compleat Body within it ſelf, with power to reform hereſies, correct abuſes, and do every thing elſe that was neceſſary for keeping it ſelf pure, or governing its members. By which there was a fair way opened for a full diſcuſſion of things afterwards, when a fitter opportunity ſhould be offered. But on the other hand, the Popiſh party thought they had gained much. The ſeven Sacraments were again aſſerted, ſo that here much ground was recovered, and they hoped more would follow. There were many things laid down, to which they knew the Reformers would never conſent. So that they, who were reſolved to comply with every thing that the King had a mind to, were pretty ſafe. But the others, who followed their perſwaſions and conſciences were brought into many ſnares; and the Popiſh party was confident that their abſolute compliance, which was joyned with all poſſible ſubmiſſion and flattery, would gain the King at length: and the ſtiffneſs of others, who would not give that deference to the Kings judgment and pleaſure, would ſo alienate him from them, that he would in the end abandon them; for with the Kings years his uneaſineſs and peeviſhneſs grew mightily on him.

The diſſolution of the Kings Marriage with *Anne* of *Cleves*, had ſo offended the Princes of *Germany*, that though upon the Ladies account, they made no publick noiſe of it; yet there was little more intercourſe between the King and them, eſpecially *Cromwel* falling, that had alwayes carried on the correſpondence with them. And as this intercourſe went off, ſo a ſecret Treaty was ſet on foot between the King and the Emperor: yet it came not to a Concluſion till two years after.

Corrections of the Maſs-Book and other Offices. *Ex M S S. D. D. Stillingfleet.*

The other Biſhops that were appointed to examine the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, drew up a Rubrick and *Rationale* of them: which I do not find was printed, but a very Authentical M S. of a great part of it was is extant. The alterations they made were inconſiderable, and ſo ſlight, that there was no need of reprinting, either the Miſſalls, Breviaries, or other Offices; for a few raſures of theſe Collects in which the Pope was prayed for, of *Thomas Beckets* Office, and the Offices of other Saints, whoſe days were by the Kings Injunctions no more to be obſerved, with ſome other Deletions, made, that the old Books did ſtill ſerve. For whether it was, that the Change of the Maſs-Books, and other publick Offices, would have been too great a Charge to the Nation; or whether they thought it would have poſſeſſed the people with an opinion that the Religion was altered, ſince the Books of the ancient worſhip were changed; which remaining the ſame, they might be the more eaſily perſwaded, that the Religion was ſtill the ſame; there was no new impreſſion of the Breviaries, Miſſals, and other Rituals, during this Kings Reign. Yet in Queen *Maries* time they took care that Poſterity ſhould not know how much was daſhed out or changed. For as all Pariſhes were required to furniſh themſelves with new compleat Books of the Offices;

fices; ſo the daſhed Books were every-where brought in, and de- 1540.
ſtroyed. But it is likely that moſt of thoſe Scandalous Hymnes and Prayers, which are addreſſed to Saints in the ſame ſtyle, in which good Chriſtians worſhip God, were all ſtruck out; becauſe they were now condemned, as appears from the Extract of the other Book ſet out by the Biſhops.

But as they went on in theſe things, the Popiſh party, whoſe Counſels were laid very cloſe, and managed with great dexterity, chiefly by the Duke of *Norfolk* and *Gardiner*, purſued the ruine of thoſe whom they called Hereticks: knowing well that if the King was once ſet againſt them, and they provoked againſt the Government, he would be not only alienated from them, but forced, for ſecuring himſelf againſt them, to gain the hearts of his other Subjects by a Conjunction with the Emperor, and by his means with the Pope. The firſt on whom this deſign took effect, were Doctor *Barnes*, Mr. *Gerard*, and Mr. *Jerome*, all Prieſts; who had been among the earlieſt Converts to *Luther*'s Doctrine. *Barnes* had in a Sermon at *Cambridg*, during the Cardinals greatneſs, reflected on the Pomp and State in which he lived, ſo plainly, that every body underſtood of whom he meant. So he was carried up to *London*; but by the interpoſition of *Gardiner* and *Fox*, who were his friends, he was ſaved at that time, having abjured ſome opinions that were objected to him. But other accuſations being afterwards brought againſt him, he was again Impriſoned, and it was believed that he would have been burnt. But he made his eſcape and went to *Germany*, where he gave himſelf to the ſtudy of the Scriptures and Divinity. In which he became ſo conſiderable, that not only the *German* Divines, but their Princes, took great notice of him: and the King of *Denmark* ſending over Ambaſſadors to the King, he was ſent with them; though perhaps *Fox* was ill informed, when he ſays he was one of them. *Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*, being at *Smalcald* in the year 1536. ſent him over to *England*; where he was received and kindly entertained by *Cromwel*, and well uſed by the King. And by his means the correſpondence with the *Germans* was chiefly kept up. For he was often ſent over to the Courts of the ſeveral Princes. But in particular, he had the misfortune to be firſt employed in the project of the Kings Marriage with the Lady *Anne* of *Cleves*; for that giving the King ſo little ſatisfaction, all who were the main promoters of it fell in diſgrace upon it.

A Perſecution of Proteſtants.

Of *Barnes* and others.

But other things concurred to deſtroy *Barnes*. In Lent this year *Bonner* had appointed him and *Gerrard*, and *Jerome*, turns in the Courſe of Sermons at St. *Pauls* Croſs: they being in favour with *Cromwel*, on whom *Bonner* depended wholly. But *Gardiner* ſent *Bonner* word, that he intended himſelf to preach on Sunday at St. *Pauls* Croſs: and in his Sermon he treated of Juſtification, and other points, with many reflections on the *Lutherans*. *Barnes*, when it came to his Turn, made uſe of the ſame Text, but preached contrary Doctrine; not without ſome unhandſome reflections on *Gardiners* perſon; and he played on his name, alluding to a Gardiners ſetting ill Plants in a Garden. The other two preached the ſame Doctrine, but made no reflections on any perſon. *Gardiner* ſeemed to bear it with a great appearance of

neglect

1540. neglect and indifferency. But his friends complained to the King of the unsufferable insolencies of these Preachers, who did not spare so great a Prelate, especially he being a Privy Councellor. So *Barnes* was questioned for it, and commanded to go and give the Bishop of *Winchester* satisfaction. And the Bishop carried the matter with a great shew of moderation, and acted outwardly in it, as became his Function: though it was believed the matter stuck deeper in his heart, which the effects that followed seemed to demonstrate. The King concerned himself in the matter, and did argue with *Barnes* about the points in difference. But whether he was truly convinced, or overcome rather with the fear of the King than with the force of his reasonings; he and his two Friends, *William Jerome*, and *Tho. Gerrard*, signed a paper, (which will be found in the Collection,) in which he acknowledged, "That having been brought before the King, for "things preached by him; His Highness, being assisted by some of "the Clergy, had so disputed with him, that he was convinced of his "rashness and oversight: and promised to abstain from such indis-"cretions for the future, and to submit to any orders the King should "give for what was past.

Collect. Num. 22.

"The Articles were. *First*, That though we are Redeemed only "by the death of Christ, in which we participate by Faith and Bap-"tism; yet by not following the Commandments of Christ we "lose the benefits of it, which we cannot recover but by Pen-"nance.

"*Secondly*, That God is not the Author of Sin, or evil, which he "only permits.

"*Thirdly*, That we ought to reconcile our selves to our neighbours, "and forgive, before we can be forgiven.

"*Fourthly*, That good works, done sincerely according to the Scrip-"tures, are profitable and helpful to Salvation.

"*Fifthly*, That Laws made by Christian Rulers ought to be obey-"ed by their Subjects, for conscience sake: and that whosoever breaks "them breaks Gods Commandments.

It's not likely that *Barnes* could say any thing directly contrary to these Articles: though having brought much of *Luthers* heat over with him, he might have said some things that sounded ill upon these heads. There were other points in difference between *Gardiner* and him, about Justification; but it seems the King thought these were of so subtile a nature, that no Article of Faith was controverted in them: and therefore left the Bishop and him to agree these among themselves, which they in a great measure did. So the King commanded *Barnes* and his friends to preach at the *Spittle* in the *Easter*-week, and openly to recant what they had formerly said. And *Barnes* was in particular to ask the Bishop of *Winchester*'s pardon, which he did: and *Gardiner* being twice desired by him, to give some signe that he forgave him, did lift up his Finger. But in their Sermons, it was said they justified in one part what they recanted in another. Of which complaints being brought to the King, he, without hearing them sent them all to the *Tower*. And *Cromwels* interest at Court was then declining so fast, that either he could not protect them, or else would not prejudice himself by interposing in a matter which gave the King so

ſo great offence. They lay in the Tower till the Parliament met, and then they were attainted of Hereſie, without ever being brought to make their anſwer. And it ſeems for the Extraordinarineſs of the thing, they reſolved to mix attaindors for things that were very different from one Another. For four others were by the ſame Act attainted of Treaſon, who were *Gregory Buttolph*, *Adam Damplip*, *Edmund Brindholme*, and *Clement Philpot*, for aſſiſting *Reginald Pool*, adhering to the Biſhop of *Rome*, denying the King to be the Supream Head on earth of the Church of *England*, and deſigning to ſurprize the Town of *Callice*. One *Derby Gunnings* was alſo attainted of Treaſon for aſſiſting one *Fitz-Girald* a Traitor in *Ireland*. And after all theſe *Barnes*, *Gerard*, and *Jerome*, are attainted of Hereſie, being, as the Act ſayes, "Deteſtable Hereticks, who had conſpired together "to ſet forth many Hereſies, and taking themſelves to be men of "learning, had expounded the Scriptures; perverting them to their "Hereſies, the number of which was too long to be repeated; that "having formerly abjured, they were now incorrigible Hereticks: "and ſo were condemned to be burned, or ſuffer any other death; as "ſhould pleaſe the King. And two dayes after *Cromwels* death, being the 30th of *July*, They were brought to *Smithfield*, where in their Execution there was as odd a mixture, as had been in their Attaindors. For *Abel Fetherſton*, and *Powel*, that were attainted by another Act of the ſame Parliament, for owning the Popes Supremacy, and denying the Kings, were carried to the place of Execution, and coupled with the other three. So that one of each was put into a Hurdle, and carried together, which every body condemned as an Extravagant affectation of the ſhew of Impartial Juſtice.

1540. Who were condemned in Parliament.

When they were brought to the Stake, *Barnes* ſpake thus to the People. "Since he was to be burned as an Heretick, he would declare "what opinions he held. So he enlarged on all the Articles of the "Creed, to ſhew he believed them all. He expreſſed a particular ab"horrence of an opinion which ſome Anabaptiſts held, That the "Bleſſed Virgin was as a Saffron Bagg (by which indecent *Simile* "they meant that our Saviour took no ſubſtance of her.) He explai"ned his opinion of Good works, that they muſt of neceſſity be done, "ſince without them none ſhould ever enter into the Kingdom of "God. They were commanded of God, to ſhew forth our profeſſion "by them: but he believed, as they were not pure nor perfect, ſo "they did not avail to our Juſtification, nor merit any thing at the "hands of God; for that was to be aſcribed to the Merits of the Death "and Paſſion of Chriſt. He profeſſed great Reverence to the Bleſſed "Virgin and Saints. But ſaid, he ſaw no warrant in Scriptures for "praying to them: nor was it certain whether they prayed for us or "not; but if the Saints did pray for thoſe on Earth, he truſted within "half an hour to be praying for them all. Then he asked the Sheriff if he had any Articles againſt them, for which they were condemned: who anſwered he had none. He next asked the people, if they knew wherefore he died, or if they had been led into any Errours by his Preaching; but none made anſwer. Then he ſaid, he heard he was condemned to die by an Act of Parliament; and it ſeemed it was for Hereſie, ſince they were to be burnt. He prayed God to forgive

Their Speeches at the Stake.

thoſe

1540. thoſe who had been the occaſions of it. And in particular, for the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, if he had ſought or procured his death, he prayed God heartily to forgive him, as Chriſt forgave his Murtherers. He prayed earneſtly for the King, and the Prince; and exhorted the people to pray for them. He ſaid, ſome had reported that he had been a Preacher of Sedition and Diſobedience: But he declared to the people, that they were bound by the Law of God, to obey their Kings Laws with all humility, not only for fear, but for Conſcience; adding, that if the King commanded any thing againſt Gods Law, though it were in their Power to reſiſt him, yet they might not do it. Then he deſired the Sheriff to carry five requeſts from him to the King.

"*Firſt*, That ſince he had taken the Abbey-Lands into his hands, "for which he did not blame him, (as the Sheriff fancied he was about to do, and thereupon ſtopped him,) but was glad that Super- "ſtition was taken away; and that the King was then a compleat "King, obeyed by all his Subjects, which had been done through the "Preaching of them, and ſuch wretches as they were: yet he wiſh- "ed the King would beſtow theſe goods, or ſome of them, to the "comfort of his poor Subjects who had great need of them.

"*Secondly*, That Marriage might be had in greater eſteem, and "that men might not upon light pretences caſt off their Wives; and "that thoſe who were unmarried, might not be ſuffered to live in "Whoredome.

Thirdly, That Abominable Swearers might be puniſhed.

"*Fourthly*, That ſince the King had begun to ſet forth Chriſtian "Religion, he would go forward in it, and make an end: for though "he had done a great deal, yet many things remained to be done, "and he wiſhed that the King might not be deceived with falſe "Teachers.

The fifth deſire he ſaid he had forgot.

Then he begged that they all would forgive him, if at any time he had ſaid or done evil unadviſedly: and ſo turned about, and prepared himſelf for his death.

Jerome ſpake next, and declared his Faith upon every Article of the Creed; and ſaid that he believed all that was in the Holy Scriptures. He alſo prayed for the King, and the Prince. And concluded with a very Pathetical Exhortation to mutual Love and Charity; that they would propoſe to themſelves the pattern of Chriſts wonderful Love, through whom only he hoped to be ſaved; and deſired all their Prayers for himſelf and his Brethren. Then *Gerard* declared his Faith, and ſaid, That if through ignorance or negligence, he had taught any error, he was ſorry for it; and asked God pardon and them, whom he had thereby offended. But he proteſted, that according to his Learning and Knowledg, he had always ſet forth the honour of God, and the obedience of the Kings Laws. Then they all prayed for the pardon of their Sins, and conſtancie and patience in their ſufferings: And ſo they embraced and kiſſed one another, and then the Executioners tyed them to the Stake, and ſet fire to them.

Their death did rather encourage than diſhearten their followers: who ſeeing ſuch an extraordinary meaſure of patience in them, were the more confirmed in their reſolutions of ſuffering for a good conſcience,

ſcience, and for his name, who did not forſake his Servants in theſe cruel Agonies. One difference between their Sufferings, and the other three who were hanged for aſſerting the Popes Supremacy, was remarkable; that though the others demeaned themſelves toward them with the moſt uncharitable and ſpiteful malice that was poſſible, (ſo that their own Hiſtorian ſayes, That their being carryed with them to their Execution was bitterer to them than death it ſelf;) yet they declared their hearty forgiving of their Enemies, and of *Gardiner* in particular, who was generally looked on as the perſon that procured their death: which Imputation ſtuck faſt to him, though by a Printed Apologie he ſtudyed to clear himſelf of any other concernment in it, than by giving his vote for the Act of their Attaindor. 1540.

Now *Bonner* began to ſhew his nature. Hitherto he had acted another part. For being moſt extreamly deſirous of Preferment, he had ſo complyed with *Cromwel* and *Cranmer*, that they had great confidence in him; and he being a bluſtering and forward man, they thought he might do the Reformation good ſervice, and therefore he was advanced ſo high by their means. But as ſoon as ever *Cromwel* fell, the very next day he ſhewed his Ingratitude, and how nimbly he turned with the Wind. For *Grafton* the Printer, (whom *Cromwel* favoured much for his Printing the Bible, and who was by that means very familiar with *Bonner*,) meeting him, ſaid, he was very ſorry for the news he heard of *Cromwels* being ſent to the Tower. *Bonner* anſwered, it had been good he had been diſpatcht long ago. So the other ſhrunk away, perceiving the change that was in him. And ſome days after that, *Grafton* being brought before the Council, for ſome Verſes which he was believed to have Printed in commendation of *Cromwel*, *Bonner* informed the Council of what *Grafton* had ſaid to him upon *Cromwels* being Arreſted, to make the other Charge ſeem the more probable. Yet *Audley* the Chancelor was *Graftons* friend, and brought him off. But *Bonner* gave the City of *London* quickly cauſe to apprehend the utmoſt ſeverities from him. For many were endicted by his procurement. Yet the King was loth to give too many Inſtances of Cruelty, in this declination of his Age, and therefore by an order from the *Star-Chamber* they were diſcharged. But upon what motives I cannot fancie, he pickt out an Inſtance, which, if the deeper ſtains of his following life had not daſht all particular ſpots, had been ſufficient to have blemiſhed him for ever. There was one *Richard Mekins* a Boy not above fifteen years of Age, and both Illiterate and very Ignorant, who had ſaid ſomewhat againſt the corporal preſence of Chriſts Body in the Sacrament, and in Commendation of Doctor *Barnes*. Upon this he was Endicted. The W[illegible]ls were proved by two witneſſes, and a day was appointed for t[illegible] Iuries to bring in their verdict. The day being come, the Grand [illegible] was called for, then the Fore-man ſaid, they had found nothing. This put *Bonner* in a fury, and he charged them with Perjury: But they ſaid they could find nothing, for the witneſſes did not agree. The one depoſed, That he had ſaid the Sacrament was nothing but a *Ceremony*: and the other, That it was nothing but a *Signification*. But *Bonner* ſtill perſiſted and told them, that he had ſaid *That Barnes dyed Holy*. But they could not find theſe words to be againſt the Sta- *Bonners cruelty*

1540. tute. Upon which *Bonner* curſed, and was in a great rage, and cauſed them to go aſide again: So they being overawed, returned and found the Indictment. Then ſate the Jury vpon life and death, who found him Guilty: and he was adjudged to be burnt. But when he was brought to the Stake, he was taught to ſpeak much good of *Bonner*, and to condemn all Hereticks, and *Barnes* in particular, ſaying he had learned Hereſie of him. Thus the Boy was made to die with a lie in his mouth. For *Barnes* held not that opinion of the Sacrament's being only a Ceremony or ſignification, but was a zealous *Lutheran*: which appeared very ſignally on many occaſions, chiefly in *Lamberts* caſe. Three others were alſo burned at *Salisbury* upon the ſame Statute, one of whom was a Prieſt. Two alſo were burned at *Lincoln* in one day. Beſides, a great number of perſons were brought in trouble, and kept long in Priſon upon the Statute of the ſix Articles. But more blood I find not ſpilt at this time.

New Biſhopricks founded.

In the end of this year were the new Biſhopricks founded. For in *December* was the Abbey of *Weſtminſter* converted into a Biſhops See, and a Deanry and twelve Prebends, with the Officers for a Cathedral and a Quire. And in the year following on the 4th of *Auguſt*, the King erected out of the Monaſtery of St. *Werburg* at *Cheſter*, a Biſhoprick, a Deanry; and ſix Prebends. In *September* out of the Monaſtery at St. *Peters* at *Gloceſter* the King endowed a Biſhoprick, a Deanry, and ſix Prebendaries. And in the ſame Month, the Abbey of *Peterborough* was converted to a Biſhops ſeat, a Deanry, and ſix Prebendaries. And to lay this whole matter together, two years after this, the Abbey of *Oſney* in *Oxford* was converted into a Biſhoprick, a Deanry, and ſix Prebends. And the Monaſtery of St. *Auſtins* in *Briſtol* was changed into the ſame uſe. There are many other Grants alſo in the Rolls, both to the Biſhops, and Deans, and Chapters, of theſe Sees. But theſe Foundations will be better underſtood, by their Charters: of which, ſince the Biſhoprick of *Weſtminſter* is leaſt known, becauſe long ago ſuppreſſed, I have choſen to ſet down the Charter of that See; which the Reader will find in the Collection: And they running all in the ſame ſtyle, one may ſerve for the reſt. The Subſtance of the Preamble is, "That the King being moved by the Grace of God, and intending nothing more than that "true Religion, and the ſincere worſhip of God, ſhould not be abo- "liſhed, but rather reſtored to the Primitive ſincerity, and reformed "from theſe abuſes with which the profeſſion and the lives of the "Monks had ſo long and ſo lamentably corrupted Religion; had, as "far as humane Infirmity could foreſee, deſigned that the word of God "might be ſincerely Preached, the Sacraments purely adminiſtred, "good Order kept up, the Youth well Inſtructed, and old people re- "lieved, with other publick Almsdeeds. And therefore the King "Erected and Endowed theſe Sees. The day after theſe ſeveral Grants, there followed a Writ to the Arch-Biſhop, containing, that the King had appointed ſuch a perſon to be Biſhop of that See, Requiring him to Conſecrate and Ordain him in due form. Then the Priories at moſt Cathedrals, ſuch as *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Dureſm*, *Worceſter*, *Carliſle*, *Rocheſter*, and *Ely*, were alſo converted into Deanries, and Colledges of Prebends, with many other Officers, and

Collect. *Numb.* 23.

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an allowance of Charity to be yearly diſtributed to the poor. 1540.

But as all this came far ſhort of what the King had once intended, ſo *Cranmers* Deſign was quite diſappointed. For he had projected that in every Cathedral there ſhould be proviſion made for Readers, of Divinity, and of *Greek*, and *Hebrew*, and a great number of Students to be both exerciſed in the daily worſhip of God, and trained up in Study and Devotion; whom the Biſhop might tranſplant out of this Nurſery, into all the parts of his Dioceſs. And thus every Biſhop ſhould have had a Colledge of Clergy-men under his eye, to be preferred according to their merit: he ſaw great diſorders among ſome Prebendaries, and in a long Letter, the Original of which I have ſeen, he expreſſed his regret that theſe Endowments went in ſuch a Channel. Yet now his Power was not great at Court, and the other party run down all his motions. But theſe who obſerved things narrowly, judged that a good mixture of Prebendaries, and of young Clerks bred up about Cathedrals, under the Biſhops eye, and the Conduct and Direction of the Dean and Prebendaries, had been one of the greateſt Bleſſings that could have befallen the Church: Which not being ſufficiently provided of Houſes for the Forming of the minds and manners of thoſe who are to be received into Orders, has ſince felt the ill effects of it very ſenſibly. Againſt this, *Cranmer* had projected a Noble Remedy, had not the Popiſh party then at Court, who very well apprehended the advantages ſuch Nurſeries would have given to the Reformation, born down this Propoſition, and turned all the Kings Bounty and Foundations another way.

Cranmer's deſign miſcarries.

Theſe new Foundations gave ſome credit to the Kings proceedings, and made the Suppreſſion of Chantries and Chappels go on more ſmoothly. But thoſe of the *Roman* party beyond Sea, cenſured this, as they had done all the reſt of the Kings Actings. They ſaid, it was but a ſlight Reſtitution of a ſmall part of the goods, of which he had robbed the Church. And they complained of the Kings encroaching on the Spiritual Juriſdiction of the Church, by diſmembring Dioceſes, and removing Churches from one Juriſdiction to another. To this it was anſwered, that the neceſſities which their practices put on the King, both to fortifie his Coaſt and Dominions, to ſend money beyond Sea for keeping the War at a diſtance from himſelf, and to ſecure his quiet at home, by eaſie grants of theſe Lands, made him that he could not do all that he intended. And for the Diviſion of Dioceſes, many things were brought from the *Roman* Law, to ſhew, That the Diviſion of the Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, whether of Patriarches, Primates, Metropolitans, or Biſhops, was Regulated by the Emperors; of which the Ancient Councils always approved. And in *England*, when the Biſhoprick of *Lincoln* being judged of too great an Extent, the Biſhoprick of *Ely* was taken out of it, it was done only by the King, with the conſent of his Clergy and Nobles. Pope *Nicolas* indeed officiouſly intruded himſelf into that matter, by ſending afterwards a Confirmation of that which was done. But that was one of the great Arts of the Papacy, to offer Confirmations of things that were done without the Popes. For theſe being eaſily received by them, that thought of nothing more than to give the better countenance to their own Acts, the

Theſe Foundations cenſured.

1541. Popes afterwards founded a Right on theſe Confirmations. The very receiving of them was pretended to be an acknowledgment of a Title in the Pope. And the matter was ſo artificially managed, that Princes were noozed into ſome approbation of ſuch a pretence, before they were aware of it. And then the Authority of the Canon-Law prevailing, Maxims were laid down in it, by which the moſt tacite and inconſiderate Acts of Princes, were conſtrued to ſuch ſenſes, as ſtill advanced the greatneſs of the Papal pretenſions.

This buſineſs of the new Foundations being thus ſetled, the matters of the Church were now put in a method: and the Biſhops Book was the ſtandard of Religion. So that whatſoever was not agreeable to that, was judged Heretical, whether it leaned to the one ſide, or the other. But it ſeems that the King by ſome ſecret Order had chained up the party, which was going on in the Execution of the Statute of the ſix Articles, that they ſhould not proceed capitally.

The State of the Court at this time.

Thus matters went this year, and with this, the Series of the Hiſtory of the Reformation, made by this King, ends: for it was now digeſted and formed into a Body. What followed was not in a Thred, but now and then ſome remarkable things were done: ſometimes in favour of the one, and ſometimes of the other party. For after *Cromwel* fell, the King did not go on ſo ſteadily in any thing as he had done formerly. *Cromwel* had an Aſcendant over him, which after Cardinal *Wolſeys* fall none beſides himſelf ever had. They knew how to manage the Kings uneaſie and imperious humor: But now none had ſuch a Power over him. The Duke of *Norfolk* was rich and brave, and made his Court well, but had not ſo great a Genius; ſo that the King did rather truſt and fear, than eſteem him. *Gardiner* was only a Tool, and being of an abject Spirit, was employed, but not at all reverenced by the King. *Cranmer* retained always his candor and ſimplicity, and was a great Prelate; but neither a good Courtier, nor a States-man. And the King eſteemed him more for his vertues, than for his dexterity and cunning in buſineſs. So that now the King was left wholly to himſelf; and being extream humorous and impatient, there were more errors committed in the laſt years of his Government, than had been for his whole Reign before. *France* forſook him, *Scotland* made War upon him, which might have been fatal to him, if their King had not dyed in the beginning of it, leaving an Infant Princeſs, but a few days old, behind him. And though the Emperor made peace with him, yet it was but an hollow agreement. Of all which I ſhall give but ſlender hints, in the reſt of this Book; and rather open ſome few particulars, than purſue a Continued Narration, ſince the matter of my Work failes me.

The Bible in *Engliſh* ſet up in all Churches.

Collect. *Numb.* 24.

In *May* the 33d year of the Kings Reign, a new Impreſſion of the Bible was finiſhed, and the King by Proclamation, "Required all Cu-"rates and Pariſhioners of every Town and Pariſh, to provide them-"ſelves a Copy of it before All-Hallowtide: under the penalty of for-"feiting forty Shillings a month, after that, till they had one. He "declared that he ſet it forth, to the end that his people might by "Reading it, perceive the Power, Wiſdom, and Goodneſs of God: "Obſerve his Commandments, obey the Laws, and their Prince, and

"live

"live in Godly Charity among themſelves. But that the King did 1541.
"not thereby intend that his Subjects ſhould preſume to expound, or
"take arguments from Scripture; nor diſturb Divine Service, by read-
"ing it, when Maſs was Celebrating: but ſhould read it meekly, hum-
"bly, and reverently, for their Inſtruction, Edification, and Amend-
ment. There was alſo care taken ſo to Regulate the Prices of the Bibles, that there ſhould be no exacting on the Subjects in the Sale of them. And *Bonner* ſeeing the Kings mind was ſet on this, ordered ſix of theſe great Bibles to be ſet up in ſeveral places of St. *Pauls*: that all perſons who could read, might at all times have free acceſs to them. And upon the Pillars to which theſe Bibles were chained, Collect.
an Exhortation was ſet up, "admoniſhing all that came thither to *Numb.* 29.
"read, That they ſhould lay aſide vain-glory, hypocriſie, and all o-
"ther corrupt affections, and bring with them, Diſcretion, good In-
"tentions, Charity, Reverence, and a quiet behaviour: for the Edifi-
"cation of their own Souls; but not to draw multitudes about them,
"nor to make Expoſitions of what they read, nor to read aloud, nor
"make noiſe in time of Divine Service, nor enter into Diſputes con-
"cerning it. But people came generally to hear the Scriptures read, and ſuch as could read, and had clear voices, came often thither with great Crowds about them. And many ſet their Children to School, that they might carry them with them to St. *Pauls*, and hear them read the Scriptures. Nor could the people be hindred from entring into diſputes about ſome places: for who could hear the words of the Inſtitution of the Sacrament, *Drink ye all of it*, or St. *Pauls* Diſcourſe againſt worſhip in an unknown tongue, and not from thence be led to conſider, that the people were deprived of the Cup, which by Chriſts expreſs Command was to be drunk by all; and that they were kept in a worſhip, to which the unlearned could not ſay *Amen*, ſince they underſtood not what was ſaid, either in the Collects or Hymns? So the King had many Complaints brought him, of the Abuſes that were ſaid to have riſen from the Liberty given the people to read the Scriptures. Upon which, *Bonner*, (no doubt having obtained the Kings leave,) ſet up a new Advertiſement; in which he complained of theſe Abuſes, in the reading the Bible: for which he threatned the people, that he would remove theſe Bibles out of the Church, if they continued as they did, to abuſe ſo high a favour. Yet theſe Complaints produced no further ſeverity at this time. But by them the Popiſh party afterwards obtained what they deſired. This Summer the King turned the Monaſtery of *Burton* upon *Trent*, into a Collegiat Church for a Dean and four Prebends: and the Monaſtery of *Thornton* in *Lincolnſhire* into another, for a Dean and four Prebends. In this year 1541.
Cranmer took it into Conſideration, to what exceſs the Tables of the *Antiq. Brit. in Reg. Polo.*
Biſhops had riſen, whereby thoſe Revenues that ought to have been A Rule about Churchmens houſekeeping.
applyed to better purpoſes, were waſted on great Entertainment which though they paſſed under the decent name of Hoſpitality, yet were in themſelves both too high and expenſive, and proved great hindrances to Church-mens Charity, in more neceſſary and profitable Inſtances.* He therefore ſet out an Order, for Regulating that Expence: by which, an Arch-Biſhops Table was not to exceed ſix diſhes of meat, and four of * Banquet; a Biſhops, five diſhes of meat, and * *Bellaria.*
three

1541. three of Banquet; a Deans or Arch-Deacons Table was not to exceed four diſhes, and two of Banquet; and other Clergy-men might be ſerved only with two diſhes. But he that gives us the account of this, laments that this Regulation took no effect. And complains that the people expecting generally ſuch ſplendid Houſe-keeping from the Dignified Clergy, and not conſidering how ſhort their Revenues are, of what they were anciently: they out of a weak Complyance with the Multitude, have diſabled themſelves from keeping Hoſpitality, as our Saviour ordered it, not for the Rich, but the Poor; not to mention the other ill effects that follow too ſumptuous a Table.

The King goes to *York*.

In the end of this year, the Tragical fall of the Queen put a ſtop to all other proceedings. The King had invited his Nephew the King of *Scotland*, to meet him at *York*, who was reſolved to come thither. The King intended to gain upon him all he could, and to engage him to follow the Copy he had ſet him, in Extirpating the Popes Supremacy, and Suppreſſing Abbeys, and to eſtabliſh a firm agreement in all other things. The Clergy of *Scotland* feared the ill effects of that Interview, eſpecially their King being a Prince of moſt extraordinary parts, who, had he not blemiſhed his Government with being ſo extreamly addicted to his pleaſures, was the Greateſt Prince that Nation had for ſeveral Ages. He was a great Patron of Learning, and Executor of Juſtice: he uſed in perſon and *Incognito*, to go over his Kingdom, and ſee how Juſtice was every-where done. He had no very good opinion of the Religious Orders, and had encouraged *Buchanan* to write a ſevere and witty Libel againſt the *Franciſcan* Friars. So that they were very apprehenſive that he might have been wrought on by his Uncle. Therefore they uſed all their endeavours to divert his Journey. But the *French* King, that had him faſt engaged to his Intereſts, falling then off from the King, wrought more on him. So inſtead of meeting the King at *York*, where magnificent preparations were made for his Reception, he ſent his Excuſe; which provoked his Uncle, and gave occaſion to a breach that followed not long after.

An account of the State of *Scotland*.

But here I ſhall crave the Readers leave to give a full repreſentation of the ſtate of Religion at this time in *Scotland*, and of the footing the Reformation had got there: Its neighbourhood to *England*, and the union of theſe Kingdoms, firſt in the ſame Religion, and ſince under the ſame Princes, together with the intercourſe that was both in this and the next Reign, between theſe Nations, ſeem not only to juſtifie this Digreſſion, but rather to challenge it as a part of the Hiſtory, without which it ſhould be defective. And it may be the rather expected from one, who had his Birth and Education in that Kingdom.

The beginings of Learning there.

The Correſpondence between that Crown and *France* was the cauſe that what Learning they had, came from *Paris*: where our Kings generally kept ſome Schollars, and from that great Nurſery they were brought over, and ſet in the Univerſities of *Scotland* to propagate Learning there. From the year 1412, in which *Wardlaw* Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews* firſt founded that Univerſity, Learning had made ſuch a progreſs, that more Colledges were ſoon after founded in that City. Univerſities were alſo founded both at *Glaſgow*, and *Aberdeen*, which

which have ſince furniſhed that Nation with many eminent Scholars in all profeſſions. But at the time that Learning came into *Scotland*, the knowledg of true Religion alſo followed it: and in that ſame Arch-Biſhops time, one *John Resby*, an *Engliſh* man, a follower of *Wickliffs* opinions, was charged with Hereſie. Forty Articles were objected to him, of which two are only mentioned. The one was, that *The Pope is not Chriſts Vicar.* The other was, that *he was not to be eſteemed a Pope, if he was a man of wicked life.* For maintaining theſe, he was burnt *Anno* 1407. 24 years after that, one *Paul Crav* came out of *Germany*, and being a *Bohemian* and an *Huſſite*, was infuſing his Doctrine into ſome at St. *Andrews*, which being diſcovered, he was judged an obſtinate Heretick, and burnt there, *Anno* 1432. And to encourage people to proſecute ſuch perſons, *Fogo*, who had diſcovered him, was rewarded with the Abbey of *Melroſs* ſoon after.

1541. And of the Reformation. Arch-Biſhop *Spotſwood.* *Leſley.*

It does not appear that thoſe Doctrines, which were called *Lollardies* in *England*, had gained many followers in *Scotland*, till near the end of that Century. But then it was found that they were much ſpread over the Weſtern parts: which being in the neighbourhood of *England*, thoſe who were perſecuted there, might perhaps fly into *Scotland*, and ſpread their Doctrine in that Kingdom. Several perſons of Quality were then charged with theſe Articles, and brought to the Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgows* Courts. But they anſwered him with ſuch confidence, that he thought fit to diſcharge them; with an admonition to take heed of new Doctrines, and to content themſelves with the Faith of the Church. *Spotſwood.*

At this time the Clergy in *Scotland* were both very ignorant and diſſolute in their manners. The Secular Clergy minded nothing but their Tithes, and did either hire ſome Friers to Preach, or ſome poor Prieſts to ſing Maſſes to them at their Churches. The Abbots had poſſeſſed themſelves of the beſt ſeats, and the greateſt wealth of the Nation: and by a profuſe Superſtition, almoſt the one half of the Kingdom fell into the hands of the Churchmen. The Biſhops looked more after the affairs of the State, than the concerns of the Church; and were reſolved to maintain by their cruelty, what their Predeceſſors had acquired by fraud and impoſtures. And as *Leſly* himſelf confeſſes, there was no pains taken to inſtruct the people in the principles of Religion; nor were the Children at all Catechiſed, but left in ignorance: and the ill lives of the Clergy, who were both covetous and lewd, diſpoſed the people to favour thoſe that preached for a Reformation. The firſt that ſuffered in this Age was *Patrick Hamilton*, a perſon of very noble blood: his Father was Brother to the Earl of *Arran*, and his Mother Siſter to the Duke of *Albany*; ſo nearly was he on both ſides related to the King. He was provided of the Abbey of *Fern* in his youth; and being deſigned for greater preferments, he was ſent to travel: but as he went thorough *Germany*, he contracted a friendſhip with *Luther*, *Melanction*, and others of their Perſwaſion; by whoſe means he was inſtructed in the points about which they differed from the Church of *Rome*. He returned to *Scotland*, that he might communicate that knowledg to others with which himſelf was ſo happily enlightned. And little conſidering, either the hindrance of his further Preferment, or the other dangers that might lie in his way,

The Clergy were both ignorant and cruel. *Patrick Hamilton's* ſufferings.

1541. way, he ſpared not to lay open the Corruptions of the *Roman* Church, and to ſhew the Errours that had crept into the Chriſtian Religion. He was a man both of great learning, and of a ſweet and charming converſation, and came to be followed and eſteemed by all ſorts of people.

The Clergy being enraged at this, invited him to St. *Andrews*, that there might be Conferences held with him, about thoſe points which he condemned. And one Frier *Campbel*, Prior of the *Dominicans*, who had the reputation of a Learned man, was appointed to treat with him. They had many Conferences together, and the Prior ſeemed to be convinced in moſt points; and acknowledged there were many things in the Church that required Reformation. But all this while he was betraying him; So that when the Abbot looked for no ſuch thing, he was in the night time made Priſoner, and carried to the Arch-Biſhops Caſtle. There ſeveral Articles were objected to him, about Original Sin, Free-will, Juſtification, Good Works, Prieſtly Abſolution, Auricular Confeſſion, Purgatory, and the Popes being Antichriſt. Some of theſe he poſitively adhered to, the others he thought were diſputable points; yet he ſaid he would not condemn them, except he ſaw better reaſons than any he had yet heard. The matter was referred to 12 Divines of the Univerſity, of whom Frier *Campbel* was one. And within a day or two they cenſured all his Tenets as Heretical, and contrary to the Faith of the Church. On the firſt of *March* Judgment was given upon him, by *Beaton* Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, with whom ſate the Archbiſhop of *Glaſgow*, the Biſhop of *Dunkeld*, *Brichen* and *Dunblan*, five *Abbots*, and many of the inferior Clergy. They alſo made the whole Univerſity, old and young, ſign it. He was declared an obſtinate Heretick, and delivered to the Secular Power.

The King had at that time gone a Pilgrimage to *Roſs*, and the Clergy fearing leſt nearneſs of blood, with the Interceſſions which might be made for him, ſhould ſnatch this prey out of their hands, proceeded that ſame day to his Execution. So in the afternoon he was brought to the Stake before St. *Salvators* Colledg. He ſtripped himſelf of his Garments, and gave them to his man; and ſaid, *he had no more to leave him, but the example of his death. That he prayed him to keep in mind. For though it was bitter and painful in mans Judgment, yet it was the entrance to Everlaſting life, which none could inherit that denied Chriſt before ſuch a Congregation.* Then was he tied to a Stake, and a great deal of fewel was heaped about him: which he ſeemed not to fear. but continued lifting up his eyes to heaven, and recommending his ſoul to God. When the train of Powder was kindled, it did not take hold of the Fewel, but only ſcorched his hand, and the ſide of his face. This occaſioned ſome delay, till more powder was brought from the Caſtle; during which time the Friers were very troubleſome, and called to him to turn, and pray to our Lady, and ſay *Salve Regina*. None was more officious than Frier *Campbel*. The Abbot wiſhed him often to let him alone, and give him no more trouble. But the Frier continuing to importune him; he ſaid to him, *Wicked man, thou knoweſt that I am not an Heretick, and that it is the truth of God for which I now ſuffer. So much thou didſt confeſs to me in private: and there-*

thereupon I appeal thee to anſwer before the Judgment Seat of Chriſt. By this time more powder was brought and the fire was kindled. He cried out with a loud voice, *How long, O Lord, ſhall darkneſs oppreſs this Realm? how long wilt thou ſuffer this Tyranny of Men?* and died repeating theſe words, *Lord Jeſus receive my Spirit.* The patience and conſtancy he expreſſed in his ſufferings, made the Spectators generally conclude that he was a true Martyr of Chriſt: in which they were the more confirmed, by Frier *Campbells* falling into great deſpair ſoon after, who from that turned frantick, and died within a year. 1541.

On this I have inſiſted the more fully, becauſe it was indeed the beginning of the Reformation in *Scotland*; and raiſed there an humour of inquiring into points of Religion, which did always prove fatal to the Church of *Rome*. In the Univerſity it ſelf many were wrought on, and particularly one *Seaton* a Dominican Frier who was the Kings Confeſſor. He being appointed to preach the next Lent at St. *Andrews*, inſiſted much on theſe points: "That the Law of God was the "only Rule of Righteouſneſs, that Sin was only committed when "Gods Law was violated, that no man could ſatisfie for Sin, and that "pardon was to be obtained by unfeigned repentance and true faith. But he never mentioned Purgatory, Pilgrimages, Merits, nor Prayers to Saints; which uſed to be the Subjects on which the Friers inſiſted moſt on theſe occaſions. Being gone from St. *Andrews*, he heard that another Frier of his own Order had refuted theſe Doctrines. So he returned, and confirmed them in another Sermon; in which he alſo made ſome reflections on Biſhops that were not *Teachers*, calling them *Dumb-Dogs*. For this he was carried before the Arch-Biſhop; but he defended himſelf, ſaying, that he had only in St. *Pauls* words ſaid *a Biſhop ſhould teach*, and in *Eſaias* words, that ſuch as did not teach were *Dumb-doggs*: but having ſaid this in the general, he did not apply it to any Biſhop in particular. The Arch-Biſhop was netled at this anſwer, yet reſolved to let him alone till he ſhould be brought into diſgrace with the King. And that was ſoon done, for the King being a licentious Prince, and Frier *Seaton* having often reproved him boldly for it, he grew weary of him. The Clergy perceiving this, were reſolved to fall upon him. So he withdrew to *Berwick*, but wrote to the King, that if he would hear him make his defence, he would return and juſtifie all that he had taught. He taxed the cruelty of the Clergy, and deſired the King would reſtrain their Tyranny, and conſider that he was obliged to protect his Subjects from their ſeverity and malice. But receiving no ſatisfactory anſwer, he lived in *England*, where he was entertain'd by the Duke of *Suffolk* as his Chaplain. Not long after this, one *Forreſt*, a ſimple *Benedictin* Monk was accuſed for having ſaid that *Patrick Hamilton had died a Martyr*: yet ſince there was no ſufficient proof to convict him; a Frier one *Walter Lainge* was ſent to confeſs him, to whom in Confeſſion he acknowledged, he thought *Hamilton* was a good man, and that the Articles for which he was condemned, might be defended. This being revealed by the Frier, was taken for good evidence. So the poor man was condemned to be burnt as an Heretick. As he was led out to his Execution, he ſaid, *Fie on falſhood, fie on Friers, revealers of Confeſſion; Let never man*

The Kings Confeſſor favours the Reformation.

Forreſt's ſufferings.

1541. *truſt them after me: they are deſpiſers of God, and deceivers of men.* When they were conſidering in what place to burn him, a ſimple man, that attended the Arch-biſhop, adviſed to burn him in ſome low Cellar; for ſaid he, *the ſmoak of Mr.* Patrick Hamilton *has infected all thoſe on whom it blew.*

A further perſecution in *Scotland.*

Soon after this, Abbot *Hamiltons* Brother and Siſter were brought into the Biſhops Courts: but the King, who favoured this Brother, perſwaded him to abſent himſelf. His Siſter and ſix others being brought before the Biſhop of *Roſs*, who was deputed by the Arch-Biſhop to proceed againſt them, the King himſelf dealt with the Woman to abjure, which ſhe and the other ſix did. Two others were more reſolute, The one was *Normand Gowrlay*, who was charged with denying the Popes Authority in *Scotland*, and ſaying there was no Purgatory: The other was *David Straiton*. He was charged with the ſame Opinions. They alſo alledged that he had denied that Tithes were due to Church-men: and that when the Vicar came to take the Tith out of ſome Fiſh-boats that belonged to him, he alledged the Tith was to be taken where the ſtock grew, and therefore ordered the tenth fiſh to be caſt into the Sea, and bade the Vicar to ſeek them there. They were both judged obſtinate Hereticks, and burnt at one Stake the 27th of *Auguſt*, 1534. Upon this perſecution ſome others who were cited to appear fled into *England*. Thoſe were *Alexander Aleſſe*, *John Fife*, *John Mackbee*, and one *Mackdowgall*. The firſt of theſe was received by *Cromwel* into his Family, and grew into great favour with King *Henry*, and was commonly called his Scholar; of whom ſee what was ſaid Page 214. But after *Cromwels* death, he took *Fife* with him, and they went into *Saxony*, and were both Profeſſors in *Leipſick*. *Mackbee* was at firſt entertained by *Shaxton* Biſhop of *Salisbury*; but he went afterwards into *Denmark*, where he was known by the name of Doctor *Maccabeus*, and was Chaplain to King *Chriſtian* the ſecond.

The progreſs of the Reformation.

But all theſe violent proceedings were not effectual enough to quench that light which was then ſhining there. Many by ſearching the Scriptures came to the knowledg of the Truth: and the noiſe of what was then doing in *England*, awakned others to make further enquiries into matters of Religion. Pope *Clement* the 7th apprehending that King *Henry* might prevail on his Nephew to follow his example, wrote Letters full of earneſt exhortations to him to continue in the Catholick Faith. Upon which King *James* called a Parliament, and there in the preſence of the Popes Nuncio, declared his zeal for that Faith and the Apoſtolick See. The Parliament alſo concurred with him in it; and made acts againſt Hereticks, and for maintaining the Popes authority. That ſame Pope did afterwards ſend to deſire him to aſſiſt him in making war againſt the King of *England*; for he was reſolved to divide that Kingdom among thoſe who would aſſiſt him in driving out King *Henry*. But the firm peace at that time between the King of *England* and the *French* King, kept him quiet from any trouble, which otherwiſe the King of *Scotland* might have given him. Yet King *Henry* ſent the Biſhop of St. *Davids*, with the Duke of *Norfolks* Brother, Lord *William Howard* to him, ſo unexpectedly, that they came to him at *Sterlin* before he had heard of their being

Leſley.

being ſent. The Biſhop brought with him ſome of the Books that had been writ for the juſtifying King *Henry*'s proceeding; and deſired that King would impartially examine them. But he put them into the hands of ſome about him that were addicted to the intereſts of *Rome*, who without ever reading them, told him they were full of peſtilent Doctrine and Hereſie. 1541. *Buchanan.*

The ſecret buſineſs they came for, was, to perſwade that King to concur with his Uncle, and to agree an Interview between them: and they offered him in their Maſters name the Lady *Mary* in Marriage, and that he ſhould be made Duke of *York*, and * Lord Lieutenant of all *England*. But the Clergy diverted him from it, and perſwaded him rather to go on in his deſign of a match with *France*. And their Counſels did ſo prevail, that he reſolved to go in perſon, and fetch a Queen from thence. On the firſt of *January* 1537. he was married to *Magdalen*, daughter to *Francis* the Firſt. But ſhe being then gone far in a Conſumption, died ſoon after he had brought her home, on the 28th of *May*. She was much lamented by all perſons, the Clergy only excepted: for ſhe had been bred in the Queen of *Navarres* Court, and ſo they apprehended ſhe might incline the King to a Reformation. But he had ſeen another Lady in *France*, *Mary* of *Guiſe*, whom he then liked ſo well; that after his Queens death, he ſent Cardinal *Beaton* into *France* to treat for a match with her. This gave the Clergy as much joy as the former marriage had raiſed fear; for no Family in Chriſtendome was more devoted to the intereſts of the Papacy than that was. And now the King though he had freer thoughts himſelf, yet was ſo engaged to the pretended old Religion, that he became a violent perſecutor of all who differed from it. * *Regni Anglici Vicarius.*

The King grew very expenſive, he indulged himſelf much in his pleaſures; he built four noble Palaces, which conſidering that Kingdom and that Age, were very extraordinary Buildings; he had alſo many natural Children: All which things concurred to make him very deſirous of Money. There were two different parties in the Court. The Nobility on the one hand repreſented to him, the great wealth that the Abbots had gathered; and that if he would do as his Uncle had done, he would thereby raiſe his Revenue to the triple of what it was, and provide plentifully for his Children. The Clergy on the other hand aſſured him, that if he would ſet up a ſtrict inquiſition of Hereticks, he would diſcover ſo many men of Eſtates that were guilty, that by their Forfeitures he might raiſe above an hundred thouſand Crowns a year: And for his Children, the eaſieſt way of providing for them, was to give them good Abbies and Priories. This they thought would engage both the King and his Sons to maintain their Rights more ſteadily, if their own Intereſts were interwoven with them. They alſo perſwaded the King that if he maintained the eſtabliſhed Religion, it would give him a good intereſt in *England*, and make him be ſet up by forreign Princes as the head of the League, which the Pope and the Emperor were then projecting againſt King *Henry*. Theſe Counſels being ſeconded by his Queen, who was a wiſe and good Lady, but wonderfully zealous for the Papacy, did ſo prevail with him, that as he made four of his Children Abbots or Priors, ſo he gave way to the perſecuting humor of his *The King wholly guided by the Clergy.*

1541. his Prieſts: and give Sir *James Hamilton* (a natural Brother of the Earl of *Arrans*, in whom the Clergy put much confidence, a Commiſſion to proceed againſt all that were ſuſpected of Hereſie. In the year 1539. many were cited to appear before a meeting of the Biſhops at *Edinburgh*. Of thoſe, nine abjured, many were baniſhed and five were burnt. *Forreſter*, a Gentleman, *Simpſon*, a Secular Prieſt; *Killore*, and *Beverage*, two Friers; and *Forreſt*, a Canon Regular; were burnt on the *Caſtle-hill* of *Edinburgh*. The laſt of theſe was a zealous conſtant Preacher, which was a rare thing in thoſe days. His Dioceſan, the Biſhop of *Dunkeld* ſent for him, and rebuked him for it; and bid him, *When he found a good Epiſtle, or good Goſpel, that made for the liberties of the Holy Church, to preach on that, and let the reſt alone.* The good man anſwered; *he had read both the Old Teſtament, and the New, and never found an ill Epiſtle, or ill Goſpel in any of them.* The Biſhop replied, that *he thanked God he had lived well theſe many years, and never knew either the Old or New: he contented himſelf with his Portuiſe, and his Pontifical; and if the other would trouble himſelf with theſe fantaſies, he would repent it when he could not help it.* Forreſt *ſaid, He was reſolved to do what he conceived was his duty, whatever might be the danger of it.* By this it appears how deliberately the Clergy at that time delivered themſelves up to Ignorance and Superſtition.

Two other Martyrs. In the ſame year *Ruſſel*, a *Franciſcan* Frier, and one *Kennedy*, a young man of 18 years of age, were brought before the Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow*. That Biſhop was a learned and moderate man, and was much againſt theſe cruel proceedings: he was alſo in great credit with the King, having been his Tutor. Yet he was forced by the threatnings of his Brethren, to go on with the perſecution. So thoſe two, *Ruſſel*, and *Kennedy*, being brought before him, *Kennedy*, that was young and fearful, had reſolved to ſubmit and abjure. But being brought to the Bar, and encouraged by *Ruſſels* diſcourſes, he felt ſo high a meaſure of courage and joy in his heart, that he fell down on his knees, and broke forth in theſe words; "Wonderful, O God, is thy love and "mercy towards me a miſerable wretch: for now, when I would have "denied thee, and thy Son my Saviour, thou haſt by thine own hand "pulled me back from the bottom of Hell, and given me moſt Hea-"venly comfort, which hath removed the ungodly fear that before "oppreſſed my mind. Now I defie death, do what you pleaſe, I thank "God I am ready. There followed a long diſpute between the Frier and the Divines that ſate with the Arch-Biſhop: but when he perceived they would hear nothing, and anſwered him only with revilings and jeers, he gave it over and concluded in theſe words; This is your "hour and power of darkneſs: now you ſit as Judges, and we ſtand "wrongfully condemned; but the day cometh which will ſhew our "innocence, and you ſhall ſee your own blindneſs to your everlaſting "confuſion; Go on, and fulfil the meaſure of your iniquity. This put the Arch-Biſhop in great confuſion, ſo that he ſaid to thoſe about him, that theſe rigorous executions did hurt the cauſe of the Church more than could be well thought of; and he declared that his opinion was, that their lives ſhould be ſpared, and ſome other courſe taken with them. But thoſe that ſate with him ſaid, if he took a courſe different from what the other Prelates had taken, he was not the Churches friend.

friend. This, with other threatning expreſſions, prevailed ſo far on his fears, that he gave Judgment. So they were burnt; but at their death they expreſſed ſo much conſtancy and joy, that the people were much wrought on by their behaviour. *Ruſſel* encouraged *Kennedy*, his partner in ſufferings, in theſe words. "Fear not, Brother, for he is more "mighty that is in us, than he that is in the world; the pain which "we ſhall ſuffer is ſhort, and light; but our joy and conſolation ſhall "never have an end. Death cannot deſtroy us, for it is deſtroyed al-"ready by him, for whoſe ſake we ſuffer. Therefore let us ſtrive to "enter in by the ſame ſtrait way, which our Saviour hath taken be-fore us. With the blood of ſuch Martyrs was the field of that Church ſowen, which did quickly riſe up in a plentiful harveſt. 1541.

Among thoſe that were at this time in hazard, *George Buchanan* was one. The Clergy were reſolved to be revenged on him for the ſharp-neſs of the Pooms he had written againſt them. And the King had ſo ab-ſolutely left all men to their mercy, that he had died with the reſt, if he had not made his eſcape out of Priſon: Then he went beyond Sea, and lived 20 years in that Exile, and was forced to teach a School moſt part of the time; yet the greatneſs of his mind was not oppreſſed with that mean employment. In his writings there appears, not only all the beauty and graces of the Latine Tongue, but a vigor of mind and quickneſs of thought, far beyond *Bembo*, or the other *Italians*, who at that time affected to revive the purity of the *Roman* Stile. It was but a feeble imitation of *Tully* in them; but his ſtile is ſo natural and nervous, and his reflections on things are ſo ſolid, (beſides his immortal Poems, in which he ſhews how well he could imitate all the *Roman* Poets, in their ſeveral ways of writing, that he who compares them, will be often tempted to prefer the Copy to the Original,) that he is juſtly reckoned the greateſt and beſt of our modern Authors. This was the ſtate of affairs at this time in *Scotland*. And ſo I ſhall leave this digreſ-ſion, on which if I have ſtayed too long, my kindneſs to my native Countrey muſt be my excuſe; and now I return to the affairs of *England*.

The King went his progreſs with his fair and beloved Queen, and he when came to *York*, he iſſued out a Proclamation, "*That all who* had "been aggrieved for want of Juſtice, by any whom he had formerly "employed, ſhould come to him, and his Counſel for redreſs. This was done to caſt all paſt miſcarrages on *Cromwel*, and to put the people in hopes of better times. But upon his return to *London*, he met with a new affliction. He was ſo much taken with his Queen, that on All-Saints day, when he received the Sacrament, he openly gave God thanks for the good life he led, and truſted ſtill to lead with her: and deſired his Ghoſtly Father to joyn with him in the ſame Thankſgiv-ging to God. But this joy laſted not long: for the next day, the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* came to him, and gave him a doleful account of the Queens ill Life, as it had been brought him by one *John Laſſels*: Who, when the King was in his Progreſs, had told him that his Siſter, who had been an old Servant of the Duke of *Norfolks*, under whoſe care the Queen was brought up, ſaid to him, that the Queen was lewd, and that one *Francis Deirham* had enjoyed her often; as alſo one *Mannock*; with other foul circumſtances, not fit to be related. The Arch-Biſhop communicated it to the Lord Chancellor, and the other

Privy

1541. Privy Councellors that were at *London*. They agreed, that the Arch-Biſhop ſhould open it to the King. But he not knowing how to do it in Diſcourſe, ſet it down in writing, and put it in the Kings hands. When the King read it, he ſeemed much perplexed; but loved the Queen ſo tenderly, that he looked on it as a Forgery. And now the Arch-Biſhop was in extream danger, for if full evidence had not been brought, it had been certainly turned on him to his ruine. The King imparted it to ſome other Councellors, and told them, that he could not believe it, yet he would try it out, but with all poſſible ſecrecty. So the Lord Privy-Seal was ſent to *London*, to examine *Laſſels*, who ſtood to what he had informed. Then he ſent that ſame Lord into *Suſſex*, where *Laſſels* Siſter lived, to try if ſhe would juſtifie what her Brother had reported in her name. And ſhe owning it, he ordered *Deirham* and *Mannock* to be arreſted upon ſome other pretences; But they being examined, not only confeſſed what was informed, but revealed ſome other circumſtances that ſhewed the Queen had laid aſide all ſenſe of Modeſty, as well as the fear of a Diſcovery; three ſeveral women having been witneſſes to theſe her lewd practices. The report of that ſtruck the King into a moſt profound Penſiveneſs, and he burſt out into tears, and lamented his misfortune. The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* and ſome other Counſellors, were ſent to examine the Queen. She at firſt denied every thing, but when ſhe perceived it was already known, ſhe confeſſed all, and ſet it under her hand. There were alſo evident preſumptions that ſhe had intended to continue that Courſe of Life for: as ſhe had got *Deirham* into her ſervice, ſo ſhe had brought one of the Women, who had been formerly privy to their familiarities, to ſerve about her Bed-chamber. One *Culpeper* was alſo charged upon vehement ſuſpicion: For when the King was at *Lincoln*, by the Lady *Rochfords* means, he was brought into the Queens Chamber at 11 a clock in the night, and ſtayed there till four the next morning. The Queen alſo gave him a Gold Chain, and a rich Cap. He being examined confeſſed the Crime; for which, both *Deirham*, and he ſuffered. Others were alſo Endited of miſpriſion of Treaſon, and condemned to perpetual Impriſonment. But this occaſioned a new Parliament to be Summoned.

The Queens ill life is diſcovered.

And confeſſed by her ſelf and others.

1542. On the 16th of *January* the Parliament met: to which, the Biſhops of *Weſtminſter*, *Cheſter*, *Peterborough*, and *Gloceſter*, had their Writs. The Lord *Cromwel* alſo had his Writ, though I do not find by any Record that he was reſtored in Blood. On the 28th of *January*, the Lord Chancellor moved the Houſe of Lords, to conſider the caſe the King was in, by the Queens ill carriage: and that there might be no ground of ſuſpition or complaint, he propoſed that ſome of their number ſhould be ſent to examine the Queen. Whereupon the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Earl of *Southampton* and the Biſhop of *Weſtminſter*, were ſent to her. How much She Confeſſed to them, is not very clear, neither by the Journal, nor the Act of Parliament: which only ſays, that ſhe confeſſed, without mentioning the particulars. Upon this, the proceſſes of thoſe that had been formerly attainted, being alſo brought as an Evidence, the Act paſſed in both Houſes. In it they Petitioned the King,

A new Parliament called.

Firſt,

1542.

"*First*, Not to be troubled at the matter, ſince that might be a "mean to ſhorten his Life.

The Act about the Queen.

"*Secondly*, To pardon every thing that had been ſpoken againſt the "Queen.

"*Thirdly*, That the Queen and her Complices might be attainted "of High Treaſon, for her taking *Deirham* into her ſervice; and a- "nother Woman into her Chamber, who had known their former ill "Life; by which it appeared what ſhe intended to do: and then "admitting *Culpeper*, to be ſo long with Her, in a vile place ſo many "hours in the night. Therefore it is deſired, that ſhe and they, with "the Bawd the Lady *Rochford*, may be Attainted of Treaſon; and "that the Queen and the Lady *Rochford* ſhould ſuffer the pains of "Death.

"*Fourthly*, That the King would not trouble himſelf to give his "aſſent to this Act in his own perſon, but grant it by his Letters Pa- "tents under his hand and Great Seal.

"*Fifthly*, That the Dutcheſs Dowager of *Norfolk*, Counteſs of "*Bridgwater*, the Lord *William Howard*, and his Lady, and four other "men, and five women, who were already Attainted by the Courſe "of Common Law, (except the Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, and the Coun- "teſs of *Bridgwater*,) that knew the Queens vicious Life, and "had concealed it, ſhould be all Attainted of Miſpriſion of Trea- "ſon.

"It was alſo Enacted, that whoſoever knew any thing of the In- "continence of the Queen, (for the time being,) ſhould reveal it with "all poſſible ſpeed under the pains of Treaſon. And that if the King "or his Succeſſors ſhould intend to marry any Woman, whom they "took to be a pure and clean Maid; if ſhe, not being ſo, did not de- "clare the ſame to the King, it ſhould be High Treaſon: and all who "knew it, and did not reveal it, were guilty of Miſpriſion of Treaſon. "And if the Queen, or the Princes Wife, ſhould procure any by Meſ- "ſages, or words, to know her carnally; or any other by Meſſages or "words ſhould ſollicite them; they, their Councellors, and Abettors, "are to be adjudged high Traitors.

Cenſures paſt upon it.

This Act being aſſented to by the Kings Letters Patents, the Queen, and the Lady *Rochford*, were beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the 12th of *February*. The Queen confeſſed the miſcarriages of her former life, before the King married her. But ſtood abſolutely to her denial, as to any thing after that: and proteſted to Dr. *White* afterwards Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, That ſhe took God and his Angels to be her Witneſſes, upon the Salvation of her Soul, that ſhe was guiltleſs of that Act of defiling her Soveraigns bed, for which ſhe was condemned. Yet the Laſciviouſneſs of her former Life, made people incline to believe any ill thing that could be reported of her. But for the Lady *Rochford*, every body obſerved Gods Juſtice on her; who had the chief hand, both in Queen *Anne Boleyns*, and her own Husbands death: and it now appearing ſo evidently what ſort of Woman ſhe was, it tended much to raiſe their Reputations again, in whoſe Fall, her ſpite, and other Artifices had ſo great a hand. She had been a Lady of the Bed-Chamber to the laſt four Queens: But now it was found how unworthy ſhe was of that Truſt.

It

1542. It was thought extream cruelty to be ſo ſevere to the Queens kindred, for not diſcovering her former ill life. Since the making ſuch a diſcovery had been inconſiſtent with the Rules of Juſtice or Decency. The old Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, being her Grandmother, had bred her of a Child: and it was ſaid, for her to have gone, and told the King, That ſhe was a Whore, when he intended to marry her, as it was an unheard-of thing, ſo the not-doing of it could not have drawn ſo ſevere a puniſhment, from any but a Prince of that Kings temper. But the King pardoned her, and moſt of the reſt; tho ſome continued in Priſon after the reſt were diſcharged.

But for the other part of this Act, obliging a Woman to reveal her own former Incontinence; if the King intended to marry her, (which by a miſtake the Lord *Herbert* ſayes was paſſed in another Act, taking it from *Hall*, and not looking into the Record:) It was thought a piece of grievous Tyranny; ſince if a King, eſpecially one of ſo imperious a temper, as this was, ſhould deſign ſuch an honour to any of his Subjects, who had failed in their former life; they muſt either defame themſelves, by publiſhing ſo diſgraceful a ſecret, or run the hazard of being afterwards attainted of Treaſon. Upon this, thoſe that took an indiſcreet liberty to rally that Sex injuſtly and ſeverely, ſaid, the King could induce none that was reputed a Maid to Marry him: ſo that not ſo much choice, as neceſſity, put him on Marrying a Widow about two years after this. But this part of the Act was afterwards repealed in the firſt Parliament of King *Edward* the 6th.

Act about Hoſpitals, *&c.* There paſſed another Act in this Parliament, that made way for the diſſolution of Colledges, Hoſpitals, and other Foundations of that nature. The Courtiers had been practiſing with the Preſidents and Governors of ſome of theſe, to make Reſignations of them to the King; which were conceived in the ſame ſtile that moſt of the ſurrenders of Monaſteries did run in. Eight of theſe were all really procured, which are enrolled. But they could not make any great progreſs, becauſe it was provided by the Local Statutes of moſt of them, that no Preſident, or any other Fellows could make any ſuch Deed, without the Conſent of all the Fellows in the Houſe; and this could not be ſo eaſily obtained. Therefore all ſuch Statutes were annulled, and none were any more to be ſworn to the obſervation of them.

The Papiſts deſign to ſuppreſs the Engliſh Bible. In the Convocation that ſate at that time, which as was formerly obſerved, *Fuller* miſtakes for the Convocation in the 31ſt year of this King; the Tranſlation of the Bible was brought under examination, and many of the Biſhops were appointed to peruſe it. For it ſeems complaints were brought againſt it. It was certainly the greateſt eyeſore of the Popiſh party: and that which they knew would moſt effectually beat down all their projects. But there was no oppoſing it directly, for the King was fully reſolved to go through with it. Therefore the way they took, was once to load the Tranſlation then ſet out, with as many faults as they could; and ſo to get it firſt condemned, and then to promiſe a new one: in the making and publiſhing of which, it would be eaſie to breed many delays. But *Gardiner* had another ſingular conceit: He fancied there were many words in the New Teſtament, of ſuch Majeſty, that they were not to be Tranſlated; but muſt ſtand in the Engliſh Bible as they were in the Latine. A hundred

A hundred of theſe he put into a Writing, which was read in Convocation. His deſign in this was viſible; That if a Tranſlation muſt be made, it ſhould be ſo daubed all through with Latine words, that the people ſhould not underſtand it much the better for its being in Engliſh. A taſte of this the Reader may have by the firſt twenty of them; *Eccleſia*, *Penitentia*, *Pontifex*, *Ancilla*, *Contritus*, *Olocauſta*, *Juſtitia*, *Juſtificatio*, *Idiota*, *Elementa*, *Baptizare*, *Martyr*, *Adorare*, *Sandalium*, *Simplex*, *Tetrarcha*, *Sacramentum*, *Simulachrum*, *Gloria*. The deſign he had of keeping ſome of theſe, particularly the laſt ſave one, is plain enough; that the People might not diſcover that viſible oppoſition, which was between the Scriptures, and the *Roman* Church in the matter of Images. This could not be better palliated, than by diſguiſing theſe places, with words that the People underſtood not. How this was received *Fuller* has not told us. But it ſeems *Cranmer* found, that the Biſhops were reſolved, either to condemn the Tranſlation of the Bible, or to proceed ſo ſlowly in it, that it ſhould come to nothing. Therefore he moved the King to refer the peruſing of it to the two Univerſities. The Biſhops took this very ill, when *Cranmer* intimated it to them in the Kings name; and objected that the Learning of the Univerſities was much decayed of late, and that the two Houſes of Convocation were the more proper Judges of that, where the Learning of the Land was chiefly gathered together. But the Arch-Biſhop ſaid he would ſtick cloſe to the Kings pleaſure, and that the Univerſities ſhould examine it. Upon which, all the Biſhops of his Province, except *Ely* and St. *Davids*, proteſted againſt it; and ſoon after the Convocation was diſſolved. 1542.

Not long after this, I find, *Bonner* made ſome Injunctions for his Clergy; which have a ſtrain in them, ſo far different from the reſt of his Life, that it's more probable they were drawn by another Pen, and impoſed on *Bonner* by an Order from the King. They were ſet out in the 34th year of the Kings Reign; but the time of the year is not expreſt. The Reader will find them in the Collection at their full length. The Subſtance of them is, *Bonners* Injunctions.

"*Firſt*, That all ſhould obſerve the Kings Injunctions.

"*Secondly*, That every Clergy-man ſhould read and ſtudy a Chapter "of the Bible every day, with the expoſition of the Gloſs, or ſome "approved Doctor; which having once ſtudied, they ſhould retain it "in their memories, and be ready to give an account of it, to him, "or any whom he ſhould appoint. Coll. Numb. 26.

"*Thirdly*, That they ſhould ſtudy the Book ſet forth by the Biſhops, "of the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian man.

"*Fourthly*, That ſuch as did not reſide in their Benefices, ſhould "bring their Curates to him, or his Officers, to be tried.

"*Fifthly*, That they ſhould often exhort their Pariſhioners to make "no private contracts of Marriage.

"*Sixthly*, That they ſhould marry none who were married before, "till they were ſufficiently aſſured that the former Husband or Wife "were dead.

"*Seventhly*, That they ſhould inſtruct the Children of their ſeveral "pariſhes; and teach them to read Engliſh, that they might know "how to believe, and pray, and live according to the Will of God.

"*Eighthly*,

1542. "*Eighthly*, That they ſhould reconcile all that were in Enmity, "and in that be a good Example to others.

"*Ninthly*, That none ſhould receive the Communion, who did not "Confeſs to their own Curates.

"*Tenthly*, That none ſhould be ſuffered to go to Taverns, or Ale-"Houſes, and uſe unlawful games on Sundays, or Holy-days, in time "of Divine Service.

"*Eleventhly*, That twice every quarter, they ſhould declare the ſeven "deadly ſins, and the Ten Commandments.

"*Twelfthly*, That no Prieſt ſhould go but in his Habit.

"*Thirteenthly*, That no Prieſt ſhould be admitted to ſay Maſs, with-"out ſhewing his Letters of Orders to the Biſhop or his Officers.

"*Fourteenthly*, That they ſhould inſtruct the People to beware of "Blaſphemy, or Swearing by any part of Chriſts Body; and to ab-"ſtain from Scolding and Slandering, Adultery, Fornication, Glutto-"ny or Drunkenneſs; and that they ſhould preſent at the next Viſitati-"on, thoſe who were guilty of theſe ſins.

"*Fifteenthly*, That no Prieſt ſhould uſe unlawful games, or go to "Ale-houſes or Taverns, but upon an urgent neceſſity.

"*Sixteenthly*, No Playes or Enterludes to be Acted in the Churches.

"*Seventeenthly*, That there ſhould be no Sermons Preached, that "had been made within theſe two hundred or three hundred years. "But when they Preached, they ſhould explain the whole Goſpel and "Epiſtle for the day, according to the mind of ſome good Doctor al-"lowed by the Church of *England*: and chiefly to inſiſt on theſe pla-"ces that might ſtir up the people to good works, and to prayer; and "to explain the uſe of the Ceremonies of the Church. That there "ſhould be no railing in Sermons; but the Preacher ſhould calmly and "diſcreetly ſet forth the excellencies of Vertue, and the vileneſs of Sin; "and ſhould alſo explain the Prayers for that day, that ſo the People "might pray with one heart; and ſhould teach them the uſe of the Sa-"craments, particularly of the Maſs; but ſhould avoid the reciting of "Fables, or Stories for which no good Writer could be vouched; and "that when the Sermon was ended, the Preacher ſhould in few "words reſume the ſubſtance of it.

"*Eighteenthly*, That none be ſuffered to Preach under the degree of a "Biſhop, who had not obtained a Licenſe, either from the King, or "him their Ordinary.

The manner of Preaching at that time.

Theſe Injunctions, eſpecially when they are conſidered at their full length, will give great light into the temper of men at that time: and particularly inform us of the deſign and method of Preaching, as it was then ſet forward. Concerning which the Reader will not be ill pleaſed to receive ſome information. In the time of Popery there had been few Sermons but in Lent: for their diſcourſes on the Holydays, were rather Panegyricks on the Saint, or the vain magnifying of ſome of their Reliques, which were laid up in ſuch or ſuch places. In Lent there was a more ſolemn and ſerious way of Preaching; and the Fri-ars, who chiefly maintained their credit by their performances at that time, uſed all the force of their skill and induſtry to raiſe the People into heats, by paſſionate and affecting diſcourſes. Yet theſe generally tended to raiſe the value of ſome of the Laws of the Church, ſuch as

Abſtinence

Abſtinence at that time, Confeſſion, with other Corporal Severities; or ſome of the little devices, that both inflamed a blind Devotion, and drew Money; ſuch as Indulgences, Pilgrimages, or the enriching the Shrines, and Reliques of the Saints. But there was not that pains taken to inform the People of the hatefulneſs of Vice, and the excellency of Holineſs, or of the wonderful Love of Chriſt, by which men might be engaged to acknowledge and obey him. And the deſign of their Sermons was rather to raiſe a preſent heat, which they knew afterwards how to manage, than to work a real Reformation on their Hearers. They had alſo intermixt with all Divine Truths ſo many Fables, that they were become very extravagant; and that alloy had ſo embaſed the whole, that there was great need of a good diſcerning, to deliver People from thoſe prejudices, which theſe mixtures brought upon the whole Chriſtian Doctrine. Therefore the Reformers ſtudied with all poſſible care, to inſtruct the People in the Fundamentals of Chriſtianity, with which they had been ſo little acquainted. From hence it came, that the People ran after thoſe New Preachers with wonderful zeal. It is true, there ſeem to be very foul and indiſcreet reflections on the other Party, in ſome of their Sermons. But if any have applied themſelves much to obſerve what ſort of men, the Fryars, and the reſt of the Popiſh Clergy were at that time; they ſhall find great excuſes for thoſe heats. And as our Saviour laid open the Hypocriſies and Impoſtures of the Scribes and Phariſees, in a ſtyle which ſuch corruptions extorted; ſo there was great cauſe given to treat them very roughly: tho it is not to be denied, but thoſe Preachers had ſome mixtures of their own reſentments, for the cruelties and ill uſage which they received from them. But now that the Reformation made a greater progreſs, much pains was taken to ſend eminent Preachers over the Nation: not confining them to particular charges, but ſending them with the Kings Licence, up and down to many places. Many of theſe Licences are enrolled, and it is likely that many were granted that were not ſo carefully preſerved. But proviſion was alſo made for peoples daily Inſtruction: and becauſe in that ignorant time, there could not be found a ſufficient number of good Preachers, and in a time of ſo much jugling, they would not truſt the Inſtruction of the people to every one; Therefore none was to Preach except he had gotten a particular Licence for it, from the King, or his Dioceſan. But to qualifie this, a Book of Homilies was Printed: in which the Goſpels and Epiſtles of all the Sundays, and Holidays of the year were ſet down, with an Homily to every one of theſe, which is a plain and practical Paraphraſe on thoſe parcels of Scripture. To theſe are added many ſerious exhortations, and ſome ſhort explanations of the moſt obvious difficulties, that ſhew the Compiler of them was a man both of good judgement and learning. To theſe were alſo added, Sermons upon ſeveral occaſions; as for Weddings, Chriſtnings, and Funerals; and theſe were to be read to the people by ſuch as were not Licenſed to Preach. But thoſe who were Licenſed to Preach, being oft accuſed for their Sermons, and Complaints being made to the King by hot men on both ſides; they came generally to write and read their Sermons. From thence the reading of Sermons grew into a practiſe in this Church: in which, if there was not that heat, and fire, which the

1542.

1542. Fryars had shewed in their Declamations, so that the passions of the Hearers were not so much wrought on by it; yet it has produced the greatest Treasure of weighty, grave and solid Sermons, that ever the Church of God had; which does in a great measure compensate that seeming flatness to vulgar ears, that is in the delivery of them.

Plays and Enterludes then acted.

The Injunctions take notice of another thing, which the sincerity of an Historian obliges me to give an account of, tho it was indeed the greatest blemish of that time. These were the Stage-plays and Enterludes, that were then generally acted, and often in Churches. They were representations of the corruptions of the Monks, and some other feats of the Popish Clergy. The Poems were ill contrived, and worse expressed; if there lies not some hidden wit in these Ballads, (for verses they were not,) which at this distance is lost. But from the representing the immoralities and disorders of the Clergy, they proceeded to act the Pageantry of their Worship. This took with the people much, who being provoked by the miscarriages and cruelties of some of the Clergy, were not ill pleased to see them and their Religion exposed to publick scorn. The Clergy complained much of this; and said it was an introduction to Atheism, and all sort of Irreligion. For if once they began to mock sacred things, no stop could be put to that petulant humour. The grave and learned sort of Reformers disliked and condemned these courses, as not sutable to the *genius* of true Religion: but the political men of that party, made great use of them; encouraging them all they could; for they said, Contempt being the most operative and lasting affection of the mind, nothing would more effectually drive out many of those Abuses, which yet remained, than to expose them to the contempt and scorn of the people.

War between *England* and *Scotland*.

In the end of this year a war broke out between *England* and *Scotland*, set on by the instigation of the French King; who was also beginning to be an uneasie Neighbour to those of the English pale about *Callice*. The King set out a long Declaration, in which he very largely laid out the pretensions the Crown of *England* had, to an Homage from the Kings of *Scotland*. In this I am no fit person to interpose; the matter being disputed by the learned men of both Nations. The Scots said it was only for some Lands their Kings had in *England*, that they did Homage: as the Kings of *England* did for *Normandy* and *Guienne*, to the Kings of *France*. But the English Writers cited many Records, to shew that the Homage was done for the Crown of *Scotland*. To this the Scots replied, that in the Invasion of *Edward* the first, he had carried away all their ancient Records; so these being lost, they could only appeal to the Chronicles that lay up and down the Nation in their Monasteries: That all these affirmed the contrary, and that they were a free Kingdom; till *Edward* the first taking advantage of their disputes about the Succession to their Crown, upon the death of *Alexander* the third, got some of the Competitors to lay down their pretensions at his feet, and to promise Homage: That this was also performed by *John Balliol*, whom he preferred to the Crown of *Scotland*; but by these means he lost the hearts of the Nation, and it was said, that his Act of Homage could not give away the Rights of a free Crown and People. And they said, that whatsoever submissions had been made since that time, they were only extorted by force; as the

the effects of Victory and Conqueſt, but gave no good right, nor juſt Title. To all this the Engliſh Writers anſwered, That theſe ſubmiſſions by their Records, (which were the ſolemn Inſtruments of a Nation, that ought never to be called in queſtion,) were ſometimes freely made; and not by their Kings only, but by the conſent of their States. In this uncertainty I muſt leave it with the Reader. 1542.

But after the King had opened this Pretenſion, "he complained of "the diſorders committed by the Scots; of the unkind returns he had "met with from their King for his care of him, while he was an "Infant; taking no advantage of the confuſions in which that King-"dom then was, but on the contrary, protecting the Crown, and qui-"eting the Kingdom. But that of late many depredations and acts of "hoſtility had been committed by the Scots: and though ſome Trea-"ties had been begun, they were managed with ſo much ſhuffling and "inconſtancy, that the King muſt now try it by a War. Yet he concluded his Declaration ambiguouſly, neither keeping up nor laying down his Pretenſions to that Crown: but expreſſing them in ſuch a manner, that which way ſoever the ſucceſs of the War turned, he might be bound up to nothing, by what he now declared.

But whatſoever juſtice might be in the Kings Title, or Quarrel, his Sword was much the ſharper. He ordered the Duke of *Norfolk* to march into *Scotland*, about the end of *October*, with an Army of 20000 men. *Hall* tells us, they burnt many Towns, and names them. But theſe were only ſingle Houſes, or little Villages; and the beſt Town he names is *Kelſo*, which is a little open Market-Town. Soon after they returned back into *England*; whether after they had ſpoiled the Neighbouring Country, they felt the incoveniencies of the ſeaſon of the year, or whether hearing the Scots were gathering, they had no mind to go too far, I cannot determine; for the Writers of both Nations diſagree, as to the reaſon of their ſpeedy return. But any that knows the Country they ſpoiled, and where they ſtopt, muſt conclude that either they had ſecret Orders only to make an Inroad, and deſtroy ſome Places that lay along the River of *Tweed*, and upon the Border, which done, without driving the Breach too far, to retire back; or they muſt have had apprehenſions of the Scotiſh Armies coming to lie in theſe Moors and Hills of *Sautrey*, or *Lammer-Moor*, which they were to paſs if they had gone farther: and there were about 10000 men brought thither, but he that commanded them was much blamed for doing nothing; his excuſe was that his number did not equal theirs. About the end of *November*, the Lord *Maxwell* brought an Army of 15000 men together, with a Train of Artillery of 24 peeces of Ordnance. And ſince the Duke of *Norfolk* had retired towards *Berwick*, they reſolved to enter *England* on the Weſtern ſide by *Solway* Frith. The King went thither himſelf, but fatally left the Army, and yet was not many miles from them when they were defeated. The truth of it was, that King, who had hitherto raiſed the greateſt expectation, was about that time diſturbed in his fancie, thinking that he ſaw apparitions, particularly of one, whom it was ſaid, he had unjuſtly put to death; ſo that he could not reſt, nor be at quiet. But as his leaving the Army was ill adviſed, ſo his giving a Commiſſion to *Oliver Sinclar*, that was his *Minion*, to command in Chief, did extreamly diſguſt the Nobility.

Duke of *Norfolks* inroad into *Scotland*.

1542. The *Scotiſh* Army defeated.

Nobility. They loved not to be commanded by any but their King, and were already weary of the inſolence of that Favourite, who being but of ordinary birth, was deſpiſed by them; ſo that they were beginning to ſeparate. And when they were upon that occaſion in great diſorder, a ſmall body of *Engliſh*, not above 500 Horſe appeared. But they apprehending it was the Duke of *Norfolks* Army, refuſed to fight, and fell in confuſion. Many Priſoners were taken; the chief of whom were, the Earls of *Glencairn*, and *Caſſillis*, the Lords *Maxwell*, *Sommervell*, *Oliphant*, *Gray*, and *Oliver Sinclar*; and about 200 Gentlemen and 800 ſouldiers; and all the Ordnance and Baggage was alſo taken. The news of this being brought to the King of *Scotland*, encreaſed his former diſorders: and ſome few days after, he dyed leaving an infant Daughter, but newly born, to ſucceed him.

Many Priſoners taken.

The Lords that were taken Priſoners, were brought to *London*, where after they had been charged in Council, how unkindly they had uſed the King, they were put in the keeping of ſome of the greateſt quality about Court. But the Earl of *Caſſillis* had the beſt luck of them all. For being ſent to *Lambeth*, where he was a Priſoner upon his parole, *Cranmer* ſtudied to free him from the darkneſs and fetters of Popery; in which he was ſo ſucceſsful, that the other was afterwards a great Promoter of the Reformation in *Scotland*. The *Scots* had been hitherto poſſeſſed with moſt extraordinary prejudices againſt the Changes that had been made in *England*: which concurring with the ancient Animoſities between the two Nations, had raiſed a wonderful ill opinion of the Kings proceedings. And though the Biſhop of St. *Davids* (*Barlow*,) had been ſent into *Scotland* with the Book of the *Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, to clear theſe ill impreſſions; yet his endeavours were unſucceſsful. The Pope, at the inſtance of the *French* King, and to make that Kingdom ſure, made *David Beaton*, Arch-Biſhop of St. *Andrews*, a Cardinal; which gave him great Authority in the Kingdom: ſo he with the reſt of the Clergy diverted the King from any correſpondence with *England*, and aſſured him of Victory if he would make War on ſuch an Heretical Prince. The Clergy alſo offered the King 50000 Crowns a-year, towards a War with *England*; and poſſeſſed all the Nation with very ill thoughts of the Court and Clergy there. But the Lords that were now Priſoners, (chiefly the Earl of *Caſſillis*, who was beſt inſtructed by his Religious Hoſt;) conceived a better opinion of the Reformation; and carried home with them thoſe ſeeds of knowledg, which produced afterwards a very fruitful Harveſt. On all theſe things I have dwelt the longer, that it might appear, whence the inclination of the *Scotiſh* Nobility to Reform, did take its firſt riſe, though there was afterwards in the Methods, by which it was advanced, too great a mixture of the heat and forwardneſs that is natural to the Genius of that Countrey.

When the news of the King of *Scotlands* death, and of the young Queens birth that ſucceeded him, came to the Court, the King thought this a very favourable conjuncture to unite and ſettle the whole Iſland. But that unfortunate Princeſs was not born under ſuch happy Stars, though ſhe was Mother to him, in whom this long-deſired Union took effect. The Lords that were then Priſoners began the motion;

motion; and that being told the King, he called for them to *Hampton-Court*, in the Chriſtmas-time; and ſaid now an opportunity was put in their hands, to quiet all troubles that had been between theſe two Crowns, by the Marriage of the Prince of *Wales* to their young Queen: In which he deſired their aſſiſtance, and gave them their Liberty, they leaving hoſtages for the performance of what was then offered by them. They all promiſed their Concurrence, and ſeemed much taken with the greatneſs of the *Engliſh* Court, which the King always kept up, not without affectation: they alſo ſaid, they thought God was better ſerved there than in their own Countrey. So on New-years-day they took their journey towards *Scotland*; but the ſequel of this will appear afterwards. 1543.

A Parliament was ſummoned to meet the two and twentieth of *January*, which ſate to the 12th of *May*. So the Seſſion begun in the 34th and ended in the 35th year of the Kings Reign; from whence it is called in the Records, the Parliament of the 34th and 35th year. Here both the Temporality and Spirituality gave great Subſidies to the King, of ſix ſhillings in the Pound, to be paid in three years. They ſet forth in their Preambles, "The expence the King had been at, in "his War with *Scotland*, and for his other great and urgent occaſions; by which was meant a War with *France*, which broke out the following Summer. But with theſe, there paſſed other two Acts of great importance to Religion. The Title of the firſt was, *An Act for the advancement of True Religion, and aboliſhment of the contrary.* The King was now entring upon a War; ſo it ſeemed reaſonable to qualifie the ſeverity of the late Acts about Religion, that all might be quiet at home. *Cranmer* moved it firſt; and was faintly ſeconded by the Biſhops of *Worceſter*, *Hereford*, *Chicheſter*, and *Rocheſter*, who had promiſed to ſtick to him in it. At this time a League was almoſt finiſhed between the King and the Emperour, which did again raiſe the Spirits of the Popiſh Faction. They had been much caſt down ever ſince the laſt Queens fall. But now that the Emperor was like to have an Intereſt in *Engliſh* Councils, they took heart again; and *Gardiner* oppoſed the Arch-Biſhops motion with all poſſible earneſtneſs. And that whole Faction fell ſo upon it, that the timorous Biſhops not only forſook *Cranmer*, but *Heath* of *Rocheſter*, and *Skip* of *Hereford*, were very earneſt with him to ſtay for a better opportunity: But he generouſly preferred his Conſcience to thoſe arts of Policy, which he would never practiſe; and ſaid, he would puſh it as far as it would go. So he plied the King, and the other Lords ſo earneſtly, that at length the Bill paſſed, though clogg'd with many Proviſoes, and very much ſhort of what he had deſigned. 1543. A new Parliament. *Cranmer* promotes a Reformation.

"The Preamble ſet forth, that there being many diſſenſions about "Religion, the Scriptures, which the King had put into the hands of "his People, were abuſed by many ſeditious perſons, in their Sermons, "Books, Playes, Rithmes, and Songs: from which great Inconveni- "ences were like to ariſe. For preventing theſe, it was neceſſary to e- "ſtabliſh a Form of ſincere Doctrine, conformable to that which was "taught by the Apoſtles. Therefore all the Books of the Old and "New Teſtament, of *Tindals* Tranſlation (which is called *Crafty*, *Falſe*, "and *Untrue*,) are forbidden to be kept or uſed, in the Kings Dominions; An Act about it.

1543. "nions: with all other Books, contrary to the Doctrine ſet forth in "the year 1540. with Puniſhments and Fines, and Impriſonment up- "on ſuch as ſold or kept ſuch Books. But Bibles that were not of "*Tindals* Tranſlation were ſtill to be kept, only the Annotations, or "Preambles, that were in any of them, were to be cut out, or daſhed; "and the Kings Proclamations, and Injunctions, with the Primmers "and other Books Printed in *Engliſh*, for the inſtruction of the peo- "ple before the year 1540, were ſtill to be in force: and among theſe, "*Chaucers* Books are by name mentioned. No Books were to be Prin- "ted about Religion, without the Kings Allowance. In no Playes, nor "Enterludes, they might make any Expoſitions of Scripture; but only "reproach Vice, and ſet forth virtue in them. None might read the "Scripture in any open Aſſembly, or expound it; but he who was Li- "cenſed by the King or his Ordinary; with a Proviſo, that the Chan- "cellors in Parliament, Judges, Recorders, or any others, who were "wont in publick occaſions to make Speeches, and commonly took a "place of Scripture for their Text, might ſtill do as they had done "formerly. Every Noble-man, or Gentle-man, might cauſe the "Bible to be read to him, in or about his Houſe, quietly and without "diſturbance. Every Merchant that was a Houſholder, might alſo "read it. But no Woman, nor Artificers, Apprentices, Journeymen, "Serving-men, under the degree of Yeomen; nor no Husbandmen, "or Labourers, might read it. Yet every Noble Woman, or Gentle- "woman, might read it for her ſelf: and ſo might all other perſons, "but thoſe who were excepted. Every perſon might read and teach "in their Houſes, the Book ſet out in the year 1540. with the Pſalter, "Primmer, Paternoſter, the Ave, and the Creed in *Engliſh*. All Spi- "ritual perſons, who preached or taught contrary to the Doctrine ſet "forth in that Book, were to be admitted, for the firſt conviction, to "renounce their errors; for the ſecond to abjure, and carry a Faggot; "which if they refuſed to do, or fell into a third offence, they were to "be burnt. But the Laity, for the third offence, were only to forfeit their "Goods and Chattels, and be liable to perpetual Impriſonment. But "theſe offences were to be objected to them, within a year after they "were committed. And whereas before, the Party accuſed was "not allowed to bring Witneſſes for his own Purgation; this was now "granted him. But to this a ſevere Proviſo was added, which ſee- "med to overthrow all the former favour; that the Act of the ſix "Articles was ſtill in the ſame force, in which it was before the making "of this Act. Yet that was moderated by the next Proviſo; That the "King might at any time hereafter at his pleaſure change this Act or "any Proviſion in it.

This laſt Proviſo was made ſtronger by another Act, made for the due execution of Proclamations, in purſuance of a former Act to the ſame effect, of which mention was made in the 31ſt year of the Kings Reign. By that former Act there was ſo great a number of Officers of State, and of the Kings Houſhold, of Judges, and other perſons, to ſit on theſe Trials, that thoſe not being eaſily brought together, the Act had never taken any effect. Therefore it was now appointed, that nine Counſellors ſhould be a ſufficient number for theſe Trials. At the paſſing of that Act the Lord *Montjoy* proteſted againſt it, which

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is the ſingle Inſtance of a Proteſtation againſt any publick Bill, through this Kings whole Reign. 1542.

The Act about Religion, freed the Subjects from the fears under which they were before. For now the Laity were delivered from the hazard of burning; and the Spirituality were not in danger, but upon the third Conviction. They might alſo bring their own witneſſes, which was a great favour to them. Yet that high power which was given the King, of altering the Act or any parts of it, made, that they were not abſolutely ſecured from their fears, of which ſome inſtances afterwards appeared. But as this Act was ſome mitigation of former ſeverities, ſo it brought the Reformers to depend wholly on the Kings Mercy, for their Lives: ſince he could now chain up, or let looſe, the Act of the ſix Articles upon them, at his pleaſure.

A League between the King and Emperor.

Soon after the end of this Parliament, a League was ſworn between the King and the Emperour, on Trinity Sunday; Offenſive, and Defenſive, for *England*, *Calais*, and the places about it, and for all *Flanders*; with many other particulars, to be found in the Treaty ſet down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. There is no mention made of the Legitimation of the Lady *Mary*; but it ſeems it was promiſed, that ſhe ſhould be declared next in the Succeſſion of the Crown, to Prince *Edward*, if the King had no other Children; which was done in the next Parliament, without any reflections on her Birth; and the Emperor was content to accept of that, there being no other terms to be obtained. The Popiſh party, who had ſet up their reſt on bringing the King and Emperour to a League, and putting the Lady *Mary* into the Succeſſion, no doubt preſt the Emperor much to accept of this: which we may reaſonably believe was vigorouſly driven on by *Bonner*, who was ſent to *Spain*, an Ambaſſador for concluding this Peace, by which alſo the Emperor gained much; for having engaged the Crowns of *England*, and *France* in a War, and drawn off the King of *England* from his League with the Princes of *Germany*, he was now at more leiſure to proſecute his deſigns in *Germany*.

A Treaty for a match with the Queen of *Scotland*.

But the negotiation in *Scotland* ſucceeded not to the Kings mind, though at firſt there were very good appearances. The Cardinal, by forging a Will for the dead King, got himſelf and ſome of his party to be put into the Government. But the Earl of *Arran* (*Hamilton*,) being the neareſt in blood to the young Queen, and being generally beloved for his Probity, was invited to aſſume the Government: which he managed with great moderation, and an univerſal applauſe. He ſummoned a Parliament which confirmed him in his Power, during the Minority of the Queen. The King ſent Sir *Ralph Sadler* to him, to agree the Marriage, and to deſire him to ſend the young Queen into *England*. And if private ends wrought much on him, *Sadler* was empowered to offer another Marriage of the Kings ſecond Daughter, the Lady *Elizabeth*, to his Son. The Earl of *Arran* was himſelf inclinable to Reformation, and very much hated the Cardinal. So he was eaſily brought to conſent to a Treaty for the Match, which was concluded in *Auguſt*. By which the young Queen was to be bred in *Scotland*, till ſhe was ten years of age: but the King might ſend a Nobleman, and his Wife, with other perſons, not exceeding 20, to wait on her. And for performance of this, ſix Noblemen were to be ſent from *Scotland* for Hoſtages. The Earl of *Arran* being then Governor, kept the Cardinal

1543. under restraint till this Treaty was Concluded: But he, corrupting his Keepers made his escape, and joyning with the Queen Mother, they made a strong faction against the Governor; all the Clergy joyned with the Cardinal to oppose the Match with *England*, since they looked for ruine if it succeeded. The Queen, being a sister of *Guise*, and bred in the *French* Court, was wholly for their Interests; and all that had been obliged by that Court, or depended on it, were quickly drawn into the Party. It was also said to every body, that it was much more the Interest of *Scotland* to match with *France*, than with *England*. If they were united to *France*, they might expect an easie Government: For the *French* being at such distance from them, and knowing how easily they might throw themselves into the Armes of *England*, would certainly rule them gently, and avoid giving them great Provocations. But if they were united to *England*, they had no remedy, but must look for an heavier yoke to be laid on them. This meeting with the rooted Antipathy, that by a long continuance of War, was grown up among them to a savage hatred of the *English* Nation; and being inflamed by the considerations of Religion, raised an universal dislike of the Match with *England*, in the greatest part of the whole Nation; only a few men of greater Probity, who were weary of the depredations and Wars in the Borders, and had a liking to the Reformation of the Church, were still for it.

The different Interests there.

The *French* Court struck in vigorously with their Party in *Scotland*, and sent over the Earl of *Lenox*; who, as he was next in blood to the Crown, after the Earl of *Arran*, so was of the same family of the *Stewarts*, which had endeared him to the late King. He was to lead the Queens party against the *Hamiltons*. Yet they employed another Tool, which was *John Hamilton*, base Brother to the Governor, who was afterwards Arch-Bishop of St. *Andrews*. He had great power over his Brother, who being then not above four and twenty years of age, and having been the only lawful Son of his Father in his old age, was never bred abroad: and so understood not the Policies and arts of Courts, and was easily abused by his base Brother. He assured him, that if he went about to destroy Religion, by matching the Queen to an Heretical Prince, they would depose him from his Government, and declare him Illegitimate. There could be indeed nothing clearer than his Fathers Divorce from his first Wife. For it had been formerly proved, that she had been married to the Lord *Yesters* Son, before he married her, who claimed her as his Wife; upon which, her Marriage with the Earl of *Arran* was declared Null in the year 1507. And it was ten years after, that the Earl of *Arran* did Marry the Governors Mother: Of which things the Original Instruments are yet extant. Yet it was now said that that Precontract with the Lord *Yesters* Son was but a forgery, to dissolve that Marriage: and if the Earl of *Lenox*, (who was next to the Crown, in case the Earl of *Arran* was Illegitimated,) should by the assistance of *France* procure a review of that Process from *Rome*, and obtain a Revocation of that Sentence, by which his Fathers first Marriage was annulled; then it was plain that the second marriage, with the issue by it, would be of no force. All this wrought on the Governor much, and at length drew him off from the Match with *England*, and brought him over to the *French* Interests.

The *French* party prevails.

Intereſts. Which being effected, there was no further uſe of the Earl of *Lennox*; ſo he finding himſelf neglected, by the Queen, and the Cardinal, and abandoned by the Crown of *France*, fled into *England*: where he was very kindly received by the King, who gave him in marriage his Neece, Lady *Margaret Domglaſs*, whom the Queen of *Scotland* had born to the Earl of *Angus*, her ſecond Husband. From which Marriage iſſued the Lord *Darnly* Father to King *James*. 1543.

When the Lords of the *French* Faction had carried things to their mind in *Scotland*, it was next conſidered, what they ſhould do to redeem the Hoſtages whom the Lords, who were Priſoners in *England*, had left behind them. And for this, no other Remedy could be found, but to let them take their hazard; and leave them to the King of *England*'s mercy: To this they all agreed, only the Earl of *Caſſilis* had too much Honour and Vertue to do ſo mean a thing. Therefore, after he had done all he could for maintaining the Treaty about the Match, he went into *England*, and offered himſelf again to be a Priſoner. But as generous actions are a reward to themſelves, ſo they often meet with that entertainment which they deſerve. And upon this occaſion, the King was not wanting to expreſs a very great value for that Lord. He called him another *Regulus*, but uſed him better. For he both gave him his Liberty, and made him noble Preſents, and ſent him and his Hoſtages back; being reſolved to have a ſeverer reparation for the injury done him. All which I have opened more fully, becauſe this will give a great light to the affairs of that Kingdom: which will be found in the Reigns of the ſucceeding Princes, to have a great intermixture with the affairs of this Kingdom. Nor are they juſtly repreſented by any who write of theſe times; and having ſeen ſome Original Papers relating to *Scotland* at that time, I have done it upon more certain information.

The King of *England* made War next upon *France*: The grounds of this War are recited by the Lord *Herbert*. One of theſe is proper for me to repeat; "That the *French* King had not deſerted the Biſhop of "*Rome*, and conſented to a Reformation, as he had once Promiſed. "The reſt related to other things, ſuch as the ſeizing our Ships; "The detaining the yearly Penſion due to the King; The Fortifying "*Ardres* to the prejudice of the *Engliſh* pale; The revealing the Kings "ſecrets to the Emperor; The having given, firſt his Daughter, and "then the Duke of *Guiſes* Siſter, in Marriage, to his Enemy, the King "of *Scotland*; and his confederating himſelf with the Turk. And "Satisfaction not being given in theſe particulars a War is de-"clared. A War with *France*.

In *July* the King married *Katharine Parre*, who had been formerly married to *Nevil* Lord *Latimer*. She was a ſecret Favourer of the Reformation; yet could not divert a ſtorm, which at this time fell on ſome in *Windſor*. For that being a place to which the King did oft retire, it was thought fit to make ſome examples there. And now the League with the Emperour, gave the Popiſh Faction a greater intereſt in the Kings Counſels. There was at this time a Society at *Windſor*, that favoured the Reformation. *Anthony Perſon* a Prieſt, *Robert Teſtwood*, and *John Marbeck* Singing Men, and *Henry Filmer* of the Town of *Windſor*, were the chief of them. But thoſe were much A new perſecution of Proteſtants.

1543. favoured by Sir *Philip Hobby* and his Lady, and ſeveral others of the Kings Family. During *Cromwels* power none queſtioned them; but after his fall they were looked on with an ill eye. Doctor *London*, who had by the moſt ſervile Flatteries inſinuated himſelf into *Cromvel*, and was much employed in the ſuppreſſion of Monaſteries, and expreſſed a particular zeal in removing all Images and Relicks which had been abuſed to Superſtition, did now, upon *Cromwels* fall, apply himſelf to *Gardiner*, by whoſe means he was made a Prebendary there. And to ſhew how dextrouſly he could make his Court both ways, or to make compenſation for what he had formerly done, he took care to gather a whole Book of Informations, againſt theſe in *Windſor*, who favoured the *New Learning*, (which was the modeſt phraſe by which they termed the Reformation.) He carried this Book to *Gardiner*, who moved the King in Council, that a Commiſſion might be granted for ſearching ſuſpected Houſes at *Windſor*, in which it was Informed there were many Books againſt the ſix Articles. The King granted the Warrant for the Town, but not for the Caſtle. So thoſe before named, were ſeized on, and ſome of theſe Books were found in their houſes. Dr. *Hains*, Dean of *Exceter*, and Prebendary of *Windſor*, being informed againſt, was alſo put in Priſon; ſo was likewiſe Sir *Philip Hobby*. But there were likewiſe ſome Papers of Notes on the Bible, and of a Concordance in *Engliſh*, found in *Marbecks* houſe, written with his own hand: and he being an Illiterate man, they did not doubt but theſe were other mens works, which he was writing out. So they began with him, and hoped to draw diſcoveries from him. He was frequently examined, but would tell nothing that might do hurt to any other perſon. But being Examined, who wrote theſe Notes, he ſaid they were his own: for he read all the Books he could light on, and wrote out what every man had written on any place of Scripture. And for his Concordance, he told them, that being a poor man, he could not buy one of the Bibles, when they came firſt out in *Engliſh*, but ſet himſelf to write one out: by which another perceiving his Induſtry, ſuggeſted to him, that he would do well to write a Concordance in *Engliſh*; but he ſaid, he knew not what that was: ſo the other perſon explaining it to him, he got a *Latin* Concordance, and an *Engliſh* Bible; and having learned a little *Latin*, when he was young, he, by comparing the *Engliſh* with the *Latin*, had drawn out a Concordance, which he had brought to the Letter L. This ſeemed ſo extravagant a thing to *Gardiner*, and the other Biſhops that examined him, that they could by no means believe it. But he deſired they would draw out any words of the letter M. and give him the *Latin* Concordance, with the *Engliſh* Bible, and after a little time they ſhould ſee whether he had not done the reſt. So the Trial was made, and in a dayes time he had drawn out three ſheets of Paper, upon thoſe words that were given him. This both ſatisfyed, and aſtoniſhed the Biſhops, wondering at the Ingeniouſneſs and diligence of ſo poor a man. It was much talked of, and being told the King, he ſaid *Marbeck employed his time better than thoſe that examined him.* For the others, they were kept in Priſon at *London*, till the 24th of *July*, that the King gave orders to try them at *Windſor*.

Marbeck's great ingeniouſneſs.

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There was a Court held there, on the 27th of *July*, where *Capon* Biſhop of *Sarum*, and *Franklin* Dean of *Windſor*, and *Fachel* Parſon of *Reading*, and three of the Judges, ſate on thoſe four men. They were Endited for ſome words ſpoken againſt the Maſs. *Marbeck* only for writing out an Epiſtle of *Calvins* againſt it; which, he ſaid, he copied before the Act of the ſix Articles was made. The Jury was not called out of the Town, for they would not truſt it to them, but out of the Farms of the Chappel. They were all found guilty, and ſo condemned to be burnt, which was Executed on three of them the next day: only *Marbeck* was recommended to the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* care, to procure his Pardon, which was obtained. The other three expreſſed great compoſure of mind in their Sufferings, and dyed with much Chriſtian Reſolution and Patience; forgiving their perſecutors, and committing themſelves to the Mercies of God through *Jeſus Chriſt*. 1543. Three burnt at *Windſor*.

But in their Tryal, Doctor *London*, and *Symonds*, a Lawyer and an Informer, had ſtudied to fiſh out accuſations againſt many of the Kings Servants, as Sir *Philip Hobby*, and Sir *Thomas Cardine*, with their Ladies, and ſeveral others who had favoured thoſe men. With theſe Informations, *Okam*, that had been the Clerk of the Court, was ſent to *Gardiner*: But one of the Queens ſervants who had diſcovered the deſign, was before him at Court. Upon the advertiſement which he had brought, *Okam* was ſeized on at his coming to Court, and all his Papers were examined; in which they diſcovered a Conſpiracy againſt thoſe Gentlemen, with other Plots, that gave the King great Offence; but the particulars are not mentioned. So Doctor *London* and *Simmonds* were ſent for, and examined upon this deſertion. But they, not knowing that their Letters were intercepted, denyed there was any ſuch Plot; and being put to their Oaths, ſwore it. Then their own hand-writing was produced againſt them. Upon which, they being thus Perjured, were ordered to be carryed on Horſe-back, with their faces to the Horſe tailes, and Papers on their Foreheads, for their perjury; and then to be ſet in the Pillory, both in *Windſor*, *Reading*, and *Newbury*, where the King was at that time. This was accordingly executed on them; but ſunk ſo deep in Doctor *Londons* heart, that he dyed ſoon after. From all this it will appear what ſort of men the Perſecutors at that time were. Their Perſecuters are perjured.

But this was a ſmall part of what *Gardiner* had Projected: For he looked on theſe, as perſons unworthy of his diſpleaſure. *Cranmer* was chiefly aimed at by him. And therefore all that party were ſtill infuſing it into the Kings mind, that it was great Injuſtice to proſecute poor men with ſo much ſeverity, and let the chief Supporter of Hereſie ſtand in ſo eminent a degree, and in ſuch favour about him. At length the King, to diſcover the bottom of their deſigns, ſeemed to give ear to their accuſations, and deſired to hear what particulars could be objected againſt him. This gave them great encouragement; for till that time, the King would let nothing be ſaid againſt *Cranmer*. So they concluded he would be quickly ruined, ſince the King had opened his ear to their Informations. Therefore many particulars were quickly laid together, and put into the Kings hands; who a little after that, going to divert himſelf on the River, order- A Conſpiracy againſt *Cranmer*.

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1543. ed his Bargemen to Row towards *Lambeth*; which being perceived by ſome of the Arch-Biſhops Servants, they acquainted him with it, who haſted down to his ſtairs to do his duty to the King. When the King ſaw him, he called him into the Barge; and they being alone, the King lamented the growth of Hereſie, and the diſſenſions and confuſions that were like to follow upon it; and ſaid, he intended to find out the chief Encourager and Favourer of theſe Hereſies, and make him an Example to the reſt. And he asked the Arch-Biſhops opinion about it. Who anſwered him, That it was a good reſolution; but entreated the King to conſider well what Hereſie was, and not to condemn thoſe as Hereticks, who ſtood for the Word of God, againſt humane Inventions. But after ſome diſcourſe, the King told him he was the man, who, as he was informed, was the chief Encourager of Hereſie; and then gave him the Articles that were brought againſt him, and his Chaplains, both by ſome Prebendaries of *Canterbury*, and the Juſtices of Peace in *Kent*. When he read them, he kneeled down, and deſired the King would put the matter to a Tryal. He acknowledged he was ſtill of the ſame mind he was of, when he oppoſed the Six Articles; but that he had done nothing againſt them. Then the King asked him about his Wife. He frankly confeſſed he had a Wife; but ſaid, That he had ſent her to *Germany*, upon the paſſing the Act againſt Prieſts having Wives. His candor and ſimplicity wrought ſo on the King, that he diſcovered to him the whole Plot that was laid againſt him; and ſaid, That inſtead of bringing him to any Tryal about it, he would have him try it out, and proceed againſt thoſe his Accuſers. But he excuſed himſelf, and ſaid it would not be decent for him to ſit Judge in his own Cauſe. But the King ſaid to him, he was reſolved none other ſhould Judge it, but thoſe he ſhould name: So he named his Chancellor, and his Regiſter; to whom the King added another: And a Commiſſion being given them, they went into *Kent*, and ſate three weeks to find out the firſt Contrivers of this Accuſation. And now every one diſowned it, ſince they ſaw he was ſtill firmly rooted in the Kings eſteem and favour. But it being obſerved, that the Commiſſioners proceeded faintly, *Cranmers* friends moved that ſome man of Courage and Authority, might be ſent thither to canvaſs this Accuſation more carefully. So Doctor *Lee* Dean of *York*, was brought up about *All-hallowtide*, and ſent into *Kent*. And he, who had been well acquainted with the Arts of diſcovering ſecrets, when he was one of the viſitors of the Abbeys, managed it more vigorouſly. He ordered a ſearch to be made of all ſuſpected perſons; among whoſe Papers, Letters were found, both from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Doctor *London*, and ſome of thoſe whom *Cranmer* had treated with the greateſt freedom and kindneſs, in which the whole Plot againſt him was diſcovered. But it was now near the Seſſion of Parliament: and the King was ſatisfied with the diſcovery, but thought it not fit to make much noiſe of it. And he received no addreſſes from the Arch-Biſhop to proſecute it further: who was ſo noted for his Clemency, and following our Saviours Rule, of *Doing good for evil*, that it was commonly ſaid, The way to get his favour, was to do him an injury. Theſe were the only Inſtances in which he expreſſed

Antiq. *Brit.*

His Chriſtian temper of mind.

ſed his reſentments. Two of the Conſpirators againſt him, had been perſons ſignally obliged by him: The one was the Biſhop Suffragan of *Dover*; the other was a Civilian, whom he had imployed much in his buſineſs. But all the notice he took of it, was to ſhew them their Letters, and to admoniſh them to be more faithful and honeſt for the future. Upon which he freely forgave them, and carryed it ſo to them afterwards, as if he had abſolutely forgotten what they had contrived againſt him. And a perſon of Quality coming to him about that time, to obtain his favour and aſſiſtance in a Sute, in which he was to move the King, he went about it, and had almoſt procured it: but the King calling to mind, that he had been one of his ſecret accuſers, asked him whether he took him for his friend; he anſwered that he did ſo. Then the King ſaid, the other was a Knave, and was his mortal Enemy; and bid him, when he ſhould ſee him next, call him a Knave to his Face. *Cranmer* anſwered, that ſuch Language did not become a Biſhop. But the King ſullenly commanded him to do it; yet his modeſty was ſuch, that he could not obey ſo harſh a Command. And ſo he paſſed the matter over. When theſe things came to be known, all perſons, that were not unjuſtly prejudiced againſt him, acknowledged that his behaviour was ſutable to the Example and Doctrine of the meek and lowly Saviour of the World: And very well became ſo great a Biſhop, and ſuch a Reformer of the Chriſtian Religion; who in thoſe ſublime and extraordinary Inſtances practiſed that which he taught others to do. The year in which this fell out is not expreſt by thoſe who have recorded it; but by the concurring circumſtances, I judge it likelieſt to have been done this year. 1544.

Soon after this, the Parliament met, that was Summoned to meet the 14th of *January*, in the 35th year of the Kings Reign; in which the Act of the Succeſſion of the Crown paſſed. Which contains, "That the King being now to paſs the Seas, to make War upon "his Ancient Enemy the *French* King, and being deſirous to ſettle "the Succeſſion to the Crown; It is Enacted that in default of Heirs "of Prince *Edwards* body, or of Heirs by the Kings preſent Marriage, "the Crown ſhall go to the Lady *Mary*, the Kings Eldeſt Daugh-"ter: and in default of Heirs of her body, or if ſhe do not obſerve "ſuch limitations or conditions as ſhall be declared by the Kings Let-"ters Patents under his great Seal, or by his laſt Will under his hand, "it ſhall next fall to the Lady *Elizabeth*, and her heirs; or if ſhe "have none, or ſhall not keep the conditions declared by the King, "it ſhall fall to any other that ſhall be declared by the Kings Let-"ters Patents, or his laſt Will Signed with his hand. There was al-"ſo an Oath deviſed, inſtead of thoſe formerly ſworn, both againſt "the Popes Supremacy, and for maintaining the Succeſſion in all "points according to this Act: which whoſoever refuſed to take, "was to be adjudged a Traitor; and whoſoever ſhould, either in words, "or by writing, ſay any thing contrary to this Act, or to the peril "and ſlander of the Kings heirs, limited in the Act, was to be ad-"judged a Traitor. This was done, no doubt, upon a ſecret Arti-cle of the Treaty with the Emperor; and did put new life into the Popiſh party, all whoſe hopes depended on the Lady *Mary*. But how 1544. A new Parliament. Act about the Succeſſion

1542. how much this leſſened the Prerogative, and the Right of Succeſſion, will be eaſily diſcerned; the King in this affecting an unuſual extent of his own Power, though with the diminution of the Rights of his Succeſſors.

There was another Bill about the qualifying of the Act of the ſix Articles, that was ſent divers times from the one Houſe to the other. It was brought to the Lords the 1ſt of *March*, and read the firſt time; and ſtuck till the 4th, when it was read the ſecond time; on the 5th it was read the third time, and paſſed, and was ſent down to the Commons, with *words to be put in, or put out of it.* On the 6th, the Commons ſent it up with ſome alterations: And on the 8th, the Lords ſent it down again to the Commons: where it lay till the 17th, and then it was ſent up with their agreement. And the Kings Aſſent was given by his Letters Patents on the 29th of *March*. The Preamble was, "That whereas untrue accuſations, "and preſentments, might be maliciouſly contrived againſt the Kings "Subjects, and kept ſecret till a time were eſpied to have them by "malice convicted: Therefore it was Enacted, That none ſhould be "Endited, but upon a preſentment by the Oaths of twelve men, to "at leaſt, three of the Commiſſioners appointed by the King: and "that none ſhould be Impriſoned, but upon an Enditement, except "by a ſpecial Warrant from the King, and that all Preſentments "ſhould be made within one year after the Offences were com-"mitted; and if words were uttered in a Sermon, contrary to the "Statute, they muſt be complained of within forty dayes, unleſs a "juſt cauſe were given why it could not be ſo ſoon: Admitting al-"ſo the parties Endited to all ſuch Challenges as they might have "in any other caſe of Felony." This Act has clearly a Relation to the Conſpiracies mentioned the former year, both againſt the Arch-Biſhop, and ſome of the Kings Servants.

Act againſt Conſpiracies.

Another Act paſſed, continuing ſome former Acts for reviſing the Canon-Law, and for drawing up ſuch a body of Eccleſiaſtical Laws, as ſhould have Authority in *England*. This *Cranmer* preſſed often with great vehemence; and to ſhew the neceſſity of it, drew out a ſhort Extract of ſome paſſages in the Canon-Law, (which the Reader will find in the Collection,) to ſhew how undecent a thing it was, to let a Volume, in which ſuch Laws were, be ſtudyed or conſidered any longer in *England*. Therefore he was earneſt to have ſuch a Collection of Eccleſiaſtical Laws made, as might regulate the Spiritual Courts. But it was found more for the greatneſs of the Prerogative, and the Authority of the Civil Courts, to keep that undetermined; ſo he could never obtain his deſire during this Kings Reign.

Collect. *Numb.* 27.

Another Act paſſed in this Parliament for the remiſſion of a Loan of Money, which the King had raiſed. This is almoſt copied out of an Act to the ſame effect, that paſſed in the twenty firſt year of the Kings Reign: with this addition, That by this Act, thoſe who had got payment, either in whole, or in part, of the Sums ſo lent the King, were to repay it back to the Exchequer. All buſineſs being finiſhed, and a general pardon paſſed, with the ordinary exceptions of ſome Crimes, among which, Hereſie is one, the Parliament was

Prorogued

Prorogued on the 29th of *March*, to the 4th of *November*. 1544.

The King had now a War both with *France* and *Scotland* upon him. And therefore to prepare for it, he both enhanced the value of Money, and embaſed it: for which, he that writes his vindication gives this for the reaſon; That the Coin being generally embaſed all over *Europe*, he was forced to do it, leſt otherwiſe all the Money ſhould have gone out of the Kingdom. He reſolved to begin the War with *Scotland*, and ſent an Army by Sea thither, under the command of the Earl of *Hartford*, (afterwards Duke of *Somerſet*,) who landing at *Grantham*, a little above *Leith*, burnt, and ſpoiled, *Leith*, and *Edenburgh*; in which they found more riches than they thought could poſſibly have been there; and they went through the Countrey, burning and ſpoiling it every-where, till they came to *Berwick*. But they did too much if they intended to gain the hearts of that people, and too little if they intended to ſubdue them. For as they beſieged not the Caſtle of *Edinburgh*, which would have coſt them more time, and trouble; ſo they did not fortifie *Leith*, nor leave a Garriſon in it, which was ſuch an inexcuſable Omiſſion, that it ſeems their Counſels were very weak and ill laid. For *Leith* being fortified, and a Fleet kept going between it and *Berwick* or *Tinmouth*, the Trade of the Kingdom muſt have been quite ſtopt, *Edinburgh* ruined, the Intercourſe between *France* and them cut off, and the whole Kingdom forced to ſubmit to the King. But the ſpoils this Army made, had no other effect, but to enrage the Kingdom, and unite them ſo entirely to the *French* Intereſts; that when the Earl of *Lennox* was ſent down by the King, to the Weſtern parts of *Scotland*, where his Power lay, he could get none to follow him. And the Governor of *Dunbritton* Caſtle, though his own Lieutenant, would not deliver that Caſtle to him, when he underſtood he was to put it in the King of *England's* hands, but drove him out; others ſay, he fled away of himſelf, elſe he had been taken Priſoner.

The Wars againſt *Scotland* ſucceſsful.

The King was now to croſs the Seas: but, before he went, he ſtudied to ſettle the matters of Religion, ſo that both Parties might have ſome content. *Audley* the Chancellor dying, he made the Lord *Wriotheſley*, that had been Secretary, and was of the Popiſh Party, Lord Chancellor; but made Sir *William Petre*, that was *Cranmers* great friend, Secretary of State. He alſo committed the Government of the Kingdom in his abſence, to the Queen, to whom he joyned the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Hartford*, and Secretary *Petre*. And if there was need of any Force to be raiſed, he appointed the Earl of *Hartford* his Lieutenant; under whoſe Government the Reformers needed not fear any thing. But he did another Act, that did wonderfully pleaſe that whole Party, which was, the Tranſlating of the Prayers, for the Proceſſions, and Litanies, into the *Engliſh* tongue. This was ſent to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* on the 11th of *June*, with an Order that it ſhould be uſed over all his Province, as the Reader will find in the Collection. This was not only very acceptable to that Party, becauſe of the thing it ſelf; but it gave them hope, that the King was again opening his ears to motions for Reformation, to which they had been ſhut now about ſix years: And therefore they looked that more things of

Collect. *Numb.* 28.

1545. that nature would quickly follow. And as theſe Prayers were now ſet out in *Engliſh*, ſo they doubted not, but there being the ſame reaſon to put all the other Offices in the vulgar tongue, they would prevail for that too.

Things being thus ſetled at home, the King having ſent his Forces over before him, croſſed the Seas, with much pomp, the Sails of his Ship being of Cloth of Gold. He Landed at *Calais* the 14th of *July*. The Emperor preſſed his marching ſtraight to *Paris*. But he thought it of more importance to take *Bulloign*, and after two months Siege, it was ſurrendred to him; into which he made his Entry with great Triumph on the 18th of *September*. But the Emperor having thus engaged thoſe two Crowns in a War; and deſigning, while they ſhould fight it out, to make himſelf Maſter of *Germany*, concluded a Treaty with the *French* King the very next day, being the 19th of *September*; which is ſet down at large by the Lord *Herbert*. On the 30th of *September* the King returned into *England*: in *October* following *Bulloign* was very near loſt by a ſurprize, but the Garriſon put themſelves in order, and beat back the *French*. Several Inroads were made into *Scotland*, but not with the ſame ſucceſs, that the former Expedition had. For the *Scots*, animated with ſupplies ſent from *France*, and inflamed with a deſire of revenge, reſumed their wonted courage, and beat back the *Engliſh* with conſiderable loſs.

Bulloign taken.

Next year the *French* King, reſolving to recover *Bulloign*, and to take
1545. *Calais*, that ſo he might drive the *Engliſh* out of *France*, intended firſt to make himſelf Maſter of the Sea. And he ſet out a great Fleet of an hundred and fifty greater Ships, and ſixty leſſer ones, beſides many Gallies brought from the Streights. The King ſet out about an hundred Ships. On both ſides theſe were only Merchant Ships that were hired for this War. But after the *French* Fleet had looked on *England*, and attempted to Land with ill ſucceſs, both in the Iſle of *Wight*, and in *Suſſex*, and had engaged in a Sea-fight for ſome hours; they returned back without any conſiderable action: Nor did they any thing at Land. But the Kings Fleet went to *Normandy*, where they made a deſcent, and burnt the Countrey. So that this year was likewiſe glorious to the King. The Emperor had now done what he long deſigned: And therefore being courted by both Crowns, he undertook a Mediation, that under the Colour of Mediating a peace, he might the more effectually keep up the War.

The Princes of *Germany* ſaw what miſchief was deſigned againſt them. The Council of *Trent* was now opened, and was condemning their Doctrine. A League was alſo concluded between the Pope and the Emperor, for procuring Obedience to their Canons and Decrees: And an Army was raiſing. The Emperor was alſo ſetting on foot old quarrels with ſome of the Princes: A firm Peace was concluded with the *Turk*. So that if the Crowns of *England* and *France* were not brought to an Agreement, they were undone. They ſent Ambaſſadors to both Courts to mediate a Peace. With them *Cranmer* joyned his endeavours, but he had not a *Cromwel* in the Court, to manage the Kings temper; who was ſo provoked with the ill Treatment he had received from *France*, that he would not come to an Agreement:

The *German* Princes mediate a peace.

nor

nor would he reſtore *Bulloign*, without which the *French* would hear of no Peace. *Cranmer* had at this time almoſt prevailed with the King to make ſome further ſteps in a Reformation. But *Gardiner*, who was then Ambaſſadour in the Emperours Court, being advertiſed of it, wrote to the King; That the Emperour would certainly joyn with *France* againſt him, if he made any further Innovation in Religion. This diverted the King from it; and in *Auguſt* this year the only great Friend that *Cranmer* had in the Court died, *Charles* Duke of *Suffolk*, who had long continued in the height of favor; which was always kept up, not only by an agreement of humours between the King and him, but by the conſtant ſucceſs which followed him in all his exploits. He was a Favourer of the Reformation, as far as could conſiſt with his intereſt at Court, which he never endangered upon any account. 1545.

Now *Cranmer* was left alone, without friend or ſupport. Yet he had gained one great Preferment in the Church, to a man of his own mind. The Arch-Biſhoprick of *York* falling void by *Lee's* death, *Robert Alrich*, that was Biſhop of *Landaff*, was promoted to that See in *January*; *Kitchin* being made Biſhop of *Landaff*, who turned with every Change that was made under the three ſucceeding Princes. The Arch-Biſhop of *York* ſet about the Reforming of things in his Province, which had layn in great confuſion all his Predeceſſors time: So on the third of *March* he took out a Licence from the King for making a Metropolitical Viſitation. *Dell*, that was Biſhop of *Worceſter* had reſigned his Biſhoprick the former year, (the reaſon of which is not ſet down.) The Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, *Heath*, was Tranſlated to that See: and *Henry Holbeach*, that favoured the Reformation, was made Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. And upon the Tranſlation of *Sampſon*, from *Chicheſter* to *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, *Day* that was a Moderate man, and inclinable to Reformation, was made Biſhop of that See. So that now *Cranmer* had a greater Party among the Biſhops than at any time before. Church preferments given to Reformers.

But though there were no great Tranſactions about Religion in *England* this year, there were very remarkable things done in *Scotland*, though of a different nature; which were the burning of *Wiſhart*, and ſome months after that, the killing of Cardinal *Beaton*; the account of both which, will not (I hope) be Ingrateful to the Reader.

Mr. *George Wiſhart* was deſcended of a Noble Family; he went to finiſh his ſtudies in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*, where he was ſo well inſtructed in the Principles of true Religion, that returning to *Scotland*, *Anno* 1544. He Preached over the Countrey, againſt the Corruptions which did then ſo generally prevail. He ſtayed moſt at *Dundee*, which was the chief Town in theſe parts. But the Cardinal offended at this, ſent a threatning Meſſage to the Magiſtrates; upon which one of them, as *Wiſhart* ended one of his Sermons, was ſo obſequious as to forbid him to Preach any more among them, or give them any further trouble: to whom he anſwered, "That God "knew he had no deſign to trouble them, but for them to reject "the Meſſengers of God, was not the way to eſcape trouble; when "he was gone, God would ſend Meſſengers of another ſort among them *Wiſharts* ſufferings in *Scotland*. *Spotſwood.*

1545. "them. He had to the hazard of his Life, Preached the word of "Salvation to them, and they had now rejected him: but if it was "long well with them, he was not led by the Spirit of Truth; and "if unlooked for trouble fell on them, he bade them remember this "was the Cauſe of it, and turn to God by Repentance. From thence he went to the Weſtern parts, where he was alſo much followed. But the Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow*, giving order, that he ſhould not be admitted to Preach in Churches, he Preached often in the fields: and when in ſome places his followers would have forced the Churches, he checkt them and ſaid, it was the word of Peace that he Preached, and therefore no blood ſhould be ſhed about it: But after he had ſtayed a month there, he heard that there was a great Plague in *Dundee*, which broke out the fourth day after he had left it: upon which, he preſently returned thither and Preached oft to them, ſtanding over one of the Gates, having taken care that the Infected perſons ſhould ſtand without, and thoſe that were clean within the Gate. He continued among them and took care to ſupply the poor, and to viſit the ſick, and do all the Offices of a faithful Paſtor in that extremity. Once as he ended his Sermon, a Prieſt coming to have killed him, was taken with the weapon in his hand, but when the people were ruſhing furiouſly on him, *Wiſhart* got him in his Arms and ſaved him from their rage, for he ſaid he had done no harm, only they ſaw what they might look for. He became a little after this more than ordinary ſerious and apprehenſive of his end: he was ſeen ſometimes to riſe in the night, and ſpend the greateſt part of it in Prayer; and he often warned his hearers, that his Sufferings were at hand, but that few ſhould ſuffer after him, and that the Light of true Religion ſhould be ſpread over the whole Land. He went to a great many places, where his Sermons were well received, and came laſt to *Lothian*, where he found a greater neglect of the Goſpel, than in other parts, for which he threatned them, *That Strangers ſhould chace them from their dwellings and poſſeſs them.* He was Lodged in a Gentleman of Qualities houſe *Cockburn* of *Ormeſton*, when in the night the houſe was beſet by ſome horſemen, who were ſent by the Cardinals means to take him. The Earl of *Bothwel* that had the chief Juriſdiction in the County, was with them, who promiſing that no hurt ſhould be done him, he cauſed the Gate to be opened, ſaying, *The Bleſſed Will of God be done.* When he preſented himſelf to the Earl of *Bothwel*, he deſired to be proceeded with according to Law, for he ſaid, he feared leſs to die openly, than to be Murdered in ſecret. The Earl promiſed upon his honour, that no harm ſhould be done him: and for ſome time ſeemed reſolved, to have made his words good, but the Queen Mother and Cardinal in end prevailed with him, to put *Wiſhart* in their hands, and they ſent him to St. *Andrews*, where it was agreed to make a Sacrifice of him. Upon this the Cardinal called a meeting of the Biſhops to St. *Andrews* againſt the 27th of *February*, to deſtroy him with the more Ceremony, but the Arch-Biſhop of *Glaſgow* moved, that there ſhould be a Warrant procured from the Lord Governour for their proceedings. To this the Cardinal conſented, thinking the Governour was then ſo linked to their Intereſts, that he would deny them nothing: but the Governor

Governor bearing in his heart a ſecret love to Religion, and being plainly dealt with by a Noble Gentleman of his name, *Hamilton* of *Preſton*, who laid before him the juſt and terrible Judgments of God he might look for, if he ſuffered poor Innocents to be ſo Murdered at the appetite of the Clergy; ſent the Cardinal word not to proceed till he himſelf came, and that he would not conſent to his death, till the cauſe was well examined; and that if the Cardinal proceeded againſt him, his blood ſhould be required at his hands. But the Cardinal reſolved to go on at his peril, for he apprehended, if he delayed it, there might be either a Legal or a violent reſcue made: ſo he ordered a mock Citation of *Wiſhart* to appear; who being brought the next day to the Abbey-Church, the Proceſs was opened with a Sermon, in which the Preacher delivered a great deal of good Doctrine concerning the Scriptures, being the only Touchſtone by which Hereſie was to be tryed. After Sermon, the Priſoner was brought to the Bar: he firſt fell down on his knees, and after a ſhort Prayer, he ſtood up, and gave a long account of his Sermons, That he had Preached nothing, but what was contained in the ten Commandments, the Apoſtles Creed, and the Lords Prayer; but was interrupted with reproachful words, and required to anſwer plainly to the Articles objected to him. Upon which he appealed to an indifferent Judge: he deſired to be tryed by the word of God and before my Lord Governor, whoſe Priſoner he was: but the Indictment being read, he confeſſing and offering to juſtifie, moſt of the Articles objected againſt him, was Judged an obſtinate Heretick, and Condemned to be burnt. All the next night he ſpent in Prayer: In the Morning, two Friers came to Confeſs him, but he ſaid, he would have nothing to do with them, yet if he could, he would gladly ſpeak with the Learned man, that Preached the day before. So he being ſent to him, after much Conference he asked him, if he would receive the Sacrament? *Wiſhart* anſwered, he would moſt gladly do it, if he might have it as Chriſt had inſtituted it, under both kinds; but the Cardinal would not ſuffer the Sacrament to be given him. And ſo breakfaſt being brought, he diſcourſed to thoſe that were preſent, of the death of Chriſt, and the ends of the Sacrament, and then having bleſſed and conſecrated the Elements, he took the Sacrament himſelf, and gave it to thoſe that were with him. That being done, he would taſte no other thing, but retired to his Devotion. Two hours after the Executioners came, and put on him a Coat of black Linning, full of bags of Powder, and carryed him out to the place of Execution, which was before the Cardinals Caſtle. He ſpake a little to the people, deſiring them not to be offended at the good word of God, for the ſufferings that followed it, it was the true Goſpel of Chriſt that he had Preached, and for which with a moſt glad heart and mind he now offered up his Life. The Cardinal was ſet in ſtate in a great Window of his Caſtle, looking on this ſad Spectacle. When *Wiſhart* was tyed to the Stake, he cryed aloud, *O Saviour of the World have Mercy upon me! Father of Heaven I recommend my Spirit into thy Holy hands.* So the Executioners kindled the fire, but one perceiving after ſome time, that he was yet alive, encouraged him to call ſtill on God, to whom he anſwered, "The flame hath ſcorched my body, yet hath it not daunted my "Spirit

1545.

1545. "Spirit, but he who from yonder high place (looking up to the Car-"dinal) beholdeth us with ſuch pride, ſhall within few days lie in "the ſame as ignominiouſly as now he is ſeen proudly to reſt himſelf. The Executioner drawing the Cord that was about his neck ſtraiter, ſtopt his breath ſo, that he could ſpeak no more, and his body was ſoon conſumed by the fire. Thus died this eminent ſervant and witneſs of Chriſt, on whoſe Sufferings I have enlarged the more, becauſe they proved ſo fatal to the intereſts of the Popiſh Clergy, for not any one thing haſtned forward the Reformation more, than this did, and ſince he had both his Education and Ordination in *England*, a full account of him ſeems no impertinent Digreſſion.

The Clergy rejoyced much at his death, and thought (according to the conſtant Maxime of all Perſecutors) that they ſhould live more at eaſe, now when *Wiſhart* was out of the way. They magnified the Cardinal for proceeding ſo vigorouſly, without, or rather againſt the Governors Orders: But the people did univerſally look on him as a Martyr, and believed an extraordinary meaſure of Gods Spirit had reſted on him, ſince beſides great innocency and purity of Life, his predictions came ſo oft to paſs, that he was believed a Prophet as well as a Saint: And the Reformation was now ſo much opened by his Preaching, and that was ſo confirmed by his death that the Nation was generally poſſeſſed with the love of it. The Nobility were mightily offended with the Cardinal, and ſaid *Wiſharts* death was no leſs than Murder, ſince the Clergy without a Warrant from the Secular Power, could diſpoſe of no mans Life: So it came univerſally to be ſaid, that he now deſerved to die by the Law, yet ſince he was too great for a Legal Tryal, the Kingdom being under the feeble Government of a Regency, it was fit private perſons ſhould undertake it; and it was given out, that the killing an Uſurper, was always eſteemed a commendable Action, and ſo in that ſtate of things, they thought ſecret practices might be juſtified. This agreeing ſo much with the temper of ſome in that Nation, who had too much of the heat and forwardneſs of their Countrey, a few Gentlemen of Quality, who had been ill uſed by the Cardinal, conſpired his death. He was become generally hateful to the whole Nation, and the Marriage of his Baſtard Daughter to the Earl of *Crawfords* eldeſt Son, enraged the Nobility the more againſt him; and his carriage towards them all was inſolent and provoking. Theſe offended Gentlemen came to St. *Andrews* the 29th of *May*, and the next Morning, they and their attendants, being but twelve in all, firſt attempted the Gate of his Caſtle, which they found open, and made it ſure; and though there were no fewer than an hundred reckoned to be within the Caſtle, yet they knowing the paſſages of the Houſe, went with very little noiſe, to the Servants Chambers, and turned them almoſt all out of doors; and having thus made the Caſtle ſure, they went to the Cardinals door. He who till then was faſt aſleep, ſuſpecting nothing, perceived at laſt by their rudeneſs, that they were not his friends, and made his door faſt againſt them. So they ſent for fire to ſet to it, upon which he treated with them, and upon aſſurance of Life he opened the door: but they ruſhing in, did moſt cruelly and treacherouſly Murder him. A Tumult was raiſed in the Town, and many of his friends came to reſcue

reſcue him, but the Conſpirators carryed the dead body and expoſed it to their view, in the ſame Window out of which he had not long before lookt on, when *Wiſhart* was burnt, which had been univerſally cenſured as a moſt indecent thing in a Churchman, to delight in ſuch a Spectacle. But thoſe who condemned this Action, yet acknowledged Gods Juſtice in ſo exemplary a puniſhment, and reflecting on *Wiſharts* laſt words, were the more confirmed in the opinion they had of his Sanctity. This Fact was differently cenſured; ſome juſtified it and ſaid, it was only the killing of a mighty Robber, others that were glad he was out of the way, yet condemned the manner of it, as treacherous and inhumane. And though ſome of the Preachers did afterwards fly to that Caſtle as a Sanctuary, yet none of them, were either Actors or Conſenters to it: it is true they did generally extenuate it, yet I do not find that any of them juſtified it. The exemplary and ſignal ends of almoſt all the Conſpirators, ſcarce any of them dying an ordinary death, made all people the more inclined to condemn it. The day after the Cardinal was killed, about 140 came into the Caſtle and prepared for a Siege. The Houſe was well furniſhed in all things neceſſary, and it lying ſo near the Sea, they expected help from King *Henry*, to whom they ſent a Meſſenger for his Aſſiſtance, and declared for him. So a Siege following, they were ſo well ſupplyed from *England*, that after five months the Governor was glad to treat with them, apprehending much the footing the *Engliſh* might have, if thoſe within being driven to extremities, ſhould receive a Garriſon from King *Henry*: They had the Governor alſo more at their mercy, for as the Cardinal had taken his Eldeſt Son into his houſe, under the pretence of educating him, but really as his Fathers Hoſtage, deſigning likewiſe to infuſe in him a violent hatred of the new Preachers; ſo the Conſpirators finding him in the Caſtle, kept him ſtill to help them to better terms. A Treaty being agreed on, they demanded their pardon for what they had done, together with an Abſolution to be procured from *Rome*, for the killing of the Cardinal; and that the Caſtle and the Governors Son, ſhould remain in their hands, till the Abſolution was brought over. Some of the Preachers apprehending the Clergy might revenge the Cardinals death on them, were forced to fly into the Caſtle; but one of them *John Rough* (who was afterwards burnt in *England* in Queen *Maries* time) being ſo offended at the licentiouſneſs of the Souldiers that were in the Caſtle, who were a reproach to that which they pretended to favour, left them, and went away in one of the ſhips, that brought Proviſions out of *England*. When the Abſolution came from *Rome*, they excepted to it, for ſome words in it, that called the killing of the Cardinal, *Crimen irremiſſibile*, an unpardonable crime; by which they ſaid the Abſolution gave them no ſecurity, ſince it was null, if the Fact could not be pardoned. The truth was, they were encouraged from *England*, ſo they refuſed to ſtand to the Capitulation, and rejected the Abſolution. But ſome ſhips and Souldiers being ſent from *France*, the Caſtle was beſieged at Land, and ſhut up alſo by Sea, and which was worſt of all a Plague broke out within it, of which many died. Upon this no help coming ſuddenly from *England*, they were forced to deliver up the place on

1545.

no

1545. no better terms, than that their Lives ſhould be ſpared, but they were to be Baniſht *Scotland*, and never to return to it. The Caſtle was demoliſhed according to the Canon Law, that appoints all places where any Cardinal is killed to be razed. This was not compleated this year, and not till two years after, only I thought it beſt to joyn the whole matter together and ſet it down all at once

A Parliament ſits.

In *November* following a New Parliament was held: where toward the expence of the Kings Wars, the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury* granted a continuation of the former Subſidy of ſix ſhillings in the pound, to be payed in two years. But for the Temporality, a Subſidy was demanded from them of another kind: There were in the Kingdom ſeveral Colledges, Chappels, Chantries, Hoſpitals, and Fraternities, conſiſting of Secular Prieſts, who enjoyed Penſions for ſaying Maſs for the Souls of thoſe who had endowed them. Now the belief of Purgatory being left indifferent, by the Doctrine ſet out by the Biſhops, and the Trade of redeeming ſouls being condemned; it was thought needleſs to keep up ſo many Endowments to no purpoſe. Thoſe Prieſts were alſo generally ill-affected to the Kings proceedings, ſince their Trade was ſo much leſſened by them. Therefore many of them had been dealt with to make reſignations: And four and twenty of them had ſurrendred to the King. It was found alſo, that many of the Founders of theſe Houſes had taken them into their own hands, and that the Maſter, Wardens, and Governors of them had made agreements for them, and given Leaſes of them: Therefore now a Subſidy being demanded, all theſe were given to the King by Act of Parliament; which alſo confirmed the Deeds that any had made to the King: Empowering him in any time of his life to iſſue out Commiſſions for ſeizing on theſe Foundations, and taking them into his own poſſeſſion: which being ſo ſeized on, ſhould belong to the King and his ſucceſſors for ever. They alſo granted another Subſidy for the War. When all their buſineſs was done, the King came to the Houſe, and made a long Speech, of which I cannot ſufficiently wonder that no Entry is made in the Journals of the Houſe of Lords; Yet it is not to be doubted but he made it, for it was publiſhed by *Hall* ſoon after.

Chapters and Chanteries given to the King.

When the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons had preſented the Bills, with a Speech full of reſpect and complement, as is uſual upon theſe occaſions; The King anſwered, "Thanking them for the Sub-
"ſidie, and the Bill about the Colledges and Chanteries; and aſſured
"them that he ſhould take care, both for ſupplying the Miniſters, for
"encouraging Learning, and relieving the Poor; and they ſhould
"quickly perceive that in theſe things their expectations ſhould be an-
"ſwered, beyond what they either wiſhed or deſired. And after he
"had expreſſed his affection to them, and the aſſurance he had of their
"duty and fidelity to him, he adviſed them to amend one thing; which
"was, that in ſtead of Charity and Concord, Diſcord and Diviſion ru-
"led every where. He cited St. *Pauls* words, *That Charity was gentle,*
"*and not envious, nor proud.* But when one called another Heretick,
"and the other called him Papiſt, and Phariſee, were theſe the ſigns
"of Charity? The fault of this he charged chiefly on the Fathers and
"Teachers of the Spiritualty, who preached one againſt another, without
Charity

The Kings ſpeech to the Houſes.

"Charity or Diſcretion; ſome being too ſtiff in their old *Mumpſimus*, 1545.
"others too buſie and curious in their new *Sumpſimus*; and few Prea-
"ched the Word of God truly and ſincerely. And how could the poor
"people live in concord, when they ſowed debate among them? There-
"fore he exhorted them to ſet forth Gods word, by true Preaching,
"and giving a good Example; or elſe he, as Gods Vicar, and high Mi-
"niſter, would ſee theſe Enormities corrected, which if he did not
"do, he was an unprofitable Servant and an untrue Officer. He next re-
"proved them of the Temporality, who railed at their Biſhops and
"Prieſts: whereas if they had any thing to lay to their charge, they
"ought to declare it to the King or his Council, and not take up-
"on them to judge ſuch high points. For tho they had the Scriptures
"given them in their Mother-Tongue, yet that was only to in-
"form their own conſciences, and inſtruct their Children and Fami-
"lies; but not to diſpute, nor from thence to rail againſt Prieſts,
"and Preachers, as ſome vain perſons did. He was ſorry that ſuch a
"Jewel, as the Word of God, was ſo ill uſed; that Rithmes and Songs
"were taken out of it: but much more ſorry that men followed it ſo
"little; for Charity was never fainter, a godly life never leſs appeared,
"and God was never leſs reverenced and worſhipped. Therefore he
"exhorted them to live as Brethren in Charity together, to love,
"dread, and ſerve God; and then the love and union between Him
"and them ſhould never be diſſolved. And ſo exhorting them to look
"to the Execution of the Laws which themſelves had deſired, he gave
"his Royal Aſſent to the Bills, and diſmiſſed the Parliament.

The King gave at this time a Commiſſion to the Biſhops of *Weſtminſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Chicheſter*, and the Chancellor of the Court of Augmentation, Sir *Edward North*, conteining, "That whereas the King
"had founded many Cathedrals, in which he had given large allow-
"ances, both to be diſtributed to the poor, and to be laid out for the
"mending of high ways; To *Canterbury* 100 pounds for the poor,
"and 40 pounds for the high ways: To *Rocheſter* 20 pounds for the
"poor, and 20 pounds for the High-ways: To *Weſtminſter*, 100 pounds
"for the poor, and 40 pounds for the High-ways: To *Wincheſter* 100
"Marks for the poor, and 50 for the High-ways: To *Briſtol*, *Gloceſter*,
"*Cheſter*, *Burton* upon *Trent*, *Thornton*, *Peterborough*, and *Ely*, 20 pounds
"a piece for the poor, and as much for the High-ways: To *Worceſter*
"40 pounds for the poor, and 40 pounds for the High-ways: To *Du-*
"*reſm* 100 Marks for the poor, and 40 pounds for the High-ways:
"And to *Carlile* 15 pounds for the poor, and as much for the High-
"ways: In all about 550 pounds a year to the poor, and about 400
"pounds a year for the High-ways: They were to enquire how this
"money was diſtributed; and, if they ſaw cauſe, they might order it to
"be applied to any other uſe which they ſhould judge more charita-
ble and convenient. But what followed upon this, does not appear by the Records.

After the Parliament was diſſolved, the Univerſities made their ap- The King confirms the Rights of the Univerſities.
plications to the King, that they might not be included within the general words in the Act of Diſſolution, of Colledges and Fraterni-nities. And Dr. *Cox* Tutor to the Prince, wrote to Secretary *Paget*, to
"repreſent to the King the great want of Schools, Preachers, and

1546. "Houſes for Orphans; that Beggery would drive the Clergy to Flat-
"tery, Superſtition, and the old Idolatry: There were ravenous
"Wolves about the King, that would devour Univerſities, Cathedrals,
"and Chantries, and a thouſand times as much. Poſterity would
"wonder at ſuch things: Therefore he deſired the Univerſities might
"be ſecured from their Spoyls. But the King did quickly free them from
theſe fears.

Now I enter into the laſt year of this Kings Reign. The War in *France* was managed with doubtful ſucceſs: yet the loſſes were greater on the *Engliſh* ſide. And the Forces being commanded by the Earl of *Surrey*, who was brave, but unſucceſsful, he was not only blamed but recalled, and the Earl of *Hertford* ſent to Command in his room. But he being a man of an high Spirit, and diſdaining the Earl of *Hertford*, who was now preferred before him, let fall ſome words of high reſentment, and bitter contempt, which not long after wrought his ruine. The King was now alone in the War, which was very chargeable to him; and obſerving the Progreſs that the Council of *Trent* was making, where Cardinal *Pole* being one of the Legates, he had reaſon to look for ſome ſevere Decree to be made againſt himſelf; ſince none of the Hereticks of *Germany* were ſo much hated by the Court of *Rome*, as he was: Therefore he liſtned to the Counſels of peace. And tho he was not old, yet he felt ſuch decays in his ſtrength, that being extremely corpulent, he had no reaſon to think he could live very long: Therefore that he might not leave his young Son involved in a War of

Peace with *France*. ſuch conſequence, Peace was concluded in *June*; which was much to the Kings honour, though the taking and keeping of *Bulloign*, (which by this Peace the King was to keep for eight years,) coſt him above 1300000 pounds.

A new deſign for Reformation. Upon the peace, the *French* Admiral *Annebault* came over to *England*. And now again a Reſolution of going on with a Reformation was ſet on foot: for it was agreed between the King and the Admiral, That in both Kingdoms, the Maſs ſhould be changed into a Communion; and *Cranmer* was Ordered to draw a Form of it. They alſo reſolved to preſs the Emperor to do the like in his Dominions, otherwiſe to make War upon him. But how this Project failed, does not appear. The Animoſities which the former War had raiſed between the two Kings, were converted into a firm Friendſhip: which grew ſo ſtrong on *Francis*'s part, that he never was ſeen glad at any thing, after he had the news of the Kings death.

Shaxtons Apoſtacy. But now one of the Kings angry fits took him at the Reformers, ſo that there was a new Proſecution of them. *Nicholas Shaxton*, that was Biſhop of *Salisbury*, had been long a Priſoner: but this year, he had ſaid in his Impriſonment, in the Counter in *Bread-ſtreet*, *That Chriſts natural Body was not in the Sacrament, but that it was a Sign and Memorial of his Body that was crucified for us.* Upon this he was endicted, and condemned to be burnt. But the King ſent the Biſhops of *London*, and *Worceſter*, to deal with him to recant; which on the 9th of *July* he did, acknowledging, "That that year he had fallen in his old
"age in the Hereſie of the Sacramentaries. But that he was now con-
"vinced of that error, by their endeavours whom the King had ſent
"to him. And therefore he thanked the King for delivering him, both
from

"from Temporal and Eternal fire; and ſubſcribed a Paper of Articles, which will be found in the Collection. Upon this, he had his pardon and diſcharge ſent him the 13 of *July*, and ſoon after preached the Sermon at the burning of *Anne Askew*; and wrote a Book in defence of the Articles he had ſubſcribed. What became of him all *Edward* the 6ths time, I cannot tell: But I find, he was a cruel proſecutor and Burner of Proteſtants, in Queen *Maries* days. Yet it ſeems thoſe to whom he went over, did not conſider him much, for they never raiſed him higher than to be Biſhop Suffragan of *Ely*. Others were alſo Endicted upon the ſame Statute, who got off by recantation, and were pardoned. But *Anne Askews* Trial had a more bloody Concluſion. 1546. Collect. *Numb.* 28.

She was nobly deſcended, and educated beyond what was ordinary in that age to thoſe of her Sex. But ſhe was unfortunately married, to one *Kyme*, who being a violent Papiſt, drave her out of his Houſe, when he found ſhe favoured the Reformation. So ſhe came to *London*, where information being given of ſome words, that ſhe had ſpoken againſt the Corporal preſence in the Sacrament, ſhe was put in Priſon: upon which, great applications were made by many of her friends, to have her let out upon Bail. The Biſhop of *London* examined her, and after much pains, ſhe was brought to ſet her hand to a Recantation, by which ſhe acknowledged, "That the natural Body of Chriſt was preſent in the Sa- "crament, after the Conſecration; whether the Prieſt were a good "or an ill man: and that, whether it was preſently conſumed, or re- "ſerved in the *Pix*, it was the true Body of Chriſt. Yet ſhe added to Her ſubſcription, that ſhe believed all things according to the Catholick Faith, and not otherwiſe. With this the Biſhop was not ſatisfied; but after much adoe, and many importunate addreſſes, ſhe was Bailed in the end of *March* this year. But not long after that, ſhe was again apprehended, and examined before the Kings Council then at *Greenwich*, where ſhe ſeemed very indifferent what they did with her. She anſwered them in general words, upon which they could fix nothing, and made ſome ſharp reparties upon the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. Some liked the wit and freedom of her diſcourſe, but others thought ſhe was too forward. From thence ſhe was ſent to *Newgate*, where ſhe wrote ſome devotions, and Letters, that ſhew her to have been a woman of moſt extraordinary parts. She wrote to the King, "That as to the Lords Supper, "ſhe believed as much as Chriſt had ſaid in it, and as much, as the Catho- "lick Church from him did Teach. Upon *Shaxtons* Recantation they ſent him to her to prevail with her. But ſhe in ſtead of yielding to him, charged his Inconſtancy home upon him. She had been oft at Court, and was much favoured by many great Ladies there; and it was believed the Queen had ſhewed kindneſs to her. So the Lord Chancellor examined her of what Favour or Encouragement ſhe had from any in the Court, particularly from the Dutcheſs of *Suffolk*, the Counteſs of *Hertford*, and ſome other Ladies. But he could draw nothing from her, ſave that one in Livery had brought her ſome money, which he ſaid came from two Ladies in the Court. But they reſolved to extort further Confeſſions from her. And therefore carrying her to the *Tower*, they cauſed her to be laid on the Rack, and gave her a taſte of it. Yet ſhe confeſſed nothing. That ſhe was rackt is very certain, for I find it in an Original Journal of the Tranſactions in the Tower, written by *Anthony* The troubles of *Anne Askew*.

1546. *thony Anthony*; but *Fox* adds a paſſage that ſeems ſcarce credible, the thing is ſo extraordinary, and ſo unlike the Character of the Lord Chancellor, who though he was fiercely zealous for the old Superſtition, yet was otherwiſe a great perſon: it is, that he commanded the Lieutenant of the *Tower* to ſtretch her more; but he refuſed to do it, and being further preſt told him plainly he would not do it. The other threatned him, but to no purpoſe; ſo the Lord Chancellor throwing off his Gown, drew the Rack ſo ſeverely, that he almoſt tore her Body aſunder: yet could draw nothing from her, for ſhe endured it with unuſual Patience and Courage. When the King heard this, he blamed the Lord Chancellor for his Cruelty, and excuſed the Lieutenant of the Tower. *Fox* does not vouch any Warrant for this, ſo that though I have ſet it down, yet I give no entire credit to it: if it was true, it ſhews the ſtrange influence of that Religion, and that it corrupts the Nobleſt natures; yet the poor Gentlewomans being Rackt, wrought no pity in the King towards her, for he left her to be proceeded againſt according to the Sentence: ſhe was carried to the Stake in *Smithfield* a little after that in a Chair, not being able to ſtand through the Torments of the Rack. There were brought with her at the ſame time, one *Nicolas Belenian* a Prieſt, *John Adams* a Taylor, and *John Laſſels* one of the Kings Servants, (it is likely he was the ſame perſon that had diſcovered Queen *Katharine Howard*'s incontinency, for which, all the Popiſh Party, to be ſure, bore him no good will.) They were all convicted upon the Statute of the Six Articles, for denying the Corporal preſence of Chriſt in the Sacrament. When they were brought thither, *Shaxton*, to compleat his Apoſtaſie, made a Sermon of the Sacrament, and inveighed againſt their Errors. That being ended, they were tyed to the Stake; and then the Lord Chancellor ſent and offered them their pardon, which was ready paſſed under the Seal, if they would recant. But they loved not their lives ſo well, as to redeem them by the loſs of a good Conſcience; and therefore encouraging one another to ſuffer patiently for the Teſtimony of the truth: ſo they endured to the laſt, and were made Sacrifices by fire unto God. There were alſo two in *Suffolk*, and one in *Norfolk*, burnt on the ſame account a little before this.

She endures the Rack.

And is burnt with ſome others.

A new deſign againſt *Cranmer*.

But that party at Court having incenſed the King much againſt thoſe Hereticks, reſolved to drive it further; and to work the ruin, both of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and of the Queen: Concluding, that if theſe attempts were ſucceſsful, they ſhould carry every thing elſe. They therefore renewed their Complaints of the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*; and told the King, That though there were evident proofs ready to be brought againſt him, yet becauſe of his Greatneſs, and the Kings Carriage upon the former Complaints, none durſt appear againſt him. But if he were once put in the *Tower*, that men might hope to be heard, they undertook to bring full and clear Evidences of his being a Heretick. So the King conſented, That he ſhould be the next day called before the Council, and ſent to the *Tower*, if they ſaw cauſe for it. And now they concluded him ruined. But in the night, the King ſent Sir *Anthony Denny* to *Lambeth*, to bring the Arch-Biſhop to ſpeak with him. And when he came, the King told him what Informations had been brought againſt him,

and

and how far he had yielded to them, that he ſhould be ſent to the *Tower* next day: And therefore deſired to hear from himſelf what he had to ſay upon it. *Cranmer* thanked him, that he had not left him in the dark, to be ſurpriſed in a matter that concerned him ſo neerly. He acknowledged the Equity of the Kings proceedings; and all that he deſired, was, That he might be brought to make his anſwer: And that ſince he was to be Queſtioned for ſome of his Opinions, Judges might be aſſigned who underſtood thoſe matters. The King heard this with aſtoniſhment, wondering to ſee a man ſo little concerned in his own preſervation. "But pleaſantly told him, he was a "Fool that look'd to his own ſafety ſo little. For did he think that "if he were once put in Priſon, abundance of falſe witneſſes would "not be ſuborned to ruin him. Therefore ſince he did not take care "of himſelf, he would look to it. And ſo he ordered him to appear next day before the Council, upon their Summons; and when things were objected to him, to ſay, that ſince he was a privy Councellor, he deſired they would uſe him, as they would look to be uſed in the like caſe: And therefore to move that his Accuſers might be brought face to face, and things be a little better conſidered before he was ſent to the *Tower*. And if they refuſed to grant that, then he was to appeal perſonally to the King, (who intended to be abſent that day,) and in token of it, ſhould ſhew them the Kings Seal-Ring which he wore on his finger, and was well known to them all. So the King, giving him his Ring, ſent him privately home again. Next Morning a Meſſenger of the Council came early, and Summoned him to appear that day before the Council. So he went over, but was long kept waiting in the Lobby, before he was called in. At this unuſual ſight many were aſtoniſhed. But Doctor *Buts* the Kings Phyſician, that loved *Cranmer*, and preſumed more on a diſeaſed King than others durſt do, went and told the King what a ſtrange thing he had ſeen: "The Primate of all *England* waiting at the Council-"door, among the foot-men and Servants. So the King ſent them word, that he ſhould be preſently brought in; which being done, they ſaid, That there were many Informations againſt him, that all the Hereſies that were in *England* came from him and his Chaplains. To which he anſwered as the King had directed him. But they inſiſting on what was before projected, he ſaid he was ſorry to be thus uſed, by thoſe with whom he had ſate ſo long at that Board, ſo that he muſt appeal from them to the King: And with that took out the Kings Ring, and ſhewed it. This put them in a wonderful confuſion, but they all roſe up and went to the King; who checkt them "ſeverely for uſing the Arch-Biſhop ſo unhandſomly. He ſaid, he "thought he had a wiſer Council, than now he found they were. "He proteſted by the Faith he owed to God, laying his hand on his "Breaſt, That if a Prince could be obliged by his Subject, he was "by the Arch-Biſhop, and that he took him to be the moſt faithful "Subject he had, and the perſon to whom he was moſt beholding. The Duke of *Norfolk* made a trifling excuſe, and ſaid, They mean't no harm to the Arch-Biſhop, but only to vindicate his Innocency by ſuch a Tryal, which would have freed him from the aſperſions that were caſt on him. But the King anſwered, he would not ſuffer men that

1546.

The Kings great care of him.

1546. that were ſo dear to him, to be handled in that faſhion. He knew the Factions that were among them, and the malice that ſome of them bore to others; which he would either extinguiſh or puniſh very ſpeedily. So he commanded them all to be Reconciled to *Cranmer*: Which was done with the outward Ceremony of taking him by the hand; and was moſt real on his part, though the other party did not ſo eaſily lay down the hatred they bore him. This I place at this time; though *Parker*, who related it, names no year nor time in which it was done; but he leads us very near it, by ſaying, it was after the Duke of *Suffolks* death; and this being the only time after that, in which the King was in an ill humor againſt the Reformers, I conclude it fell out at this time.

Antiqu. *Brit.* in vita *Cranmer*

Another deſign againſt the Queen.

That Party finding it was in vain to puſh at *Cranmer* any more, did never again endeavor it. Yet one Deſign failing, they ſet on another againſt the Queen. She was a great Favourer of the Reformers, and had frequently Sermons in her Privy-Chamber, by ſome of thoſe Preachers; which were not ſecretly carryed; but became generally known: When it came to the Kings ears, he took no notice of it. And the Queen carryed her ſelf, in all other things, not only with an exact conduct, but with that wonderful care about the Kings perſon, which became a Wife that was raiſed by him to ſo great an honour, he was much taken with her: So that none durſt adventure on making any complaints againſt her. Yet the Kings diſtempers encreaſing, and his peeviſhneſs growing with them, he became more uneaſie; and whereas ſhe had frequently uſed to talk to him of Religion, and defend the Opinions of the Reformers, in which he would ſometimes pleaſantly maintain the Argument; now, becoming more impatient, he took it ill at her hands. And ſhe had ſometimes in the heat of diſcourſe gone very far. So one night, after ſhe had left him, the King being diſpleaſed, vented it to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* that ſtood by: And he craftily and maliciouſly ſtruck in with the Kings anger, and ſaid all that he could deviſe againſt the Queen, to drive his reſentments higher: and took in the Lord Chancellor into the deſign, to aſſiſt him. They filled the Kings head with many ſtories of the Queen, and ſome of her Ladies: and ſaid, They had favoured *Anne Askew*, and had Heretical Books amongſt them; and he perſwaded the King, that they were Traitors as well as Hereticks. The matter went ſo far, that Articles were drawn againſt her, which the King Signed; for without that, it was not ſafe for any to Impeach the Queen. But the Lord Chancellor putting up that Paper careleſly it dropt from him: And being taken up by one of the Queens Party, was carryed to her. Whether the King had really deſigned her ruin, or not, is differently repreſented by the Writers who lived near that time. But ſhe ſeeing his hand to ſuch a Paper, had reaſon to conclude her ſelf loſt. Yet by advice of one of her Friends, ſhe went to ſee the King. who receiving her kindly, ſet on a Diſcourſe about Religion. But ſhe anſwered, that women, by their firſt Creation, were made ſubject to men; and they being made after the Image of God, as the Women were after their Image, ought to inſtruct their Wives; who were to learn of them: and ſhe much more, was to be taught by his Majeſty, who was a Prince of ſuch excellent

lent Learning, and Wiſdom. *Not ſo by* St. *Mary*, ſaid the King, *you are become a Doctor, able to Inſtruct us, and not to be Inſtructed by us.* 1546.
To which ſhe anſwered, That it ſeemed he had much miſtaken the freedom ſhe had taken to argue with him, ſince ſhe did it partly to engage him in diſcourſe, and ſo put over the time, and make him forget his pain; and partly to receive Inſtructions from him, by which ſhe had profited much. *And is it even ſo?* ſaid the King, *then we are friends again.* So he embraced her with great affection, and ſent her away with very tender aſſurances of his conſtant Love to her. But the next day had been appointed for carrying her, and ſome of her Ladies, to the *Tower*. The day being fair, the King went to take a little air in the Garden, and ſent for her to bear him company. As they were together, the Lord Chancellor came in, having about forty of the Guard with him, to have arreſted the Queen. But the King ſtept aſide to him, and after a little diſcourſe, he was heard to call him *Knave*, *Fool*, and *Beaſt*, and he bade him get him out of his Sight. The Innocent Queen who underſtood not that her danger was ſo near, ſtudied to mitigate the Kings diſpleaſure, and interceded for the Lord Chancellor. But the King told her, ſhe had no reaſon to plead for him.

So this deſign miſcarried, which as it abſolutely diſheartned the Papiſts, ſo it did totally alienate the King from them; and in particular from the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whoſe ſight he could never after this endure. But he made an humble Submiſſion to the King, which though it preſerved him from further puniſhment, yet could not reſtore him to the Kings favour. But the Duke of *Norfolk*, and his Son the Earl of *Surrey*, fell under a deeper Misfortune. The Duke of *Norfolk* had been long Lord Treaſurer of *England*: He had done great ſervices to the Crown on many ſignal Occaſions, and ſucceſs had always accompanied him. His Son the Earl of *Surrey* was alſo a brave and noble perſon, Witty and Learned to an high degree, but did not command Armies with ſuch Succeſs. He was much provoked at the Earl of *Hertfords* being ſent over to *France* in his room, and upon that had ſaid, *That within a little-while they ſhould ſmart for it*; with ſome other expreſſions that ſavoured of Revenge, and a diſlike of the King, and a hatred of the Counſellors. The Duke of *Norfolk* had endeavoured to ally himſelf to the Earl of *Hertford*, and to his Brother Sir *Thomas Seimour*, perceiving how much they were in the Kings favour, and how great an Intereſt they were like to have under the ſucceeding Prince. And therefore would have engaged his Son, being then a Widower, to Marry that Earls Daughter: And preſſed his Daughter, the Dutcheſs of *Richmond*, Widow to the Kings Natural Son, to Marry Sir *Thomas Seimour*. But though the Earl of *Surrey* adviſed his Siſter to the Marriage projected for her, yet he would not conſent to that deſigned for himſelf, nor did the Propoſition about his Siſter take effect. The *Seimours*, could not but ſee the Enmity the Earl of *Surrey* bore them, and they might well be jealous of the Greatneſs of that Family; which was not only too big for a Subject of it ſelf, but was raiſed ſo high by the dependence of the whole Popiſh Party, both at home and abroad, that they were like to be very dangerous Competitors for the chief Government of Affairs,

The cauſes of the Duke of *Norfolks* diſgrace.

1546. fairs, if the King were once out of the way; whoſe diſeaſe was now growing ſo faſt upon him, that he could not live many weeks. Nor is it unlikely that they perſwaded the King, that if the Earl of *Surrey* ſhould marry the Lady *Mary*, it might embroil his Sons Government, and perhaps ruine him. And it was ſuggeſted, That he had ſome ſuch high project in his thoughts, both by his continuing unmarried, and by his uſing the Armes of *Edward* the Confeſſor, which of late he had given in his Cōat, without a Diminution. But to compleat the Duke of *Norfolk's* ruin, his Dutcheſs who had complained of his uſing her ill, and had been ſeparated from him about four years, turned Informer againſt him. His Son and Daughter were alſo in ill terms together. So the Siſter Informed all that ſhe could againſt her Brother. And one Mrs *Holland*, for whom the Duke was believed to have an unlawful affection, diſcovered all ſhe knew; but all amounted to no more, than ſome paſſionate Expreſſions of the Son, and ſome Complaints of the Father, who thought he was not beloved by the King, and his Councellors, and that he was ill uſed; in not being truſted with the ſecret of affairs. And all perſons being encouraged to bring Informations againſt them, Sr. *Richard Southwell* charged the Earl of *Surrey* in ſome points that were of a higher nature: which the Earl denied, and deſired to be admitted, according to the Martial Law, to fight in his ſhirt with *Southwel*. But that not being granted, he and his Father were committed to the *Tower*. That which was moſt inſiſted on, was, their giving the Arms of *Edward* the Confeſſor which were only to be given by the Kings of *England*. This the Earl of *Surrey* juſtified, and ſaid, they gave their Arms, according to the opinion of the Kings Heraulds. But all excuſes availed nothing, for his Father and he were deſigned to be deſtroyed, upon reaſons of State; for which, ſome colours were to be found out.

1547. The Earl of *Surrey* Executed.

The Earl of *Surrey* being but a Commoner, was brought to his Tryal at *Guildhall*; and put upon an Inqueſt of Commoners conſiſting of nine Knights and three Eſquires, by whom he was found guilty of Treaſon, and had Sentence of death paſſed upon him, which was executed on the 19th of *January* at *Tower-Hill*. It was generally condemned, as an Act of high injuſtice and ſeverity, which loaded the *Seimours* with a popular *Odium* that they could never overcome. He was much pitied, being a man of great parts and high courage, with many other Noble Qualities.

The Dukes ſubmiſſion to the King.

But the King who never hated nor ruined any body by halves, reſolved to compleat the misfortunes of that Family, by the Attaindor of the Father. And as all his Eminent Services were now forgotten, ſo the Submiſſions he made, could not allay a diſpleaſure, that was only to be ſatisfied with his Life and Fortune. He wrote to the King, Proteſting his Innocency: "That he had never a thought "to his prejudice, and could not imagine what could be laid to his "Charge: He had ſpent his whole Life in his Service, and did not "know that ever he had offended any perſon; or that any were diſ-"pleaſed with him, except for proſecuting the breakers of the Act "about the Sacrament of the Altar. But in that, and in every thing "elſe, as he had been always obedient to the Kings Laws, ſo he was "reſolved ſtill to obey any Laws he ſhould make. He deſired he might

be

"be examined with his Accuſers face to face, before the King, or 1547.
"at leaſt before his Council; and if it did not appear that he was
"wrongfully accuſed, let him be puniſhed as he deſerved. In Con-
"cluſion he begged the King would have pity on him, and reſtore
"him to his favour; taking all his Lands, or Goods from him, or as
"much of them, as he pleaſed. Yet all this had no effect on the King. So he was deſired to make a more formal Submiſſion; which he did on the 12th of *January* under his hand, ten Privy Councellors being Witneſſes. In it he confeſſed, "Firſt his diſcovering the "Secrets of the Kings Council. *Secondly*, his concealing his Sons Trea-"ſon, in uſing to give the Arms of St. *Edward* the Confeſſor, which "did only belong to the King, and to which his Son had no Right. "*Thirdly*, That he had ever ſince his Fathers death, born in the firſt "quarter of his Arms, the Arms of *England*: with a difference of the "Labells of Silver, that are the proper Arms of the Prince; which was "done in prejudice of the King and the Prince: and gave occaſion "for diſturbing or interrupting the Succeſſion to the Crown of the "Realm. This he acknowledged was high Treaſon, he confeſſed he "deſerved to be attainted of high Treaſon; and humbly begged the "Kings Mercy and Compaſſion. He yielded to all this, hoping by ſuch a Submiſſion and Compliance to have overcome the Kings diſ-pleaſure. but his Expectations failed him.

A Parliament was called, the reaſon whereof was pretended to be the Coronation of the Prince of *Wales*. But it was thought the true cauſe of calling it, was, to Attaint the Duke of *Norfolk*: for which they had not colour enough, to do it in a Tryal by his Peers. Therefore an Attaindor by Act of Parliament was thought the better way. So it was moved, that the King intending to Crown his Son, Prince of *Wales*, deſired they would go on with all poſſible haſte in the Attaindor of the Duke of *Norfolk*; that ſo theſe Places which he held by Patent, might be diſpoſed of by the King to ſuch as he thought fit, who ſhould Aſſiſt at the Coronation. And upon this ſlight pretence, ſince a better could not be found; The Bill of Attaindor was read the firſt time on the 18th of *January*: And on the 19th and 20th it was read the ſecond and third time. And ſo paſſed in the Houſe of Lords: and was ſent down to the Commons. Who on the 24th ſent it up alſo paſſed. On the 27th the Lords were ordered to be in their Robes, That the Royal aſſent might be given to it: which the Lord Chancellor, with ſome others joyned in Commiſſion, did give by vertue of the Kings Letters Patents. And it had been executed the next Morning, if the Kings death had not prevented it. Upon what grounds this Attaindor was founded, I can only give this Account from the 34th Act of the firſt Parliament of Queen *Mary*; in which this Act is declared null and void, by the Common Law of the Land; for I cannot find the Act it ſelf upon Record. In the Act of Repeal it is ſaid, "That there was no ſpecial matter in the Act of "Attaindor, but only general words of Treaſons and Conſpiracies; "and that out of their care of the preſervation of the King and the "Prince, they paſſed it. But the Act of Repeal ſays alſo, That the "only thing with which he was charged, was, For bearing of Arms, "which he and his Anceſtors had born, both within and without the Kingdom:

The Parliament meets.

The Duke of *Norfolk* Attainted.

1547. "Kingdom: both in the Kings preſence, and in the ſight of his Pro-
"genitors: which they might Lawfully bear and give, as by good
"and ſubſtantial matter of Record it did appear. It is alſo added,
"That the King dyed after the date of the Commiſſion, That the
"King only empowered them to give his Aſſent, but did not give
"it himſelf: And that it did not appear by any Record, that they
"gave it. That the King did not Sign the Commiſſion with his own
"hand, his Stamp being only ſet to it: and that not to the upper,
"but the nether part of it, contrary to the Kings cuſtom. All
theſe particulars, though cleared afterwards, I mention now, becauſe
they give light to this matter.

His death prevented by the Kings.

As ſoon as the Act was paſſed, a Warrant was ſent to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, to cut off his head the next Morning; but the King dying in the night, the Lieutenant could do nothing on that Warrant. And it ſeems it was not thought adviſable, to begin the new Kings Reign with ſuch an Odious Execution. And thus the Duke of *Norfolk* eſcaped very narrowly. Both Parties deſcanted on this differently. The Conſcientious Papiſts ſaid, it was Gods juſt Judgment on him, (who had in all things followed the Kings pleaſure, oftentimes againſt his own Conſcience;) That he ſhould ſmart under that Power, which himſelf had helped ſo conſiderably to make it be raiſed ſo high. The Proteſtants could not but obſerve an hand of God, in meaſuring out ſuch a hard meaſure to him, that was ſo heavy on all thoſe poor people that were queſtioned for Hereſie. But *Cranmers* carriage in this matter was ſuitable to the other parts of his Life, for he withdrew to *Croydon*, and would not ſo much as be preſent in Parliament, when ſo unjuſt an Act was paſſed, and his abſence at this time was the more conſiderable, ſince the King was ſo dangerouſly ill, that it muſt be concluded it could be no ſlight Cauſe that made him withdraw at ſuch a time. But the Duke of *Norfolk* had been his conſtant Enemy, therefore he would not ſo much as be near the publick Councils, when ſo ſtrange an Act was paſſing. But at the ſame time the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* was officiouſly hanging on in the Court: and though he was forbid to come to Council, yet always when the Councellors went into the Kings Bed-Chamber, he went with them to the door, to make the World believe he was ſtill one of the number, and ſtaying at the door till the reſt came out, he returned with them. But he was abſolutely loſt in the Kings Opinion.

Fox.

The Emperors deſigns againſt the Proteſtants.

There is but one other ſtep of Forreign buſineſs in this Reign; which was an Embaſſy ſent over by the Duke of *Saxony*, to let the King know of the League between the Pope and the Emperor, for the Extirpation of Hereſie: And that the Emperor was making War on him, and the other Princes, in purſuance of that League. Therefore he deſired the Kings Aſſiſtance. But at the ſame time, the Emperor did by his Agents every-where diſown, that the War was made upon a Religious Account: And ſaid it was only to maintain the Rights of the Empire; which thoſe Princes had affronted. So the King anſwered, that as ſoon as it did appear to him, that Religion was the cauſe of the War, he would Aſſiſt them. But that which made this ſo involved, was, That though at *Rome* the Pope declared it was a Holy War, and ordered Prayers and Proceſſions to be made,

for

for Succeſs; yet the Emperor in all his Declarations took no notice of Religion: He had alſo divided the Proteſtant Party, ſo that ſome of them joyned with him, and others were Neutrals. And when in *Germany* it ſelf this matter was ſo little underſtood, it was eaſie to abuſe Strangers by giving them a wrong Account of it. 1547.

The King was now overgrown with corpulency and fatneſs, ſo that he became more and more unwieldy. He could not go up or down ſtairs, but as he was raiſed up, or let down by an Engine. And an old ſore in his Leg became very uneaſie to him; ſo that all the humors in his Body ſinking down into his Leg, he was much pained, and became exceeding froward and intractable, to which his inexcuſable ſeverity to the Duke of *Norfolk* and his Son may be in a great meaſure imputed. His Servants durſt ſcarce ſpeak to him, to put him in mind of his approaching end. And an Act of Parliament which was made for the ſecurity of the Kings Life, had ſome words in it againſt the Foretelling of his death; which made every one afraid to ſpeak to him of it: leſt he in his angry and imperious humors ſhould have Ordered them to be Endicted upon that Statute. But he felt nature declining apace, and ſo made the Will that he had left behind him at his laſt going into *France*, be written over again; with this only difference, That *Gardiner* Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, whom he had appointed one of the Executors of his Will, and of the Councellors to his Son, till he came of Age, was now left out: Of which when Sir *Anthony Brawn* put the King in mind apprehending it was only an Omiſſion, he anſwered, That he knew *Gardiners* temper well enough, and though he could Govern him, yet none of them would be able to do it; and that he would give them much trouble. And when *Brown* at another time repeated the motion to the King; he told him, if he ſpake more of that, he would ſtrike him out of his Will too. The Will was ſaid to be Signed the 30th of *December*. It is Printed at large by *Fuller*; and the moſt Material parts of it by *Heylin*. So I need ſay little of it, only the moſt ſignal Clauſe in it, was, That he excluded the Line of *Scotland* out of the Succeſſion, and preferred the two Daughters of the *French* Queen by *Charles Brandon* to them. And this leads me to diſcover ſeveral things concerning this Will, which have been hitherto unknown. I draw them from a Letter written to Sir *William Cecil*, then Secretary of State to Queen *Elizabeth*, (afterwards Lord *Burleigh*,) by *William Maitland* of *Leithingtoun* Secretary of State to the Queen of *Scotland*. This *Maitland* was accounted a man of the greateſt parts of any in his Nation at that time; though his Treachery in turning over to the Party that was againſt the Queen, very much blemiſhed his other Qualities: but he expiated his fault by a real Repentance; which appeared in his returning to his duty, and loſing all afterwards in her quarrel. His Letter will be found in the *Collection*. The Subſtance and deſign of it, is, to clear the Right his Miſtreſs had to the Crown of *England*: in caſe the Queen ſhould die without Heirs of her Body. Therein after he had anſwered other Objections, he comes to this of the Will. To it he ſays. "That according to the Act of Parliament, the Kings Will was to be Signed with his own hand; but "this Will was only Signed by the Stamp. Then the King never Or-

The Kings ſickneſs.

Collect. *Numb.* 30.

His latter will a Forgery.

1542. "dered the Stamp to be put to it: He had been oft deſired to Sign "it, but had always put it off; but when they ſaw his death approach- "ing, one *William Clark* ſervant to *Thomas Hennage* put the Stamp "to it, and ſome Gentlemen that were waiting without, were ca- "led in to Sign it as Witneſſes. For this he appeal'd to the depo- "ſition of the Lord *Paget*, and deſired the Marqueſs of *Winchester* "and *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Sir *William Petre*, Sir *Hen- "ry Nevil*, Sir *Maurice Berkley*, Sir *Anthony Denny*, Doctor *Buts*, and "ſome others, might be examined; and that their Depoſitions might "be entred in the Chancery. He alſo appealed to the Original Will, "by which it would appear, That it was not Signed, but only Stamp- "ed; and that not being according to the Act of Parliament, which "in ſuch extraordinary things muſt be ſtrictly taken, the Will was of no force. Thus it appears, what vulgar Errors paſs upon the World. And though for ſeventy five years, the *Scotiſh* Race has enjoyed the Crown of *England*, and after ſo long a poſſeſſion it is very ſuperfluous to clear a Title which is univerſally acknowledged; yet the Reader will not be ill pleaſed to ſee how ill-grounded that pretence was, which ſome managed very ſeditiouſly during the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, for excluding that Line.

But if this Will was not ſigned by the King, other Grants was certainly made by him on his death-bed: one was to the City of *London*, of 500 Marks a year for endowing an Hoſpital which was called *Chriſts Hoſpital*; and he order'd the Church of the *Franciſcans* a little within *Newgate* to be opened, which he gave to the Hoſpital. This was done the 3d of *January*. Another was of *Trinity* Colledg in *Cambridg* one of the Nobleſt Foundations in Chriſtendom. He continued in a decay till the 27 of the moneth; and then many ſigns of his approaching end appearing, few would adventure on ſo unwelcom a thing as to put him in mind of his change then imminent: but Sir *Anthony Denny* had the honeſty and courage to do it, and deſired him to prepare for death, and remember his former life, and to call on God for mercy through Jeſus Chriſt. Upon which the King expreſſed his grief for the Sins of his paſt Life, yet he ſaid he truſted in the mercies of Chriſt, which were greater than they were. Then *Denny* asked him if any Churchman ſhould be ſent for; and he ſaid, if any, it ſhould be Arch-Biſhop *Cranmer*: and after he had reſted a little, finding his Spirits decay apace, he ordered him to be ſent for to *Croydon*, where he was then. But before he could come, the King was Speechleſs. So *Cranmer* deſired him to give ſome ſign of his dying in the Faith of Chriſt, upon which he ſqueezed his hand, and ſoon after died; after he had Reigned 37 years, and 9 months, in the ſix and fiftieth year of his age. His death was kept up three dayes, for the Journals of the Houſe of Lords ſhew, that they continued reading Bills, and going on in buſineſs till the 31ſt. and no ſooner did the Lord Chancellor ſignify to them that the King was dead, and that the Parliament was thereby diſſolved. It is certain the Parliament had no being after the Kings breath was out; ſo their ſitting till the 31ſt ſhews, that the Kings death was not generally known all thoſe three dayes. The reaſons of concealing it ſo long might either be, that they were conſidering what to do with the Duke of *Norfolk*, or that the *Seymours* were

were laying their matters, ſo as to be ſecure in the Government before they publiſhed the Kings Death. I ſhall not adventure on adding any further Character of him, to that which is done with ſo much Wit and Judgment by the Lord *Herbert*, but ſhall refer the Reader wholly to him; only adding an account of the blackeſt part of it, the Attaindors that paſſed the laſt 13 years of his life: which are comprehended within this Book, of which I have caſt over the Relation to the Concluſion of it. 1547.

An account of the Kings ſeverities againſt the Poliſh Party.

In the latter part of his Reign, there were many things that ſeem great ſeverities, eſpecially as they are repreſented by the Writers of the *Roman* party; whoſe relations are not a little ſtrengthned by the faint excuſes and the miſtaken accounts, that moſt of the Proteſtant Hiſtorians have made. The King was naturally impetuous, and could not bear provocation; the times were very tickliſh; his Subjects were generally addicted to the old Superſtition, eſpecially in the Northern parts; the Monks and Friers were both numerous and wealthy; the Pope was his implacable Enemy, the Emperor was a formidable Prince, and being then Maſter of all the *Netherlands*; had many advantages for the War he deſigned againſt *England*. Cardinal *Pole* his kinſman, was going over all the Courts of Chriſtendom, to perſwade a League againſt *England*; as being a thing of greater neceſſity and merit than a War againſt the *Turk*. This being, without the leaſt aggravation, the ſtate of affairs at that time, it muſt be confeſſed he was ſore put to it. A Superſtition that was ſo blind and headſtrong, and Enemies that were both ſo powerful, ſo ſpiteful, and ſo induſtrious, made rigour neceſſary: nor is any General of an Army more concerned to deal ſeverely with Spies and Intelligencers, than he was to proceed againſt all the Popes adherents, or ſuch as kept correſpondence with *Pole*. He had obſerved in Hiſtory, that upon much leſs provocation than himſelf had given, not only ſeveral Emperors and forreign Princes had been diſpoſſeſſed of their Dominions; but two of his own Anceſtors *Henry* the 2d and King *John* had been driven to great extremities, and forced to unuſual and moſt indecent ſubmiſſions by the means of the Popes and their Clergy.

The Popes power over the Clergy was ſo abſolute, and their dependence and obedience to him was ſo implicite; and the Popiſh Clergy had ſo great an intereſt in the ſuperſtitious multitude, whoſe conſciences they governed, that nothing but a ſtronger paſſion could either tame the Clergy, or quiet the People. If there had been the leaſt hope of impunity; the laſt part of his Reign would have been one continued Rebellion; therefore to prevent a more profuſe effuſion of blood, it ſeemed neceſſary to execute Laws ſeverely in ſome particular inſtances.

There is one calumny that runs in a thread through all the Hiſtorians of the Popiſh ſide, which not a few of our own have ignorantly taken up, That many were put to death for not ſwearing the Kings Supremacy. It is an impudent falſhood; for not ſo much as one perſon ſuffered on that account; nor was there any Law for any ſuch Oath before the Parliament in the 28th year of the Kings Reign, when the unſufferable Bull of Pope *Paul* the 3d, engaged him to look a little more to his own ſafety. Then indeed in the Oath for maintaining

1547. ing the ſucceſſion of the Crown, the Subjects were required under the pains of Treaſon, to ſwear that the King was ſupream head of the Church of *England*; but that was not mentioned in the former Oath that was made in the 25th, and enacted in the 26 year of his Reign. It cannot but be confeſſed, that to enact under pain of death that none ſhould deny the Kings Titles, and to proceed upon that againſt offenders, is a very different thing, from forcing them to ſwear the King to be the Supream Head of the Church.

Some Carthuſian executed for denying the Kings Supremacy.

The firſt inſtance of theſe Capital proceedings was in *Eaſter-Term*, in the beginning of the 27th year of his reign. Three Priors, and a Monk, of the *Carthuſian* Order, were then endited of Treaſon, for ſaying, *that the King was not Supream head under Chriſt of the Church of* England. Theſe were *John Houghton* Prior of the *Charter-houſe* near *London*, *Auguſtin Webſter* Prior of *Axholme*, *Robert Laurence* Prior of *Bevoll*, and *Richard Reynolds* a Monk of *Sion*: this laſt was eſteemed a learned man, for that time, and that Order. They were tried in *Weſtminſter-Hall* by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*: they pleaded not guilty, but the Jury found them guilty, and judgment was given that they ſhould ſuffer as Traitors. The Record mentions no other particulars; but the writers of the Popiſh ſide make a ſplendid recital of the courage and conſtancy they expreſſed both in their Tryal, and at their Death. It was no difficult thing for men ſo uſed to the Legend, and the making of fine ſtories for the Saints and Martyrs of their Orders, to dreſs up ſuch Narratives with much pomp. But as their pleading *Not Guilty* to the Endictment, ſhews no extraordinary reſolution, ſo the account that is given by them of one *Hall* a Secular Prieſt that died with them, is ſo falſe, that there is good reaſon to ſuſpect all. He is ſaid to have ſuffered on the ſame account; but the Record of his Attaindor gives a very different relation of it.

And Hall a Prieſt for conſpiring againſt the King.

He, and *Robert Feron*, were endited at the ſame time for having "ſaid many ſpiteful and Treaſonable things, as that the King was a "Tyrant, an Heretick, a Robber, and an Adulterer; that they hoped "he ſhould die ſuch a death as King *John*, and *Richard* the 3d died; "that they looked when thoſe in *Ireland* and *Wales* ſhould invade *En*-"*gland*; and they were aſſured that three parts of four in *England* would "be againſt the King: they alſo ſaid that they ſhould never live mer-"rily till the King and the Rulers were plucked by the Pates, and "brought to the Pot, and that it would never be well with the Church "till that was done. *Hall* had not only ſaid this, but had alſo written it to *Feron* the 10th of *March* that year. When they were brought to the Bar, they at firſt pleaded Not Guilty; but full proof being brought, they themſelves confeſſed the Enditement, before the Jury went aſide, and put themſelves on the Kings mercy: upon which, this being an imagining and contriving both War againſt the King, and the Kings death, judgment was given as in caſes of Treaſon: but no mention being made of *Ferons* death, it ſeems he had his pardon. *Hall* ſuffered with the four *Carthuſians* who were hanged in their habits.

Three other Monks Executed.

They proceeded no further in *Eaſter-Term*: but in *Trinity-Term* there was another Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*, by which *Humphrey Middlemore*, *William Exmew*, and *Sebaſtian Nudigate*, three Monks of the

the *Charter-house* near *London*, were Endited of Treaſon, for having ſaid on the 25 of *May* "that they neither could nor would con- 1535.
"ſent to be obedient to the Kings Highneſs, as true lawful and obedi-
"ent Subjects; to take him to be Supream Head on Earth of the
"Church of *England*. They all pleaded *not-Guilty*, but were found Guilty by the Jury; and Judgment was given. When they were condemned, they deſired that they might receive the body of Chriſt before their death. But (as Judge *Spelman* writ) the Court would not grant it, ſince that was never done in ſuch caſes but by Order from the King. Two dayes after that, they were Executed. Two other Monks of that ſame Order, *John Rocheſter*, and *James Wolver*, ſuffered on the ſame account at *York* in *May* this year. Ten other *Carthuſian* Monks were ſhut up within their Cells; where nine of them dyed, the tenth was hanged in the beginning of *Auguſt*. Concerning thoſe perſons I find this ſaid in ſome Original Letters, that they had brought over into *England*, and vented in it, ſome Books that were written beyond Sea, againſt the Kings Marriage, and his other proceedings, which being found in their houſe, they were preſſed to peruſe the Books that were written for the King, but obſtinately refuſed to do it; they had alſo been involved in the buſineſs of the Maid of *Kent*, for which, though all the Complices in it, except thoſe who ſuffered for it, were pardoned by Act of Parliament, yet ſuch as had been concerned in it, were ſtill under jealouſie: and it is no wonder that upon new provocations they met with the uttermoſt rigor of the Law.

Theſe Tryals made way for two others that were more Signal: of the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and Sir *Thomas More*. The firſt of theſe had been a Priſoner above a year, and was very ſeverely uſed: he complained in his Letters to *Cromwell*, that he had neither Cloaths, nor fire, being then about fourſcore. This was underſtood at *Rome*, and upon it, Pope *Clement*, by an Officious kindneſs to him, or rather in ſpite to King *Henry*, declared him a Cardinal, and ſent him a Red-hat. When the King knew this, he ſent to Examine him about it; but he proteſted he had uſed no endeavours to procure it, and valued it ſo little, that if the Hat were lying at his feet, he would not take it up. It never came nearer him than *Picardy*: yet this did precipitate his ruin. But if he had kept his opinion of the Kings Supremacy to himſelf, they could not have proceeded further. He would not do that, but did upon ſeveral occaſions ſpeak againſt it, ſo he was brought to his Tryal on the 17th of *June*. The Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Suffolk*, and ſome other Lords, together with the Judges, ſate upon him by a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer*. He pleaded *not-Guilty*, but being found Guilty, Judgment was paſſed on him to die as a Traitor; but he was by a Warrant from the King, beheaded. Upon the 22d of *June*, being the day of his Execution, he dreſſed himſelf with more than ordinary care; and when his man took notice of it, he told him, he was to be that day a Bridegroom. As he was led to the place of Execution, being ſtopt in the way by the croud, he opened his new Teſtament, and prayed to this purpoſe; that, as that Book had been his companion and chief comfort in his impriſonment, ſo then ſome place might turn up to him, that might

Fiſhers Tryal and death.

comfort

1547. comfort him in his laſt paſſage: This being ſaid, he opened the Book at a venture, in which theſe words of St. *Johns* Goſpel turned up: *This is Life eternal to know thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.* So he ſhut the Book with much ſaisfaction, and all the way was repeating and meditating on them. When he came to the Scaffold he pronounced the *Te Deum*, and after ſome other devotions his head was cut off.

His Character. Thus dyed *John Fiſher* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, in the 80th year of his Age. He was a Learned and devout man, but much addicted to the ſuperſtitions in which he had been bred up: And that led him to great ſeverities againſt all that oppoſed them. He had been, for many years Confeſſor to the Kings Grand-Mother, the Counteſs of *Richmond*; and it was believed that he perſwaded her to theſe Noble deſigns for the advancement of Learning, of Founding two Colledges in *Cambridge*, St. *Johns*, and *Chriſts Colledge*, and Divinity Profeſſors in both Univerſities. And in acknowledgment of this, he was choſen Chancellor of the Univerſity of *Cambridge*. *Henry* the 7th gave him the Biſhoprick of *Rocheſter*, which he, following the rule of the Primitive Church, would never change for a better; he uſed to ſay his Church was his Wife, and he would never part with her, becauſe ſhe was poor. He continued in great favour with the King, till the buſineſs of the Divorce was ſet on foot; and then he adhered ſo firmly to the Queens cauſe, and the Popes Supremacy, that he was carryed by that, headlong into great Errors; as appears by the buſineſs of the Maid of *Kent*: Many thought the King ought to have proceeded againſt him rather upon that, which was a point of State, than upon the Supremacy, which was matter of Conſcience. But the King was reſolved to let all his Subjects ſee, there was no Mercy to be expected by any that denyed his being Supream head of the Church; and therefore made him and *More*, two Examples for terrifying the reſt. This being much cenſured beyond Sea, *Gardiner*, that was never wanting in the moſt ſervile complyances, wrote a vindication of the Kings proceedings. The Lord *Herbert* had it in his hands, and tells us it was written in elegant Latine, but that he thought it too long, and others judged it was too vehement, to be inſerted in his Hiſtory.

Mores Tryal and death. On the 1ſt of *July*, Sir *Thomas More* was brought to his Tryal. The ſpecial matter in his Endictment, is, that on the 7th of *May* preceeding, before *Cromwell*, *Bedyll*, and ſome others that were preſſing him concerning the Kings Supremacy, he ſaid he would not meddle with any ſuch matter: and was fully reſolved to ſerve God, and think upon his paſſion, and his own paſſage out of this World. He had alſo ſent divers meſſages by one *George Gold* to *Fiſher* to encourage "him in his obſtinacy; and ſaid, the Act of Parliament is like a "ſword with two edges, for if a man anſwer one way, it will confound "his Soul, and if he anſwer another way, it will confound his Body. He had ſaid the ſame thing on the third of *June*, in the hearing of the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of *Norfolk*; and others; and that he would not be the occaſion of the ſhortning his own Life. And when *Rich* the Kings Sollicitor came to deal with him further about it, but proteſted that he came not with any Authority to examine him, they

Printed for Ric: Chiſwell, at the Roſe, and Crowne, in S.t Pauls Churchyard

they diſcourſed the matter fully; *Rich* preſſed him, "that ſince the "Parliament had Enacted that the King was Supream Head, the Sub- "jects ought to agree to it, and ſaid *Rich*, what if the Parliament "ſhould declare me King, would you not acknowledge me? I would, "ſaid *More*, *Quia* (as it is in the Indictment) *Rex per Parliamentum fieri "poteſt, & per Parliamentum deprivari*; but *More* turned the Argument "on *Rich*, and ſaid, what if the Parliament made an Act that God "was not God; *Rich* acknowledged it could not bind: but replyed to "*More*, that ſince he would acknowledg him King, if he were made "ſo by Act of Parliament, why would he not acknowledg the King "Supream Head, ſince it was enacted by Parliament. To that *More* "anſwered, that the Parliament had power to make a King, and the "people were bound to acknowledg him, whom they made; but for "the Supremacy, though the Parliament had Enacted it, yet thoſe in "forreign parts had never aſſented to it. This was carryed by *Rich* to the King, and all theſe particulars were laid together, and judged to amount to a denyal of the Supremacy. Judge *Spelman* writ, that *More* being on his Tryal, pleaded ſtrongly againſt the Statute that made it Treaſon to deny the Supremacy, and argued that the King could not be Supream Head of the Church: When he was brought to the Bar, he pleaded not Guilty, but being found Guilty, judgment was given againſt him as a Traitor. He received it with that equal temper of mind, which he had ſhewed in both conditions of Life, and then ſet himſelf wholly to prepare for death; he expreſſed great contempt of the World, and that he was weary of Life, and longed for death; which was ſo little terrible to him, that his ordinary facetiouſneſs remained with him even on the Scaffold. It was cenſured by many as light and undecent; but others ſaid, that way having been ſo natural to him on all other occaſions, it was not at all affected; but ſhewed that death did no way diſcompoſe him, and could not ſo much as put him out of his ordinary humour. Yet his rallying every thing on the Scaffold, was thought to have more of the Stoick than the Chriſtian in it. After ſome time ſpent in ſecret devotions, he was beheaded on the 6th of *July*. 1535

Thus did Sir *Thomas More* end his days, in the 53d year of his age. His Character. He was a man of rare vertues, and excellent parts: In his youth he had freer thoughts of things, as appears by his *Utopia*, and his Letters to *Eraſmus*; but afterwards he became ſuperſtitiouſly devoted to the intereſts and paſſions of the Popiſh Clergy: and as he ſerved them when he was in Authority, even to aſſiſt them in in all their cruelties; ſo he employed his pen in the ſame cauſe, both in writing againſt all the new opinions in general, and in particular againſt *Tindal*, *Frith*, and *Barnes*, as alſo an unknown Writer, who ſeemed of neither party, but reprooved the corruptions of the Clergy, and condemned their cruel proceedings. *More* was no Divine at all, and it is plain to any that reads his writings, that he knew nothing of Antiquity; beyond the quotations he found in the Canon-Law, and in the Maſter of the ſentences: (only he had read ſome of St. *Auſtins* treatiſes,) for upon all points of Controverſie, he quotes only what he found in theſe Collections; nor was he at all converſant in the critical learning upon the Scriptures; but his peculiar excellency in writing, was, that he had a

1535. natural eaſie expreſſion, and preſented all the opinions of Popery with their fair ſide to the Reader, diſguiſing or concealing the black ſide of them with great Art; and was no leſs dextrous in expoſing all the ill conſequences that could follow on the Doctrine of the Reformers: and had upon all occaſions great ſtore of pleaſant tales, which he applyed wittily to his purpoſe. And in this conſiſts the great ſtrength of his Writings, which were deſigned rather for the Rabble, than for Learned men. But for juſtice, contempt of money, humility, and a true generoſity of mind, he was an example to the Age in which he lived.

But there is one thing unjuſtly added to the praiſe of theſe two great men, or rather feigned, on deſign to leſſen the Kings honour; that *Fiſher* and he penned the book which the King wrote againſt *Luther*. This *Sanders* firſt publiſhed, and *Bellarmin* and others ſince have taken it up upon his Authority. Strangers may be pardoned ſuch errors, but they are inexcuſable in an *Engliſh* man. For in *Mores* printed works there is a Letter written by him out of the *Tower* to *Cromwel*, in which he gives an account of his behaviour concerning the Kings Divorce and Supremacy: among other particulars one is, "that "when the King ſhewed him his Book againſt *Luther*, in which he "had aſſerted the Popes Primacy to be of Divine right, *More* deſir- "ed him to leave it out; ſince as there had been many conteſts be- "tween Popes and other Princes, ſo there might fall in ſome between "the Pope and the King; therefore he thought it was not fit for the "King to publiſh any thing, which might be afterwards made uſe of "againſt himſelf: and adviſed him either to leave out that point, or "to touch it very tenderly; but the King would not follow his coun- "ſel, being perhaps ſo fond of what he had writ, that he would rather run himſelf upon a great inconvenience, than leave out any thing that he fancied ſo well written. This ſhews that *More* knew that Book was written by the Kings own pen; and either *Sanders* never read this, or maliciouſly concealed it, leſt it ſhould diſcover his foul dealing.

Theſe Executions ſo terrified all people, that there were no further provocations given: and all perſons either took the Oaths, or did ſo dextrouſly conceal their opinions, that till the Rebellions of *Lincolnſhire*, and the North, broke out, none ſuffered after this upon a publick account. But when theſe were quieted, then the King reſolved to make the chief Authors and Leaders of thoſe Commotions publick examples to the reſt. The Duke of *Norfolk* proceeded againſt many of them by Martial Law, there were alſo Tryals at common Law of a great many more that were taken Priſoners, and ſent up to *London*. The Lords *Darcy* and *Huſſie* were tryed by their Peers, the Marquis of *Exceter* ſitting *Steward*. And a Commiſſion of *Oyer* and *Terminer* being iſſued out for the Tryal of the reſt, Sir *Robert Conſtable*, Sir *John Bulmer* and his Lady, Sir *Francis Pigot*, Sir *Stephen Hamilton*, and Sir *Thomas Piercy*, and *Aſk*, that had been their Captain; with the Abbots of *Whalley*, *Jerveux*, *Bridlington*, *Lenton*, *Woburn*, and *Kingſtead*, and *Mackrall* the Monk, that firſt raiſed the *Lincolnſhire* Rebellion, with ſixteen more were Indicted of high Treaſon, for the late Rebellions. And after all the ſteps of the Rebellion were reckoned up, it is added

Attaindors after the Rebellion was quieted.

ded in the Indictment, that they had met together on the 17th of *January*, and conſulted how to renew it, and proſecute it further, being encouraged by the new Riſings that were then in the North; by which they had forfeited all the favour, to which they could have pretended, by vertue of the Indemnity that was granted in the end of *December*, and of the pardons which they had taken out. They were all found Guilty, and had judgment as in caſes of Treaſon; divers of them were carryed down into *Lincolnſhire*, and *Yorkſhire*, and executed in the places where their Treaſons were committed; but moſt of them ſuffered at *London*, and among others the Lady *Bulmer*, (whom others call Sir *John Bulmers* harlot) was burnt for it in *Smithfield*. 1537. *Hall.*

The only cenſure that paſſed on this, was, that advantages were taken on too ſlight grounds to break the Kings Indemnity and pardon: ſince it does not appear, that after their pardon they did any thing more than meet and conſult. But the Kingdom was ſo ſhaken with that Rebellion, that if it had not been for the great conduct of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the King had by all appearance loſt his Crown. And it will not ſeem ſtrange that a King, (eſpecially ſo tempered as this was,) had a mind to ſtrike terror into the reſt of his Subjects, by ſome ſignal Examples, and to put out of the way the chief leaders of that deſign: nor was it to be wondered at, that the Abbots and other Clergy-men who had been ſo active in that Commotion, were ſeverely handled. It was by their means that the diſcontents were chiefly fomented; they had taken all the Oaths that were enjoyned them, and yet continued to be ſtill practiſing againſt the State; which, as it was highly contrary to the peaceable Doctrines of the Chriſtian Religion, ſo it was in a ſpecial manner contrary to the Rules which they profeſſed; that obliged them to forſake the World, and to follow a Religious and Spiritual courſe of Life. Cenſures paſt upon it.

The next Example of juſtice was a year after this, of one *Forreſt* an *Obſervant* Frier; he had been, as *Sanders* ſays, Confeſſor to Queen *Katharine*, but it ſeems departed from her intereſts; for he inſinuated himſelf ſo into the King, that he recovered his good Opinion. Being an ignorant and lewd man, he was accounted by the better ſort of that Houſe, to which he belonged in *Greenwich*, a Reproach to their Order, (concerning this, I have ſeen a large account in an Original Letter written by a Brother of the ſame Houſe.) Having regained the Kings good Opinion, he put all thoſe who had favoured the Divorce under great fears, for he proceeded cruelly againſt them. And one *Rainſcroft*, being ſuſpected to have given ſecret Intelligence of what was done among them, was ſhut up, and ſo hardly uſed that he dyed in their hands, which was (as that Letter relates) done by Frier *Forreſts* means. This Frier was found to have denyed the Kings Supremacy: for though he himſelf had ſworn it, yet he had infuſed it into many in Confeſſion, that the King was not the Supream Head of the Church. Being queſtioned for theſe practices, which were ſo contrary to the Oath that he had taken, "he anſwered, that he took that Oath with his outward man, but his inward "man had never conſented to it. Being brought to his Tryal, and accuſed of ſeveral Heretical opinions that he held, he ſubmitted him- 1538. *Forreſts* equivocation and Hereſie. *Hall.*

1538. ſelf to the Church. Upon this he had more freedom allowed him in the Priſon; but ſome coming to him diverted him from the Submiſſion he had offered; ſo that when the Paper of Abjuration was brought him, he refuſed to ſet his hand to it: upon which he was judged an Obſtinate Heretick. The Records of theſe Proceedings are loſt, but the Books of that time ſay, that he denyed the Goſpel; it is like it was upon that pretence, that without the determination of the Church it had no Authority, upon which, ſeveral writers of the Roman Communion have ſaid undecent and ſcandalous things of the holy Scriptures. He was brought to *Smithfield*, where were preſent the Lords of the Council, to offer him his pardon if he would abjure. *Latimer* made a Sermon againſt his errors, and ſtudyed to perſwade him to recant; but he continued in his former opinions, ſo he was put to death in a moſt ſevere manner. He was hanged in a chain about his middle, and the great Image that was brought out of *Wales*, was broken to pieces, and ſerved for fewel to burn him. He ſhewed great unquietneſs of mind, and ended his Life in an ungodly manner, as *Hall* ſays, who adds this Character of him, "that "he had little knowledg of God and his ſincere truth, and leſs truſt in "him at his ending.

The proceedings againſt Cardinal *Pools* friends.

In Winter that year a correſpondence was diſcovered with Cardinal *Pole*, who was barefaced in his Treaſonable deſigns againſt the King. His Brother Sir *Geofrey Pole* diſcovered the whole Plot. For which the Marqueſs of *Exceter*, (that was the Kings Couſin-german by his Mother, who was *Edward* the 4ths Daughter,) the Lord *Montacute*, the Cardinals Brother, Sir *Geofrey Pole*, and Sir *Edward Nevill*, were ſent to the *Tower* in the beginning of *November*. They were accuſed for having maintained a correſpondence with the Cardinal, and for expreſſing an hatred of the King, with a diſlike of his proceedings, and a readineſs to riſe upon any good opportunity that might offer it ſelf.

The ſpecial matter brought againſt the Lord *Montacute*, and the Marquis of *Exceter*, who were tryed by their Peers on the 2d and 3d of *December*, in the 30th year of this Reign, is, "that whereas Car- "dinal *Pole*, and others, had caſt off their Alleageance to the King, "and gone and ſubmitted themſelves to the Pope the Kings mortal "enemy, the Lord *Montacute* did on the 24th of *July* in the 28th year "of the Kings Reign, a few months before the Rebellion broke out, ſay "that he liked well the proceedings of his Brother the Cardinal, but "did not like the proceedings of the Realm; and ſaid, I truſt to ſee a "change of this World; I truſt to have a fair day upon thoſe Knaves "that rule about the King; and I truſt to ſee a merry World one day. Words to the ſame purpoſe were alſo charged on the Marqueſs: the Lord *Montacute* further ſaid, "I would I were over the Sea with my "Brother, for this World will one day come to ſtripes: it muſt needs "ſo come to paſs, and I fear we ſhall lack nothing ſo much as honeſt "men: he alſo ſaid, he had dreamed that the King was dead, and "though he was not yet dead, he would die ſuddenly; one day his "Leg will kill him, and then we ſhall have jolly ſtirring; ſaying "alſo, that he had never loved him from his childhood, and that Car- "dinal *Wolſey* would have been an honeſt man, if he had had an ho-

"neſt

"neſt Maſter. And the King having ſaid to the Lords he would leave "them one day, having ſome apprehenſions he might ſhortly die, that "Lord ſaid, if he will ſerve us ſo, we ſhall be happily rid; a time "will come, I fear, we ſhall not tarry the time, we ſhall do well e-"nough: He had alſo ſaid, he was ſorry the Lord *Abergaveny* was "dead, for he could have made ten thouſand men; and for his part "he would go and live in the Weſt, where the Marqueſs of *Exeter* "was ſtrong: and had alſo ſaid upon the breaking of the Northern "Rebellion, that the Lord *Darcy* played the fool, for he went to pluck "away the Council, but he ſhould have begun with the head firſt, "but I beſhrew him for leaving off ſo ſoon. Theſe were the Words charged on thoſe Lords, as clear diſcoveries of their Treaſonable deſigns; and that they knew of the Rebellion that brake out, and only intended to have kept it off to a fitter opportunity: they were alſo accuſed of Correſpondence with Cardinal *Pole*, that was the Kings declared Enemy. Upon theſe points the Lords pleaded *not Guilty*, but were found Guilty by their Peers, and ſo Judgment was given. 1538.

On the 4th of *December* were Indicted Sir *Geofrey Pole*, for holding Correſpondence with his Brother the Cardinal, and ſaying that he approved of his proceedings, but not of the Kings; Sir *Edward Nevill*, Brother to the Lord *Abergaveny*, for ſaying, the King was a Beaſt, and worſe than a Beaſt; *George Crofts*, Chancellor of the Cathedral of *Chicheſter*, for ſaying, *the King was not, but the Pope was, Supream head of the Church*; and *John Collins*, for ſaying, *the King would hang in Hell one day for the plucking down of Abbeys*: All thoſe, Sir *Edward Nevill* only excepted, pleaded *Guilty*, and ſo they were condemned; but Sir *Geofrey Pole* was the only perſon of the number that was not Executed, for he had diſcovered the matter. At the ſame time alſo, Cardinal *Pole*, *Michael Throgmorton* Gentleman, *John Hilliard* and *Thomas Goldwell* Clerks, and *William Peyto* a Franciſcan of the Obſervance, were Attainted in Abſence; becauſe they had caſt off their duty to the King, and had ſubjected themſelves to the Biſhop of *Rome*, *Pole* being made Cardinal by him; and for writing Treaſonable Letters, and ſending them into *England*. On the 4th of *February* following, Sir *Nicholas Carew*, that was both Maſter of the Horſe, and Knight of the Garter, was Arraigned for being an adherent to the Marqueſs of *Exeter*, and having ſpoke of his Attaindor as unjuſt and cruel, he was alſo Attainted and Executed upon the 3d of *March*. When he was brought to the Scaffold, he openly acknowledged the errors and ſuperſtition in which he had formerly lived; and bleſſed God for his Impriſonment, "for he then began to reliſh "the Life and ſweetneſs of Gods holy Word, which was brought him "by his Keeper, one *Phillips*, who followed the Reformation, and "had formerly ſuffered for it.

1539.

After theſe Executions, followed the Parliament in the year 1539, in which not only theſe Attaindors that were already paſſed were confirmed, but new ones of a ſtrange and unheard-of nature were Enacted. It is a blemiſh never to be waſhed off, and which cannot be enough condemned, and was a breach of the moſt ſacred and unalterable Rules of Juſtice, which is capable of no excuſe; it was the Attainting of ſome perſons, whom they held in cuſtody, without bringing

Some Attaindors without hearing the parties.

1539. bringing them to a Tryal. Concerning which, I ſhall add what the great Lord Chief Juſtice *Cook* writes, "although I queſtion not the
4 Inſtit. 37. 38. "Power of the Parliament, for without queſtion the Attaindor ſtands "of force in Law, yet this I ſay of the manner of proceeding, *Auferat Oblivio, ſi poteſt, ſi non utrumque ſilentium tegat.* For the more "high and abſolute the Juriſdiction of the Court is, the more juſt "and honourable it ought to be in the proceedings, and to give Example of Juſtice to inferior Courts. The chief of theſe were the Marchioneſs of *Exeter* and the Counteſs of *Sarum*. The ſpecial matter charged on the former, is, her confederating her ſelf to Sir *Nicolas Carew* in his Treaſons; to which is added, "that ſhe had committed divers other abominable Treaſons. The latter is ſaid to have "confederated her ſelf with her Son the Cardinal, with other aggravating words. It does not appear by the Journal that any Witneſſes were examined; only that day that the Bills were read the third time in the Houſe of Lords, *Cromwell* ſhewed them a Coat of white ſilk, which the Lord Admiral had found among the Counteſs of *Sarums* Cloaths, in which the Arms of *England* were wrought on the one ſide, and the Standard that was carryed before the Rebels was on the other ſide. This was brought as an evidence that ſhe approved of the Rebellion. Three *Iriſh* Prieſts were alſo Attainted for carrying Letters out of *Ireland*, to the Pope and Cardinal *Pole*, as alſo Sir *Adrian Forteſcue* for endeavouring to raiſe Rebellion, *Thomas Dingley* a Knight of St. *John* of *Jeruſalem*, and *Robert Granceter* Merchant, for going to ſeveral Forreign Princes, and perſwading them to make War upon the King, and aſſiſt the Lords *Darcy* and *Huſſie* in the Rebellion they had raiſed. Two Gentlemen, a Dominican Frier, and a Yeoman, were by the ſame Act Attainted, for ſaying that, *that venemous Serpent the Biſhop of* Rome *was Supream Head of the Church of England.* Another Gentleman, two Prieſts, and a Yeoman are Attainted for Treaſon in general, no particular crime being ſpecified. Thus ſixteen perſons were in this manner Attainted, and if there was any Examination of Witneſſes for convicting them, it was either in the Star-Chamber, or before the Privy Council; for there is no mention of any evidence that was brought in the Journals: There was alſo much haſte made in the paſſing this Bill: it being brought in the 10th of *May*, was read that day for the firſt, and ſecond time, and the 11th of *May* for the third time. The Commons kept it five days before they ſent it back, and added ſome more to thoſe that were in the Bill at firſt; but how many were named in the Bill Originally, and how many were afterwards added, cannot be known. *Forteſcue* and *Dingley* ſuffered the 10th of *July*. As for the Counteſs of *Sarum*, the Lord *Herbert* ſaw in a Record, that Bulls from the Pope were found in her Houſe, "that ſhe kept correſpondence with her Son, and that ſhe forbade "her Tenants to have the new Teſtament in *Engliſh*, or any other "of the Books that had been publiſhed by the Kings Authority. She was then about ſeventy years of Age, but ſhewed by the anſwers ſhe made, that ſhe had a vigorous and maſculine mind. She was kept two years Priſoner in the *Tower*, after the Act had paſſed, the King by that reprieve deſigning to oblige her Son to a better behaviour; but upon a freſh provocation by a new Rebellion in the North, ſhe was beheaded,

headed, and in her, the name and line of *Plantagenet* determined. 1540.
The Marchioneſs of *Exceter* died a natural death. In *November* this year were the Abbots of *Reading*, *Gloſſenbury* and *Colecheſter* Attainted of Treaſon, of which mention was made formerly.

In the Parliament that ſate in the year 1540 they went on to follow that ſtrange precedent, which they had made the former year. By the 56th Act *Giles Heron* was Attainted of Treaſon, no ſpecial matter being mentioned.

By the 57th Act, *Richard Fetherſtoun*, *Thomas Abell*, and *Edward Pole* Prieſts, and *William Horn* a Yeoman were Attainted, for denying the Kings Supremacy, and adhering to the Biſhop of *Rome*: by the ſame Act the Wife of one *Tirrell* Eſquire was Attainted, for refuſing her duty of Alleageance, and denying Prince *Edward* to be Prince and heir of the Crown; and one *Laurence Cook* of *Doncaſter* was alſo Attainted for contriving the Kings death.

By the 58th Act, *Gregory Buttolph*, *Adam Damplip*, and *Edward Brindeholm* Clerks, and *Clement Philpot* Gentleman, were Attainted, for adhering to the Biſhop of *Rome*, for correſponding with Cardinal *Pole*, and endeavouring to ſurprize the Town of *Callais*: By the ſame Act *Barnes*, *Gerard*, and *Jerome*, were Attainted, of whoſe ſufferings an account has been already given.

By the 59th Act, *William Bird* a Prieſt, and Chaplain to the Lord *Hungerford* was attainted, for having ſaid to one that was going to Aſſiſt the King againſt the Rebels in the North, "I am ſorry thou go-"eſt, ſeeſt thou not how the King plucketh down Images and Abbies "every day? and if the King go thither himſelf, he will never come "home again, nor any of them all which go with him, and in truth it "were pity he ſhould ever come home again; and at another time "upon ones ſaying, O good Lord, I ween all the World will be Here-"ticks in a little time: *Bird* ſaid, doeſt thou marvel at that? I tell thee "it is no marvel, for the great Maſter of all is an Heretick, and ſuch a "one as there is not his like in the World.

By the ſame Act the Lord *Hungerford* was likewiſe Attainted. "The "Crimes ſpecified are, that he knowing *Bird* to be a Traitor, did enter-"tain him in his houſe as his Chaplain; that he ordered another of his "Chaplains, Sir *Hugh Wood*, and one Doctor *Maudlin* to uſe Conjuring, "that they might know how long the King ſhould live, and whether "he ſhould be victorious over his Enemies or not; and that theſe three "years laſt paſt he had frequently committed the deteſtable ſin of Sodo-"my with ſeveral of his Servants: All theſe were Attainted by that Parliament. The Lord *Hungerford* was Executed the ſame day with *Cromwell*; he dyed in ſuch diſorder that ſome thought he was frenetick, for he called often to the Executioner to diſpatch him, and ſaid he was weary of Life, and longed to be dead, which ſeemed ſtrange in a man that had ſo little cauſe to hope in his death. For *Powel*, *Fetherſtoun*, and *Abell*, they ſuffered the ſame day with *Barnes* and his friends, as hath been already ſhewn.

This year *Sampſon* Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and one Doctor *Wilſon* were put in the *Tower*, upon ſuſpition of correſpondence with the Pope. But upon their ſubmiſſion they had their pardon and liberty. In the year 1541, five Prieſts and ten ſecular perſons, ſome of them being Gentlemen

1535. tlemen of Quality, were raiſing a new Rebellion in *Yorkſhire*; which was ſuppreſſed in time, and the Promoters of it being apprehended, were Attainted and Executed, and this occaſioned the death of the Counteſs of *Sarum*, after the Execution of the Sentence had been delayed almoſt two years.

The laſt inſtance of the Kings ſeverity was in the year 1543, in which one *Gardiner* that was the Biſhop of *Wincheſters* kinſman and Secretary, and three other Prieſts, were tryed, for denying the Kings Supremacy, and ſoon after Executed. But what ſpecial matter was laid to their charge, cannot be known, for the Record of their Attaindor is loſt.

The Concluſion. Theſe were the proceedings of this King againſt thoſe that adhered to the intereſts of *Rome*: in which, though there is great ground for juſt cenſure, for as the Laws were rigorous, ſo the Execution of them was raiſed to the higheſt that the Law could admit; yet there is nothing in them to juſtifie all the clamors, which that party have raiſed againſt King *Henry*, and by which they purſue his memory to this day; and are far ſhort, both in number and degrees, of the cruelties of Queen *Maries* Reign, which yet they endeavour all that is poſſible to extenuate or deny.

To Conclude, we have now gone through the Reign of King *Henry* the 8th, who is rather to be reckoned among the *Great* than the *Good* Princes. He exerciſed ſo much ſeverity on men of both perſwaſions, that the writers of both ſides have laid open his faults, and taxed his cruelty. But as neither of them were much obliged to him, ſo none have taken ſo much care to ſet forth his good qualities, as his Enemies have done to enlarge on his Vices: I do not deny that he is to be numbered among the *ill* Princes, yet I cannot rank him with the *worſt*.

The End of the third Book and of the firſt Part.

AD-

ADDENDA.

After ſome of the ſheets of this Hiſtory were wrought off, I met with Manuſcripts of great Authority, out of which I have Collected ſeveral particulars, that give a clear light to the proceedings in thoſe times, which ſince they came too late to my knowledg to be put in their proper places, I ſhall here add them with references to the places to which they belong.

Ad Page 202. *line* 13.

THere it is ſaid, that the Earl of *Wiltſhire* Father to Queen *Anne Boleyn* was one of the Peers that Judged her.

In this I too Implicitly followed Doctor *Heylin*, he ſeeming to write with more than ordinary care for the Vindication of that Queen, and with ſuch aſſurance, as if he had ſeen the Records concerning her, ſo that I took this upon truſt from him. The reaſon of it was, that in the ſearch I made of Attaindors, I did not find the Record of her Tryal; ſo I concluded, that either it was deſtroyed by Order during her Daughters Reign, or was accidentally loſt ſince that time: And thus having no Record to direct me, I too eaſily followed the Printed Books in that particular. But after that part of this Hiſtory was wrought off, I by chance met with it in another place where it was miſlaid; and there I diſcovered the error I had committed. The Earl of *Wiltſhire* was not one of her Judges; theſe by whom ſhe was tryed were the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquis of *Exceter*, the Earls of *Arundell*, *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Weſtmoreland*, *Derby*, *Worceſter*, *Rutland*, *Suſſex*, and *Huntington*, and the Lords *Audley*, *Delaware*, *Mountague*, *Morley*, *Dacres*, *Cobham*, *Maltravers*, *Powis*, *Mounteagle*, *Clinton*, *Sands*, *Windſor*, *Wentworth*, *Burgh*, and *Mordant*: in all twenty ſix, and not twenty Eight as I reckoned them upon a Vulgar Error. The Record mentions one particular concerning the Earl of *Northumberland*, that he was taken with a ſudden fit of ſickneſs, and was forced to leave the Court before the Lord *Rochford* was Tryed. This might have been only Caſual: but ſince he was once in Love with the Queen, and had deſigned to Marry her (ſee Page 44) it is no wonder if ſo ſad a change in her Condition, did raiſe an unuſual diſorder in him.

When I had diſcovered the miſtake I had made, as I reſolved to publiſh this free Confeſſion of it; ſo I ſet my ſelf not without ſome Indignation to examine upon what Authority Doctor *Heylin* had led me into it. I could find no Author that went before him in it, but *Sanders*; the chief deſign of whoſe writing, was to defame Queen *Elizabeth*, and to blaſt her Title to the Crown. To that end it was no ill piece of his skill, to perſwade the World of her Mother lewdneſs, to ſay, that her own Father was convinced of it, and condemn-

ed her for it. And Doctor *Heylin* took this, as he has done many other things, too eaſily upon *Sanders* Teſtimony.

f. Ad Page 217. line 37.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 1. The Articles of Religion of which an abſtract is there ſet down, are indeed publiſhed by *Fuller*: but he ſaw not the Original, with all the Subſcriptions to it; which I have had in my hands, and therefore I have put it in the Collection with three other Papers, which were ſoon after offered to the King by *Cranmer*.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 2. The one is in the form of fifteen queries, concerning ſome abuſes by which the people had been deceived; as namely, by theſe Doctrines, that without Contrition ſinners may be reconciled to God; that it is in the Power of the Prieſt, to pardon or not to pardon ſin at his pleaſure; and that Gods pardon cannot be obtained without Prieſtly Abſolution. Alſo he complained that the people truſted to outward Ceremonies; and their Curates for their own gain, encouraged them in it. It was obſerved that the opinion of Clergy-mens being exempted from the ſecular Judge was ill grounded; that Biſhops did ordain without due care and Tryal: that the Dignified Clergy miſapplyed their Revenues, did not follow their firſt Inſtitution, and did not reſide upon their Benefices.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 3. And in fine he moves that the four Sacraments, which had been left undetermined by the former Articles, might be examined: the outward ſigns and actions, the promiſes made upon them, and the efficacy that was in them being well conſidered.

The ſecond Paper conſiſts of two Reſolutions, made concerning Confirmation by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, and *Stokeſley* Biſhop of *London* (by which I perceive the way of examining matters by giving out of queſtions to Biſhops and Divines was ſooner practiſed, then when I firſt took notice of it page 286.) there are ſeveral other Papers concerning Confirmation, but theſe are only Subſcribed: and the reſt do generally follow theſe two Prelates who were then the heads of two different parties. The Arch-Biſhop went on this ground, that all things were to be tryed by the Scripture; but *Stokeſley* and almoſt the whole Clergy, were for receiving the Tradition of the Church, as not much inferiour to the Scriptures, which he aſſerts in his Subſcription.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 4. The third Paper was offered to the King by *Cranmer*, to perſwade him to proceed to a further Reformation: that things might be long and well conſidered before they were determined, that nothing might be declared a part of Gods faith, without good proofs from Scripture: the departing from which rule had been the occaſion of all the Errors that had been in the Church: that now men would not be led as they had been, but would examine matters: that many things were now acknowledged to be truths, ſuch as the unlawfulneſs of the Popes Uſurped Power, for which many had formerly ſuffered death. Whereupon he deſires that ſome points might be Examined by Scripture, as, whether there is a Purgatory, whether departed Souls ought to be Invocated, whether Tradition ought to be believed; whether there be any ſatisfaction beſides the ſatisfaction of Chriſt, whether free will

may

may diſpoſe it ſelf to grace, and whether Images ought to be kiſſed, or uſed to any other end, but as repreſentations of a piece of Hiſtory? In all theſe he deſired the King would ſuſpend his Judgment: and in particular, that he would not determine againſt the Lawfulneſs of the Marriage of the Clergy, but would for ſome time ſilence both parties. He alſo propoſed that this point might by order from the King, be examined in the Univerſities before indifferent Judges: that all the Arguments againſt it, might be given to the Defenders twelve days before the publick diſputation; and he offered, that if thoſe who ſhould defend the Lawfulneſs of Prieſts Marriage, were in the Opinion of indifferent Judges overcome, they ſhould willingly ſuffer death for it; but if otherwiſe, all they deſired was, that in that point the King might leave them in the liberty to which the Word of God left them.

Ad Page 249. *line* 18.

I have ſeen a much fuller paper concerning Orders and Eccleſiaſtical functions (which the Reader will find in the Collection) ſigned by *Cromwell*, the two Arch-Biſhops and eleven Biſhops, and twenty Divines and Canoniſts, Declaring that the Power of the Keys and other Church-functions is formally diſtinct from the Power of the Sword. That this Power is not abſolute, but to be limited by the Rules that are in the Scripture; and is ordained only for the edification and good of the Church: that this Power ought to be ſtill preſerved, ſince it was given by Chriſt as the mean of reconciling ſinners to God. Orders were alſo declared a Sacrament, ſince they conſiſted of an outward action inſtituted by Chriſt, and an inward grace conferred with them: But that all Inferiour Orders, *Janitors*, *Lectors*, &c. were brought into the Church to beautifie and adorn it, and were taken from the Temple of the *Jews*: And that in the New Teſtament there is no mention made but of Deacons or Miniſters, and Prieſts or Biſhops: nor is there belonging to Orders any other Ceremony mentioned in the Scripture, but Prayer and Impoſition of hands. This was ſigned either in the year 1537 or 1538, ſince it is Subſcribed both by *John Hilſey* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, and *Edward Fox* Biſhop of *Hereford*, for the one was conſecrated in 1537, and the other dyed in *May* 1538. Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 5.

On this Paper I will add two remarks, the one is, that after this I do never find the Inferiour Degrees under a Deacon mentioned in this Church; ſo it ſeems at this time they were laid aſide. They were firſt ſet up in the Church about the end of the ſecond or the beginning of the third Century, in the middle of which we find both *Cornelius* Biſhop of *Rome*, and St. *Cyprian* mentioning them as Orders that were then eſtabliſhed; and it ſeems they were deſigned as previous ſteps to the Sacred functions, that none might be Ordained to theſe, but ſuch as had been long before ſeparated from a ſecular ſtate of Life, and had given good proofs of themſelves in theſe lower degrees. But it turned in the Church of *Rome* to be only a matter of form; and many took the firſt Tonſure, that they might be exempted from the Secular Power, and be qualified for Commendams, and ſome other Worldly advantages to which theſe lower Orders were ſufficient, by thoſe Rules which the Canoniſts had brought in.

Another thing is, that both in this Writing and in the Neceſſary Erudition of a Chriſtian man, Biſhops and Prieſts are ſpoken of as one and the ſame Office. In the Antient Church they knew none of thoſe Subtilties which were found out in the latter Ages. It was then thought enough that a Biſhop was to be dedicated to his function by a new Impoſition of hands, and that ſeveral Offices could not be performed without Biſhops, ſuch as Ordination Confirmation, *&c.* but they did not refine in theſe matters, ſo much as to enquire whether Biſhops and Prieſts differed in Order and Office or only in degree. But after the Schoolmen fell to examine matters of Divinity with Logical and Unintelligible niceties, and the Canoniſts began to Comment upon the rules of the Ancient Church, they ſtudied to make Biſhops and Prieſts ſeem very near one another, ſo that the difference was but ſmall. They did it with different deſigns. The Schoolmen having ſet up the grand Myſtery of Tranſubſtantiation, were to exalt the Prieſtly Office as much as was poſſible : for the turning the Hoſt into God was ſo great an action, that they reckoned there could be no Office higher than that which qualified a man to ſo mighty a Performance: therefore as they changed the form of Ordination from what it was Anciently believed to conſiſt in, to a delivering of the Sacred Veſſels, and held that a Prieſt had his Orders by that rite, and not by the Impoſition of hands ; ſo they raiſed their Order or Office ſo high as to make it equal with the Order of a Biſhop : But as they deſigned to extol the Order of Prieſthood, ſo the Canoniſts had as great a mind to depreſs the Epiſcopal Order. They generally wrote for preferment, and the way to it was to exalt the Papacy. Nothing could do that ſo effectually as to bring down the Power of Biſhops. This only could juſtifie the Exemptions of the Monks and Friers, the Popes ſetting up Legantine Courts, and receiving at firſt Appeals, and then Original cauſes before them ; together with many other Encroachments on their Juriſdiction : All which were unlawful, if the Biſhops had by Divine right, Juriſdiction in their Dioceſes : Therefore it was neceſſary to lay them as low as could be, and to make them think that the Power they held, was rather as Delegates of the Apoſtolick See, than by a Commiſſion from Chriſt or his Apoſtles : So that they looked on the declaring Epiſcopal Authority to be of Divine right, as a blow that would be fatal to the Court of *Rome* ; and therefore they did after this at *Trent* uſe all poſſible endeavours to hinder any ſuch Deciſion. It having been then the Common ſtile of that Age to reckon Biſhops and Prieſts as the ſame Office, it is no wonder if at this time the Clergy of this Church, the greateſt part of them being ſtill leavened with the old ſuperſtition, and the reſt of them not having enough of ſpare-time to examine leſſer matters, retained ſtill the former phraſes in this particular.

On this I have inſiſted the more, that it may appear how little they have conſidered things, who are ſo far carryed with their zeal againſt the eſtabliſhed Government of this Church, as to make much uſe of ſome paſſages of the Schoolmen and Canoniſts that deny them to be diſtinct Offices ; for theſe are the very dregs of Popery, the one raiſing the Prieſts higher for the ſake of Tranſubſtantiation, the other pulling the Biſhops lower for the ſake of the Popes Supremacy, and by

by ſuch means bringing them almoſt to an equality. So partial are ſome men to their particular conceits, that they make uſe of the moſt miſchievous Topicks when they can ſerve their turn, not conſidering how much further theſe Arguments will run if they ever admit them.

Ad Page 255. *line* 28.

The Princes of *Germany* did always preſs the King to enter into a Religious League with them: the firſt League that was made in the year 1536 was conceived in general terms, againſt the Pope as the Common Enemy, and for ſetting up true Religion according to the Goſpel: But they did afterwards ſend over Ambaſſadors to treat about particulars; and they having preſented a Memorial of theſe, there were Conferences appointed between them and ſome Biſhops and Divines of this Church. I find no Divines was ſent over hither but *Frederick Miconius* Miniſter of *Gotha*, by whom *Melanthon*, who could not be ſpared out of *Germany*, ſent ſeveral Letters to the King; the fulleſt and longeſt of them will be found in the Collection. It is all to this purpoſe, to perſwade the King to go on vigorouſly in the Reforming of Abuſes according to the word of God. The King ſent over the particulars which they propoſed in order to a perfect agreement, to *Gardiner* who was then at *Paris*: Upon which he ſent back his Opinion touching them all; the Original of which, under his own hand I have ſeen, but it relates ſo much to the other Paper that was ſent him, which I never ſaw, that without it his meaning can hardly be underſtood, and therefore I have not put it in the Collection. The main thing in it, at which it chiefly drives, is to preſs the King to finiſh firſt a Civil League with them, and to leave thoſe particulars concerning Religion to be afterwards treated of. The King followed his advice ſo far as to write to the *German* Princes to that effect. But when the King declared his reſolution to have the ſix Articles eſtabliſhed, all that favoured the Reformation were much alarmed at it, and preſſed their friends in *Germany* to interpoſe with the King for preventing it. I have ſeen an Original Letter of *Hains* Dean of *Exeter*, in which he laments the ſad effects that would follow on that Act, which was then preparing; that all the Corruptions in the Church roſe from the eſtabliſhing ſome points without clear proofs from Scripture: he wiſhed the *Germans* would conſider of it, for if the King and Parliament ſhould make ſuch a Law, this was a Preſident for the Emperor to make the like in the Diet of the Empire. Neither were the *German* Ambaſſadors backward in doing their friends in *England* all the ſervice they could: for after they had held ſeveral conferences with theſe that were appointed by the King to treat with them; they finding they could not prevail with them, wrote a long and Learned Letter to the King, againſt the taking away the Chalice in the Sacrament, and againſt private Maſſes and the Celibate of the Clergy, with ſome other abuſes which the Reader will find in the Collection, as it is Copied from the Original which I have ſeen. To this I have added the Anſwer which the King wrote to it: He employed *Tonſtall* Biſhop of *Dureſm* to draw it, for I have ſeen a rude draught of a great part of it written with his hand. By both

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 6.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 7.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 8.

both theſe compared together, every indifferent Reader will clearly ſee the force and ſimplicity of the Arguments on the one hand, and the art and ſhuffling that was uſed on the other ſide. As ſoon as the Act was paſt, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to the contrary, they in an Audience before the King, repreſented the great concern their Maſters would have, when the King on whom they had relyed ſo much, as the Defender of the Faith, ſhould proceed with the ſeverity expreſſed in that Act, againſt thoſe that agreed with them in Doctrine, and preſſed the King earneſtly to put a ſtop to the Execution of it. The King promiſed he would ſee to it, and that though he judged the Act neceſſary to reſtrain the Inſolence of ſome of his Subjects; yet it ſhould not be Executed but upon great provocation: he alſo propoſed the renewing a Civil League with them, without mentioning matters of Religion. To this the Princes made anſwer, that the League as it was at firſt projected, was chiefly upon a deſign of Religion, and therefore without a common conſent of all that were in their League, they could not alter it: they lamented this paſſing of the late Act, but writ their thanks to the King for ſtopping the Execution of it, and warn'd him that ſome of his Biſhops, who ſet him on to theſe courſes, were in their hearts ſtill for all the old Abuſes, and for the Popes Supremacy, and were preſſing on the King to be ſevere againſt his beſt Subjects, that they might thereby bring on a deſign which they could not hope to effect any other way: they adviſed the King to beware of ſuch Counſels. They alſo propoſed that there might be a Conference agreed on between ſuch Divines as the King would name, and ſuch as they ſhould depute, to meet either in *Gueldres*, *Hamburgh*, *Bremen*, or any other place that ſhould be appointed by the King, to examine the Lawfulneſs of private Maſſes, of denying the Chalice, and the Prohibiting the Marriage of the Clergy. On theſe things they continued treating till the Divorce of *Anne* of *Cleve* and *Cromwells* fall, after which I find little Correſpondence between the King and them.

Ad Page 256. line 4.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 9.

When I mentioned the Kings Letters, directing the Biſhops how to proceed in a Reformation, I had not ſeen them, but I have ſince ſeen an Original of them ſubſcribed by the Kings hand. In theſe he challenged the Clergy as guilty of great Indiſcretions: that the late Rebellion had been occaſioned by them; therefore he required the Biſhops to take care, that the Articles formerly publiſhed ſhould be exactly obeyed; and to go over their Dioceſes in perſon, and preach Obedience to the Laws, and the good ends of thoſe Ceremonies that were then retained, that the people might neither deſpiſe them, nor put too much truſt in them: and to ſilence all diſputes and contentions concerning things indifferent; and to ſignifie to the Kings Council, if there were any Prieſts in their Dioceſſes that were Marryed, and yet did diſcharge any part of the Prieſtly Office. All which, will be better underſtood by the Letter it ſelf, that I have put into the Collection.

Ad

Ad Page 258. *line* 8.

I do there acknowledg that I knew not what Argumeuts were uſed againſt the neceſſity of Auricular Confeſſion: But I have made ſince that time, a Conſiderable diſcovery in this particular, from an Original Letter written all with the Kings own hand to *Tonſtal*; by which it appears, there had been conferences in the Houſe, and that the Arch-Biſhop of *York*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* and *Dureſm* had pleaded much for it, as neceſſary by a Divine Inſtitution, and that both the King and the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* had maintained, that though it was good and profitable, yet it was not neceſſary by any precept of the Goſpel: and that though the Biſhops brought ſeveral texts out of Scripture and Ancient Doctors, yet theſe were ſo clearly anſwered by the King, and the Arch-Biſhop, that the whole Houſe was ſatisfied with it: Yet *Tonſtall* drew up in a writing all the reaſons he had made uſe of in that debate, and brought them to the King, which will be found in the Collection, with the Anotations and reflections which the King wrote on the Margent, with his own hand, taken from the Original; together with the Kings Letter written in anſwer to them: By this it will appear that the King did ſet himſelf much to ſtudy points of Divinity, and examined matters with a ſcrupulous exactneſs. The iſſue of the debate was, that though the Popiſh party endeavoured to have got Auricular Confeſſion declared to be Commanded by Chriſt, as a part of the Sacrament of Pennance; yet the King overruled that, ſo it was enacted that Auricular Confeſſion *was neceſſary and expedient to be retained in the Church of God.* Theſe debates were in the Houſe of Lords, which appears not only by the Kings Letter, that ſpeaks of the *Houſe*, but by the Act of Parliament in the Preamble of which it is ſaid, that the King had come himſelf to the Parliament, and had opened ſeveral points of high Learning to them.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 10.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 11.

Ad Page 262. *line* 23.

There I mention the Kings diligence in drawing an Act of Parliament with his own hand; but ſince that was Printed, I have ſeen many other Acts and Papers, if not Originally Penned by the King, yet ſo much altered by his Corrections, that in ſome ſort they may be eſteemed his draughts.. There are two draughts of the Act of the ſix Articles, both corrected in many places by the King, and in ſome of theſe the Correction is three lines long. There is another Act concerning Precontracts of Marriage, likewiſe Corrected very much by his Pen. Many draughts of Proclamations, particularly theſe about the uſe of the Bible in *Engliſh* are yet extant interlined and altered with his Pen. There is a large Paper written by *Tonſtall*, of arguments for Purgatory, with Copious Animadverſions on it, likewiſe written by the King; which ſhew that then he did not believe there was a Purgatory. I have alſo ſeen the draught of that part of the Neceſſary Erudition for a Chriſtian man, which explains the Creed, full of Corrections

with

with the Kings own Pen; as alſo the Queries concerning the Sacraments mentioned page 289. with large Annotations written with his hand on the Margent, likewiſe an Extract all written with his own hand of paſſages out of the Fathers againſt the Marriage of the Clergy: and to conclude there is a Paper with which the Collection ends, containing the true Notion of the Catholick Church, which has large Emendations added with the Kings hand, thoſe I have ſet by themſelves on the Margent of the Paper.

Collect. Addenda *Numb.* 12.

A

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Former Hiſtory.

I. *The Record of Card.* Adrian's *Oath of Fidelity to* Henry *the 7th, for the Biſhoprick of* Bath *and* Wells.

HEnricus Rex, &c. Reverend. in Chriſto Patri Domino Sylveſtro Epiſcop. Wigorn. venerabili viro Domino Roberto Sherbourn Eccleſiæ Sancti Pauli London. decano, noſtris in Romana curia oratoribus, ac Magiſtro Hugoni Yowng Sacræ Theologiæ Profeſſori, ſalutem. Cum omnes & ſinguli Archiepiſcopi & Epiſcopi hujus noſtri Inclyti Regni, quorum omnium nominationes, & promotiones, ad ipſas ſupremas dignitates, nobis attinent ex regali & peculiari quadam Prærogativa, jureq; municipali, ac inveterata conſuetudine, hactenus in hoc noſtro Regno inconcuſſe & inviolabiliter obſervata, teneantur & aſtringantur, ſtatim & immediate poſt impetratas Bullas Apoſtolicas, ſuper eorundem promotione ad ipſam noſtram nominationem, coram nobis & in præſentia noſtra, ſi in hoc Regno noſtro fuerunt; vel coram Commiſſarijs noſtris, ad hoc ſufficienter & legittime deputatis, ſi alibi moram traxerunt, non ſolum palam, publice, & expreſſe, totaliter cedere, & in manus noſtras renunciare omnibus, & quibuſcunq; verbis, clauſulis, & ſententiis in ipſis Bullis Apoſtolicis contentis, & deſcriptis, quæ ſunt, vel quovis modo in futurum eſſe poterunt, præjudicialia, ſive damnoſa, nobis, hæredibuſq; de corpore noſtro legittime procreatis Angliæ regibus, Coronæ aut Regno noſtro, juribus vel conſuetudinibus aut Prærogativis ejuſdem Regni noſtri, & quoad hoc totaliter ſeipſos ſubmittere & ponere in noſtra bona venia & gratia; ſed etiam juramentum fidelitatis & homagij ad Sancta Dei Evangelia, per eoſdem reſpective corporaliter tacta, nobis facere & præſtare: Cumq; nos ob præclara merita eximiaſq; virtutes quibus Reverendiſſimum in Chriſto Patrem, Dominum Adrianum tituli Sancti Chriſogoni Preſbyterum Cardinalem, abunde refertum conſpicimus, obq; diuturnum & fidele obſequium per ipſum Cardinalem nobis factum & impenſum, eundem ad Eccleſias Bathon. & Wellen. invicem unitas nominavimus & promovimus, qui idcirco & ob id quod in curia Romana continue moram trahit, non poteſt commode hujuſmodi renunciationem & juramentum coram nobis perſonaliter facere & præſtare: Hinc eſt quod nos de fidelitatibus veſtris & provida circumſpectione, ad plenum confidentes, dedimus, & conceſſimus, ac per præſentes damus & concedimus, vobis, tribus aut duobus veſtrum, quorum præfatum Epiſcopum Wigorn. unicum eſſe volumus, plenam poteſtatem & autoritatem, vice & nomine noſtris, hujuſmodi renunciationem in manus veſtras, & juramentum ad Sancta Dei Evangelia corporaliter tacta, juxta formam & verum tenorem, de verbo in verbum inferius deſcriptum, ab eodem Reverendiſſimo Domino Cardinali recipiendi, exigendi, & cum effectu præſtari videndi; ipſumq; Cardinalem, ut hujuſmodi renunciationem & juramentum per ipſum ſic ut permittatis fiendum, & præſtandum, manu & ſubſcriptione ſuis ſignet, & muniat, requirendi, & ut ita fiat cum effectu videndi, literas quoq; & inſtrumenta publica ſuper hujuſmodi renunciatione, & juramento fieri petendi, & notarium ſive notarios publicos, unum

Treat. Rolls.

unum vel plures, ut ipſa inſtrumenta conficiant; Necnon teſtes qui tunc præſentes erunt, ut veritati teſtimonium perhibeant rogandi & requirendi, ipſâq; juramentum vel inſtrumenta taliter fienda, verum ordinem rei gerendæ, & renunciationis ac juramenti tenores in ſe continens vel continentia, nobis deſtinandi & tranſmittendi; Et generaliter omnia & ſingula faciendi, gerendi, & exercendi, quæ in prædictis & quolibet prædictorum neceſſaria fuerint, ſeu quomodolibet opportuna, ac quæ rei qualitas exigit & requirit, & quæ noſipſi facere & exercere poſſemus ſi præſens & perſonaliter intereſſemus, etiam ſi talia forent quæ de ſe mandatum exigant magis ſpeciale. Tenor Renunciationis ſequitur & eſt talis: Ego Adrianus miſeratione divina tituli Sancti Chriſogoni Preſbyt. Cardinalis Epiſcopus Bathon. & Wellen. coram vobis Reverendo Patre Epiſcopo Wigorn. Domino Roberto Shurborno decano Sancti Pauli London. & Hugone Yowng in Theologia Profeſſore, Commiſſariis ad hoc a ſereniſſimo atq; excellentiſſimo Principe Domino Henrico Dei Gratia Rege Angliæ, & Franciæ, & Domino Hiberniæ, ejus nominis ſeptimo, Domino meo ſupremo, ſufficienter & legittime deputatis, expreſſe renuncio, & in his ſcriptis manu & ſigillo meis in præſentia notariorum & teſtium ſubſcriptorum munitis, totaliter cedo omnibus & quibuſcunq; verbis, clauſulis & ſententiis, in bullis Apoſtolicis mihi factis de prædict. Epiſcopat. Bathon. & Wellen. contentis & deſcriptis, quæ ſunt vel quovis modo in futurũ eſſe poterint præjudicialia ſive damnoſa præfato ſereniſſimo Regi, Domino meo ſupremo, & hæredibus ſuis de corpore ſuo legittime procreatis Angl. Regibus, Coronæ aut Regno, ſive Majeſtatis Juribus vel conſuetudinibus, aut Prærogativis ejuſdem Regni: & quoad hoc me integraliter ſubmitto & pono in gratia ſuæ Celſitudinis, humillime ſupplicans ſuam Majeſtatem, dignetur mihi concedere temporalia dicti Epiſcopatus Bathon. & Wellen. quæ recognoſco tenere a ſua Majeſtate tanquam a Domino meo Supremo. Tenor Juramenti ſequitur & eſt talis: Et ego idem Adrianus Cardinalis prædictus Juro ad hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia per me corporaliter tacta, quod ab hac die & in antea, vita mea naturali durante, ero fidelis & verus ligens, ac fidelitatem in ligencia mea pure & ſincere ſervabo, fideleq; & verum obſequium ſecundum optimum poſſe meum faciam & impendam ſereniſſimo Principi Henrico ejus nominis ſeptimo, Dei Gratia Angl. & Fran. Regi ac Domino Hiber. Domino meo ſupremo, & hæredibus ſuis de corpore ſuo legittime procreatis Angl. Regibus, contra quaſcunq; perſonas, cujuſcunq; ſtatus, gradus, præeminentiæ aut conditionis extiterint: nec quicquam faciam aut attemptabo fieri, ne aut attemptari conſentiam, quod in damnum, incommodum, aut præjudicium, ipſius ſereniſſimi Regis aut hæredum ſuorum prædictorum, jurium, libertatum, Prærogativarum, privilegiorum & conſuetudinum ſui incliti Regni, quovis modo cedere poterit; ſed omne id quod jam ſcio, vel impoſterum cognoſcam inhonorabile, damnoſum aut præjudiciale, ſuæ Serenitati, aut Regno ſuo, ſeu contrarium honori aut Serenitati ſuæ Majeſtatis, aut hæredum ſuorum prædictorum, non ſolum impediam ad extremum potentiæ meæ, ſed etiam cum omni poſſibili diligentia id oſtendam et ſignificabo, oſtendive aut ſignificari faciam eidem ſereniſſimo Regi, omni favore, metu, promiſſo aut Jurejurando cuicunq; perſonæ aut quibuſcunq; perſonis cujuſcunq; ſtatus, gradus, ordinis præeminentiæ conditioniſve extiterunt, quod antehac per me factũ aut interpoſitũ ſeu impoſterum fiendũ aut interponendũ, penitus ſublato & non obſtantibus. Honorem inſuper ſuæ Majeſtati ad extremum potentiæ meæ

ſervabo,

ſervabo, Parliamentis quoq; & aliis Conſiliis ſuæ Celſitudinis cum in ejus Regno fuero diligenter attendam; Conſilium quod ſua Serenitas per ſe ceu literas aut nuncium ſuum mihi manifeſtabit, nemini pandam, niſi iis quibus ipſe juſſerit: & ſi conſilium meum ſuper aliquo facto Majeſtas ſua poſtulaverit, fideliter ſibi conſulam, & quod magis ſuæ Serenitati videbitur expedire, & conducere juxta opinionem & ſcire meum, dicam & aperiam, atque id ſi ſua Serenitas mandaverit pro poſſe meo diligenter faciam. Cauſas inſuper & negotia omnia ſuæ Serenitatis mihi commiſſa, ſeu imposterum committenda, in Curia Romana proſequenda, pertractanda & ſolicitanda, fideliter, accurate & diligenter, cum omnimoda dexteritate proſequar, pertractabo & ſolicitabo: Bullaſq; & alias Literas Apoſtolicas validas & efficaces, in debita Juris forma, ſuper eiſdem cauſis & negotiis impetrare & obtinere abſq; fraude, dolo aut ſiniſtra quavis machinatione quantum in me erit, cum omni effectu enitar, operam dabo & conabor: ac eaſdem taliter expeditas, cum ea quam res expoſtulat diligentia, ſuæ Serenitati, tranſmittam aut per alios tranſmitti, tradi & liberari curabo, & faciam. Servitia quoq; & homagia pro temporalibus dicti Epiſcopatus, quæ recognoſco tenere a ſua Celſitudine tanquam a Domino meo ſupremo, fideliter faciam & implebo. Ita me Deus adjuvet & hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia. In cujus, &c. T.R. apud Weſtm. 13 die Octob.

Per ipſum Regem.

II. *Pope* Julius's *Letter to Archbiſhop* Warham *for giving K.* Henry *the 8th the Golden Roſe.*

Julius Secundus Papa venerabili Fratri Guilielmo Archiepiſcop. Cantuarien.

VEnerabilis Frater, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Chariſſimum in Chriſto Filium noſtrum Henricum Angliæ Regem Illuſtriſſimum, quem peculiari charitate complectimur, aliquo inſigni Apoſtolico munere in hoc Regni ſui primordio, decorandum putantes, mittimus nunc ad eum Roſam Auream, Sancto Chriſmate delibutam, & odorifero Muſco aſperſam, noſtriſq; manibus de more Romanorum Pontificum benedictam, quam ei a tua Fraternitate inter Miſſarum ſolemnia per te celebranda, cum cæremoniis in notula alligata contentis, dari volumus noſtra & Apoſtolica benedictione. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum ſub Annulo Piſcatoris 5 April. 1510. Pontificatus noſtri Anno ſeptimo. Regiſtrum *Warhami* Fol. 26.

Sigiſmundus.

The Note of the Ceremonies of delivering the Roſe, referred to in the Letter, was not thought worthy to be put in the Regiſter.

III. *A Writ for Summoning Convocations.*

REX, &c. Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri Cantuarien. Archiepiſc. totius Angliæ Primati & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legato, ſalutem. Quibuſdam arduis & urgentibus negotiis, Nos, defenſionem & ſecuritatem *Tonſt.* Regiſt. Fol. 33.

Eccleſiæ

Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, ac pacem, tranquillitatem, & bonum publicum, & defenſionem Regni noſtri & ſubditorum noſtrorum ejuſdem concernentibus, vobis in fide & dilectione quibus nobis tenemini rogando mandamus, quatenus præmiſſis debito intuitu attentis & ponderatis, univerſos & ſingulos Epiſcopos veſtræ Provinciæ, ac Decanos & Priores Eccleſiarum Cathedralium, Abbates, Priores & alios Electivos, Exemptos & non exemptos, necnon Archidiaconos, Conventus, Capitula, & Collegia, totumq; Clerum, cujuſlibet Dioceſeos ejuſdem Provinciæ, ad conveniendum coram vobis in Eccleſia Sancti Pauli London. vel alibi prout melius expedire videritis, cum omni celeritate accommoda, modo debito convocari faciatis ad tractandum, conſentiendum, & concludendum ſuper præmiſſis, & aliis quæ ſibi clarius proponentur, tunc & ibidem ex parte noſtra. Et hoc, ſicut Nos et ſtatum Regni noſtri, & honorem & utilitatem Eccleſiæ prædictæ diligitis, nullatenus omittatis. Teſte meipſo, &c. apud Weſtminſt. 6. Feb. Anno Regni 14.

Warham *in his Writ of executing this Summons, prefixes the 20th of* April *for the day of their meeting.*

IV. *A Writ for a Convocation ſummoned by* Warham *on an Eccleſiaſtical account.*

Regiſt. *Fitz-Williams.*

WIllielmus permiſſione divina Cantuar. Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas & Apoſtolicæ ſedis Legatus, venerabili confratri noſtro Domino Ricardo Dei Gratia London. Epiſcopo, ſalutem & fraternam in Domino caritatem. Cum nuper Eccleſia Anglicana, quæ majorum noſtrorum temporibus, multis ac magnis libertatibus & immunitatibus gaudere ſolebat, quorundam iniquorum hominum malitiis, & nequitiis fortiter fuerit inquietata & perturbata, qui omnia quæ a majoribus noſtris ſancte & pie, ob tranquillitatem dictæ Eccleſiæ, fuerunt ordinata ac ſancita, vel prava & ſiniſtra interpretatione prope ſubvertentes, vel perſonas Eccleſiaſticas male tractantes, ac eas contemptui habentes, dictam Eccleſiam pene proſtraverunt ac pedibus conculcarunt: Ne igitur dicta Eccleſia Anglicana ad calamitatem inſignem ſeu ruinam ac jacturam, & quod abſit, deſolationem perveniat, quas diu eadem Eccleſia Anglicana per diverſas perſonas, ut præfertur præ oculis ſuis Deum non habentes, nec cenſuras Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ timentes, ſuſtinuit & ſuſtinebat, prout de veriſimili Reformatione non habita in futurum ſuſtinere debeat; Nos prout tenemur, congruum remedium in hac parte providere cupientes, & ob id ipſum Prælatos & Clerum noſtræ Cantuar. Provinciæ convocare volentes; Fraternitati veſtræ igitur committimus & mandamus, quatenus omnes & ſingulos dictæ noſtræ Cant. Eccleſiæ Suffraganeos infra noſtram Provinciam conſtitutos, & abſentium Epiſcoporum ſi qui fuerunt Vicarios in Spiritualibus generales, ac Dioceſium vacantium Cuſtodes Spiritualitatis, & Officiales citetis ſeu citari faciatis, peremptorie, & per eos Decanos & Priores Eccleſiarum Cath. ac ſingula Capitula eorundum, Archidiaconos, Abbates & Priores, Conventus ſub ſe habentes, & alios Eccleſiarum Prælatos exemptos, & non exemptos, Clerumq; cujuſlibet Dioceſeos Provinciæ noſtræ antedictæ, citari peremptorie & præmoneri volumus

volumus & mandamus, Quod iidem Epiſcopi Suffraganei, noſtri Vicarii Generales, Decani & Cuſtodes ſive Officiales, Abbates, Priores, Archidiaconi ac cæteri Eccleſiarum Prælati, exempti & non exempti, perſonaliter, & quodlibet Capitulum Eccleſiarum Cath. per unum de Capitulo graduatum, vel magis idoneum, dictiq; ſinguli Abbates, ſive Priores, Conventus ſub ſe habentes, nullo obſtante impedimento legittimo, per unam Religioſam perſonam de Conventu graduatam ſi quæ ſit, ceu alias per unam magis idoneam de eodem Conventu, Cleruſq; cujuſlibet Dioc. Provinciæ antedictæ per duos procuratores graduatos ejuſdem Dioc. ſeu alias ſi non fuerunt, per duos ſufficientiores & habiliores Dioc. in eorum Beneficiis realiter reſidentes, compareant coram nobis aut noſtris in hac parte locumtenentibus, vel Commiſſariis ſi nos tunc (quod abſit) impediri contigerit in Eccleſia Cathed. Sancti Pauli London. die Sabbat. viz. 26. menſis Januarii &c. Dat in Manerio noſtro de Lambeth. primo die menſis Novembris Anno Domini milleſimo quingenteſimo nono, & noſtræ Tranſlat. Anno ſexto.

V. *The Preamble of the Act of Subſidy granted by the Clergy.*

QUum Illuſtriſſimus & Potentiſſimus Dominus noſter Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, Defenſor Fidei & Dominus Hiberni. ſemper extitit conſtantiſſimus Eccleſiæ Protector & Patronus optime meritus, atq; ſuperioribus annis, in diebus fœlicis recordationis Julij ejus nominis Papæ ſecundi, grave Schiſma in Eccleſia Romana exortum pacavit & extinxit; & poſtea ipſam Eccleſiam Romanam contra vim & potentiam Gallorum, qui tunc Italiam & Urbem Romanam in ſervitutem redigere moliebantur, validiſſimo excercitu & bello longe omnium ſumptuoſiſſimo fæliciter defendit, & ſecuram reddidit: Ac præterea poſtremis his diebus Lutheranas, Hæreſes, in Eccleſiæ Sacramenta Eccleſiæq; ſtatum furioſe debaccantes doctiſſimo & nunquam ſatis laudato libello contudit & ſuperavit; viciſſim tam gladio quam calamo hoſtes Eccleſiæ ſtrenuiſſime profligans, quibus meritis ſuam clariſſimam famam immortali gloriæ pariter conſecravit, tales laudes & gratias ſua incomparabili bonitate ab Eccleſia promeruit, quales nunquam ſatis dignas quiſquam mortaliū referre poterit ſed Deus affatim perſolvet præmia digna. Quumq; idem Rex noſter & Protector illuſtriſſimus a Rege Gallorum per Mare & per Terras, incolas hujus Regni contra percuſſum fœdus, promiſſam fidem, & ſuum ipſius ſalvum conductum aſſidue infeſtante, & Scotos contra Regnum hoc inſtigante ac ſuis ſtipendiis conducente, atq; ducem Albaniæ in perniciem principis Scotorum noſtri Regis ex ſorore Nepotis impellente, aliaſq; injurias multas & graves contra Regiam Majeſtatem ſuoſq; amicos & ſubditos quotidie multiplicante, provocatur, irritatur atq; urgetur ut bellum ſuſcipiat, ſuumq; Regnum tam contra Gallos quam contra Scotos ut decet invictiſſimum Principem potenter defendat; non enim ultra pacem colere vel pacem longius expectare convenit poſtquam Rex Gallorum ſummum Pontificem bene moventem, & quæ pacis ſunt ſuadentem, audire recuſat, exercitum inſtruens & bellum apparans, fortaſſis in multos annos duraturum: digniſſimum eſt ob præfata tam præclara facinora, ut ſicut Rex noſter illuſtriſſimus plus cæteris Regibus anteceſſoribus ſuis pro Eccleſiæ defenſione, utilitate & honore inſudavit, & plus expenſarum ſuſtinuit; ita ad ſuſti-

Anno Dom. 1523. Regiſt. *Cuthberti Tonſtall.* Folio 40.

nenda

nenda bellorum onera imminentia, pro Eccleſiæ & totius Regni hujus defenſione, per Eccleſiam tali ſubſidio adjuvetur quale anterioribus Regibus nunquam antehac conceſſum eſt, nec fortaſſis poſterioribus Regibus unquam ſimile, niſi ob talia benefacta vel extremam bellorum neceſſitatem poſtea concedetur. Quocirca ut Regia Majeſtas ad fovendam & protegendam Eccleſiam,& Clerum Angliæ,magis indies animetur,& ut jura, libertates & privilegia Eccleſiæ conceſſa benigne Eccleſiæ ſervet, & ab aliis ſervari faciat, & ne præfata benefacta in ingratos contuliſſe videatur.

NOs Prælati & Clerus Cant. Provinciæ in hac Sacra Synodo Provinciali ſive Prælatorum & Cleri ejuſdem Convocatione,in Eccleſia Cathed. Divi Pauli London. viceſimo die menſis Aprilis Anno Dom.milleſimo quingenteſimo viceſimo tertio inchoata, ac uſq; ad & in decimum quartum diem menſis Auguſti proxime ex tunc ſequentis de diebus in dies continuata, congregati, Illuſtriſſimo Domino Regi perpetuo & potentiſſimo Fidei & Eccleſiæ defenſori, ſubſidium dare & concedere Decrevimus, quam noſtram Benevolentiam ut gratam & acceptam habeat humillime deprecamur, proteſtantes expreſſe, quod per præſentem conceſſionem, quam tanquam novam & ante inſolitam pro noſtra ſingulari & perſonali in Regiam Majeſtatem obſervantia ſine exemplo donamus, omnino nolumus Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ aut ſucceſſoribus noſtris in aliquo præjudicium generari,nec caſum hunc ſingularem ad ſequen. trahi: Quod ſi præſentem Conceſſionem pro exemplo & (ut vocant) pro Præſidente ad ſimiles unquam Conceſſiones exigendas accipiendam fore præſentiremus, certe in eam omnino conſentire recuſaſſemus; quandoquidem ſubſidium ſub modis, formis, conditionibus, exceptionibus ac proviſionibus, & proteſtatione ſuper & infraſcriptis, & non aliter, neq; alio modo, Damus & Concedimus, viz. Subſidium ſe extendens ad Medietatem ſive mediam partem valoris omnium fructuum reddituum, & proventuum, poſſeſſionum, unius anni, omnium & ſingulorum Epiſcopatuum,Eccleſiarum Cathed. & Collegiatarum, Dignitatum, Hoſpitalium, Monaſt. Abbaciarum, Prioratuum aliarumq; domorum Religioſarum, necnon quorumcunq; beneficiorum & Poſſeſſionum Eccleſiaſticarum, &c.

VI. *Biſhop* Tonſtal's *Licence to Sir* Thomas More *for reading Heretical Books.*

Regiſt. *Tonſt.* Fol. 138.

CUthbertus permiſſione Divina London. Epiſcopus Clariſſimo & Egregio viro Domino Thomæ More fratri & amico Chariſſimo Salutem in Domino & benedict. Quia nuper, poſtquam Eccleſia Dei per Germaniam ab hæreticis infeſtata eſt, juncti ſunt nonnulli iniquitatis Filii, qui veterem & damnatam hæreſim Wyckliffianam & Lutherianam, etiam hæreſis Wycliffianæ alumni tranſferendis in noſtratem vernaculam linguam corruptiſſimis quibuſcunq; eorum opuſculis,atque illis ipſis magna copia impreſſis, in hanc noſtram Regionem inducere conantur; quam ſane peſtilentiſſimis dogmatibus Catholicæ fidei veritati repugnantibus maculare atq; inficere magnis conatibus moliuntur. Magnopere igitur verendum eſt ne Catholica veritas in totum periclitetur niſi boni

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& eruditi viri malignitati tam prædictorum hominum ſtrenue occurrant, id quod nulla ratione melius & aptius fieri poterit, quam ſi in lingua Catholica veritas in totum expugnans hæc inſana dogmata ſimul etiam ipſiſſima prodeat in lucem. Quo fiet ut Sacrarum Literarum imperiti homines in manus ſumentes novos iſtos Hæreticos Libros, atq; una etiam Catholicos ipſos refellentes, vel ipſi per ſe verum diſcernere, vel ab aliis quorum perſpicacius eſt judicium recte admoneri & doceri poſſint. Et quia tu, Frater Clariſſime, in lingua noſtra vernacula, ſicut etiam in Latina, Demoſthenem quendam præſtare potes, & Catholicæ veritatis aſſertor acerrimus in omni congreſſu eſſe ſoles, melius ſubciſivas horas, ſi quas tuis occupationibus ſuffurari potes, collocare nunquam poteris, quam in noſtrate lingua aliqua edas quæ ſimplicibus & ideotis hominibus ſubdolam hæreticorum malignitatem aperiant, ac contra tam impios Eccleſiæ ſupplantatores reddant eos inſtructiores: habes ad id exemplum quod imiteris præclariſſimum, illuſtriſſimi Domini noſtri Regis Henrici octavi, qui Sacramenta Eccleſiæ contra Lutherum totis viribus ea ſubvertentē aſſerere aggreſſus, immortale nomen Defenſoris Eccleſiæ in omne ævum promeruit. Et ne Andabatarum more cum ejuſmodi larvis lucteris, ignorans ipſe quod oppugnes, mitto ad te inſanas in noſtrate lingua iſtorū nænias, atque una etiam nonnullos Lutheri Libros ex quibus hæc opinionū monſtra prodierunt Quibus abs te diligenter perlectis, facilius intelligas quibus latibulis tortuoſi ſerpentes ſeſe condant, quibuſq; anfractibus elabi deprehenſi ſtudeant. Magni enim ad victoriam momenti eſt hoſtium Conſilia explorata habere, & quid ſentiant quove tendant penitus noſſe: nam ſi convellere pares quæ iſti ſe non ſenſiſſe dicent, in totum perdas operam. Macte igitur virtute, tam ſanctum opus aggredere, quo & Dei Eccleſiæ proſis, & tibi immortale nomen atq; æternam in Cœlis gloriam pares: quod ut facias atque Dei Eccleſiam tuo patrocinio munias, magnopere in Domino obſecramus, atq; ad illum finem ejuſmodi libros & retinendi & legendi facultatem atq; licentiam impertimur & concedimus. Dat. 7 die Martii, Anno 1527 & noſtræ Conſ. ſexto.

Ad Librum Secundum.

I. *The Bull for the King's Marriage with Queen* Katherine.

JUlius Epiſcopus ſervus ſervorum Dei, dilecto Filio Henrico cariſſimi in Chriſto Filii Henrici Angliæ Regis illuſtriſſ. * Nato, & dilectæ in Chriſto Filiæ Catharinæ, Cariſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri Ferdinandi Regis, ac Cariſſimæ in Chriſto Filiæ noſtræ Elizabeth. Reginæ Hiſpaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicorum natæ, illuſtribus, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens Autoritas conceſſa ſibi deſuper utitur poteſtate, prout perſonarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate penſata, id in Domino conſpicit ſalubriter expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte veſtra petitionis ſeries continebat, Quod cum alias tu Filia Catharina, & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus, Cariſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri Henrici Angliæ Regis illuſtriſſimi primogenitus, pro conſervandis pacis & amicitiæ nexibus & fœderibus inter cariſſimum in Chriſto Filium noſtrum Ferdinandum, & Cariſſimam in Chriſto Filiam noſtram

Cott. libr. Vitel. B. 12.

noſtram Elizabeth. Hiſpaniarum & Siciliæ Catholicos, ac præfatum Angliæ Reges & Reginam, matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti contraxiſſetis, illudq; carnali Copula forſan conſummaviſſetis, Dominus Arthurus prole ex hujuſmodi Matrimonio non ſuſcepta deceſſit; Cum autem, ſicut eadem petitio ſubjungebat, ad hoc ut hujuſmodi vinclum Pacis & Amicitiæ inter præfatos Reges & Reginam diutius permaneat, cupiatis Matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præſenti contrahere, ſupplicari nobis feciſtis, ut vobis in præmiſſis de opportunæ Diſpenſationis gratia providere de benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur: Nos igitur, qui inter ſingulos Chriſti fideles, præſertim Catholicos Reges & Principes, Pacis & Concordiæ amænitatem vigere intenſis deſideriis affectamus, voſque & quemlibet veſtrum a quibuſcunque Excommunicationis, Suſpenſionis & Interdict. aliiſque Eccleſiaſticis Sententiis, Cenſuris, Pœnis, a jure vel ab homine, quavis occaſione vel cauſa latis, ſi quibus quomodolibet innodati exiſtitis, ad effectum præſentium duntaxat conſequendum, harum ſerie abſolventes, & abſolutos fore cenſentes hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, vobiſcum, ut impedimento affinitatis hujuſmodi ex præmiſſis proveniente, ac Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis cæteriſq; contrariis nequaquam obſtantibus, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti inter vos contrahere, & in eo, poſtquam Contractum fuerit, etiamſi jam forſan hactenus de facto publice vel clandeſtine contraxeritis, ac illud Carnali Copula conſummaveritis, licite remanere valeatis, Auctoritate Apoſtolica tenore præſentium de ſpecialis dono Gratiæ Diſpenſamus; ac vos & quemlibet veſtrorum ſi contraxeritis (ut præfertur) ab exceſſu hujuſmodi, ac Excommunicationis Sententia quam propterea incurriſtis, eadem Auctoritate Abſolvimus, Prolem ex hujuſmodi Matrimonio, ſive contracto, ſive contrahendo, ſuſceptam forſan vel ſuſcipiendam legitimam decernendo. Proviſo quod tu (Filia Catharina) propter hoc rapta non fueris; volumus autem quod ſi hujuſmodi Matrimonium de facto contraxiſtis, Confeſſor, per vos & quemlibet veſtrum eligendus, pœnitentiam ſalutarem propterea vobis injungat, quam adimplere teneamini. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ Abſolutionis, Diſpenſationis & voluntatis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire; ſi quis autem hoc attemptare præſumpſerit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ milleſimo quingenteſimo tertio, ſeptimo Cal. Januarii, Pontificatus noſtri Anno primo.

II. *The King's Proteſtation againſt the Marriage.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitell. B.* 12. IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Coram vobis Reverendo in Chriſto Patre & Domino, Domino Richardo Dei & Apoſtolicæ ſedis gratia Epiſcopo Wintonienſi, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps, Dux Cornubiæ & Comes Ceſtriæ, dico, allego & in his Scriptis propono, Quod licet ego minorem ætatem agens, & intra annos pubertatis notorie exiſtens, cum Sereniſſima Domina Katharina Hiſpaniarum Regis Filia, Matrimonium de facto contraxerim, qui quidem Contractus, quamvis obſtante ipſa minore ætate mea de ſe jam invalidus, imperfectus, nullus efficaciæ aut vigoris extiterit; quia tamen annis pubertatis & matura ætate jam ſuperveniente, Contractus ipſe per tacitum Conſenſum, mutuam cohabitationem, munerum aut interſignium dationem ſeu receptionem, vel alium quem-

quemcunq; modum jure declaratum, forſan exiſtimari ſeu videri poterit apparenter validatus aut confirmatus; Ea-propter, Ego Henricus Walliæ Princeps prædictus, jam proximus pubertati exiſtens, & annos pubertatis attingens, Proteſtor, quod non intendo eundem prætenſum contractum per quæcunq; per me dicta ſeu dicenda, facta aut facienda, in aliquo approbare, validare, ſeu ratum habere, ſed nunc in præſenti, non vi, dolo, nec prece inductus, ſed ſponte & libere, nullo modo coactus, contra hujuſmodi Contractum reclamo, & eidem diſſentio, voloq; & omnino intendo ab eodem contractu Matrimoniali prætenſo, melioribus modo & forma, quibus de jure melius, validius, aut efficacius potero vel poſſim, penitus reſilire, & eidem expreſſe diſſentire, prout in præſenti contra eundem reclamo, & eidem diſſentio. Proteſtorq; quod per nullum dictum, factum, actum, aut geſtum per me, aut nomine meo per alium quemcunque, quandocunq; aut qualemcunque, impoſterum faciendum, agendum, gerendum, aut explicandum, volo aut intendo in præfatum contractum Matrimonialem, aut in dictam Dominam Catharinam tanquam Sponſam aut Uxorem meam conſentire. Super quibus vos omnes teſtimonium perhibere volo, requiro, rogo, atque obteſtor.

Per me Henricum Walliæ Principem.

LEcta fuit & facta ſupraſcripta Proteſtatio, per præfatum Sereniſſimum Principem Dominum Henricum, coram Reverendo in Chriſto Patre & Domino Domino Richardo permiſſione Divina Winton. Epiſcopo; Judicialiter pro tribunali ſedent. Et me Notarium infra ſcriptum ad tunc præſentem in ejus Actorum Scribam in hac parte aſſumente, & Teſtium infraſcriptorum præſentiis. Anno Dom. 1505. Indictione octava; Pontificatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini noſtri Julii, Divina Providentia eo nomine Papæ ſecundi Anno ſecundo, Menſis vero Junii die 27; quo die Dominus Sereniſſimus Princeps proximus pubertati, & annos pubertatis attingens erat, ut tunc ibidem aſſerebat, in quadam baſſa Camera infra Palatium Regium Richemondiæ, in parte occidentali ejuſdem Palatii ſituat. Super quibus omnibus & ſingulis, præfatus Sereniſſimus Princeps me Notarium præmemoratum Inſtrumentum confi-cere, & teſtes infra nominatos teſtimonium perhibere requiſivit inſtanter, & rogavit. In quorum omnium & ſingulorum fidem & teſtimonium, præfatus Sereniſſimus Princeps ſupra, & teſtes, ut præmittitur, rogati & requiſiti, ſua nomina propriis manibus infra ſcripſerunt. Acta eſt ut ſupra, quod ego Joannes Raed manu & ſigno meo manuali Atteſtor.

Giles Daubney, C. Somerſet.
Thomas Rowthale.
Nicholas Weſt.
Henry Marny.

III. *Cardinal* Wolſey's *firſt Letter to Sir* Gregory Caſſali, *about the Divorce. Taken from the Original.*

Cotton libr. *Vitellius* B. 9.

DOmine Gregori, Poſt meam cordatiſſimam Commendationem, poſt ultimum veſtrum a me diſceſſum ex compendio ad vos ſcripſi, ut ob nonnullas maximi momenti cauſas procurare differretis quod de Regiæ Majeſtatis negotio in quibuſdam nobis traditis Commiſſionibus continebatur, quoad rurſus vobis ſignificarem quid ea in re fieri vellemus. Ubi vero ad Regiam Majeſtatem rediiſſem, variis crebriſq; cum ea habitis ſermonibus, adeo abunde ac diſtincte illi aperui quam ex animo ac diligenter, & quam ſincere & ex fide, diu noctuque exoptetis eidem Regiæ Majeſtati inſervire; neque ullum unquam laborem, periculum aut moleſtiam vos velle recuſare, ut omni ſtudio ac viribus id fideliter præſtare poſſitis quod illi gratum aut acceptum quoquo modo eſſe poſſe cognoveritis, omnemq; induſtriam vos eſſe adhibituros quo veſtræ fidei curæque commiſſa optatum finem conſequantur; quem veſtrum animum propenſiſſima voluntate ſic ſub mea fide Regiæ Majeſtati inſinuavi, ut meam hanc relationem atque ſponſionem pectori ſuo conſtantiſſime adfixerit, certiſſimaque fiducia concepit, omnino futurum ut noſtræ tunc expectationi quacunque in re & occaſione reſpondeatis: Ex quo fit ut veſtræ operæ, curæ atque prudentiæ ea nunc tractanda & procuranda committat, quibus nihil magis cordi habeat, nihil ardentius exoptet, aut majoris ſit momenti vel gravioris ſucceſſus, nec ullum habet Conſiliarium, utcunque intimum, cui graviora poſſit committere. Quum itaque, me intercedente & procurante, nunc vos Regia Majeſtas præ cæteris ad hoc fidei adſciverit & elegerit, ut in re tam gravi fideliſſima veſtra opera ac miniſterio utatur, fidemque illi meam de vobis jam ei adſtrinxerim, nihil ambigens quin poſtquam ejus animum ac voluntatem cognoveritis, fueritiſque abunde inſtructi quam maximi hæc quæ nunc expono ſunt momenti, utpote quæ potiſſimum concernunt Regiæ conſcientiæ exonerationem animæque ſuæ ſalutem, vitæ conſervationem & incolumitatem, Regii Stemmatis continuationem, publicumque commodum & quietem ſubditorum omnium, eorum pariter qui ſub ejus imperio nunc vivunt vel qui poſtea unquam in hoc ſuo Regno vivent; quumque perſpiciam ſedulum veſtrum Miniſterium hoc in negotio impendendom omnino redundaturum eſſe in præcipuam veſtram exaltationem & utilitatem, poſtquam infelices iſtos jam paſſos ſucceſſus occaſionem ſe obtuliſſe videtis, qua veſtra familia hujuſmodi operam huic Sereniſſimo Principi navare poſſit, quod ſtatum omnem veſtrum in longe meliorem quam antea ſit haud dubie reſtituturus & adaucturus, certiſſimum compertiſſimumque habeo, quod ob has tam urgentes cauſas & tam graves ſucceſſuros effectus, adeo toto pectore vires omnes veſtras induſtria ac ſtudio tantæ conficiendæ rei addicetis, ut omnia queatis ad optatum exitum perducere; atque ita promiſſum fidemque meam præſtabitis, tam optimum Regiæ Majeſtatis inſtitutum juvabitis, ejus deſiderio & expectationi omni ex parte ſatisfacietis, & præter bene peractæ rei honorem & laudem comparandam, mercedem quoque reportabitis tanti Principis liberalitate dignam, quæ certiſſime cedet in perpetuum veſtrum totiuſque veſtræ familiæ commodum & incrementum: Et quum jam mihi perſuadeam futurum

rum omnino ut officiis actionibuſque veſtris ſitis promiſſis ſponſionibuſque meis omnino ſatisfacturi, ad id pluribus verbis neutiquam adhortabor, proinde ad rem nunc ipſam venio. Ante hoc tempus vobis aperui, quemadmodum Regia Majeſtas, partim aſſiduo ſuo ſtudio & eruditione, partim relatu ac judicio multorum Theologorum, & in omni Doctrinæ genere doctorum virorum aſſeveratione, exiſtimans conſcientiam ſuam non eſſe ſufficienter exoneratam, quod in conjugio exiſteret cum Regina, Deumque primo & ante omnia ac animæ ſuæ quietem & ſalutem reſpiciens, mox vero ſuæ Succeſſionis ſecuritatem, perpendenſque accurate quam gravia hinc mala provenirent, aperte ſentit quam maxime futurum ſit Deo moleſtum, inhonorificum ſibi, & ingratum apud homines, ſuiſque ſubditis periculoſum, ex hoc non ſufficienti conjugio, ſi deprehendatur dicta Majeſtas ſciens ac volens in eo perſtare, & vivere præter modum debitum, juxtaque ritum & legitima Eccleſiæ Statuta: quibus igitur ex cauſis longo jam tempore, intimo ſuæ conſcientiæ remorſu, ſummique Dei rationem habens, exiſtimat animam ſuam læſam & offenſam, adeo quod, quum in ſuis conatibus actionibuſque quibuſcunque Deum potiſſimum ſibi ſemper proponat, ingenti cum moleſtia cordiſque perturbatione in hoc Matrimonio degit; ſuper qua re maturum ſanumque judicium conſuluit clariſſimorum celeberrimorumq; Doctorum aliorumq; complurium in omni eruditionis genere excellentiorum virorum ac Prælatorum, partim Theologorum, partim Juriſperitorum, tum in ſuo Regno, tum alibi exiſtentium, ut aperte vereq; cognoſceret, an Diſpenſatio antea conceſſa pro ſe & Regina, ex eo quod Regina Fratris ſui uterini Uxor antea extiterit, valida & ſufficiens foret, neche; demumq; a variis multiſq; ex his Doctoribus aſſeritur, quod Papa non poteſt diſpenſare in primo gradu affinitatis, tanquam ex jure Divino, moraliter, naturaliterq; prohibito, ac ſi poteſt, omnes affirmant & conſentiunt quod hoc non poteſt, niſi ex urgentiſſimis & ardius cauſis, quales non ſubfuerunt, Bulla præterea Diſpenſationis fundatur & conceſſa eſt ſub quibuſdam rationibus falſo ſuggeſtis & enarratis, in ea namq; aſſeritur, quod hæc Regia Majeſtas Matrimonium hoc cum Regina percupiebat, pro bono pacis inter Henricum ſeptimum Ferdinandū & Elizabetham, quum revera nulla tunc diſſenſio aut belli ſuſpicio eſſet inter dictos Principes, vel Regiam Majeſtatem prædictam, quæ in teneris adhuc annis, nec in diſcretione aut judicio conſtitutis agebat; nunquam deinde aſſenſit, aut quicquam cognovit de hujuſmodi bullæ Impetratione, nec unquam hoc Matrimonium optavit, aut aliquid de eo accepit ante bullæ Impetrationem. Quocirca ab his omnibus Doctoribus atq; Prælatis judicatur hujuſmodi Diſpenſationem non adeo validam & idoneam eſſe ac efficacem, ut prædictum Matrimonium manifeſte juſtum legitimumq; ſit; ſed potius quod multa poſſunt objici, magnis probabilibuſq; fundata & corroborata rationibus, in non leve periculum Regiæ prolis, totiuſq; Regni ac ſubditorum gravem perturbationem. Adhæc, poſtquam Regia Majeſtas, qui Walliæ Princeps tunc erat, decimum quartum annum attigiſſet, contractus Revocatio ſubſequuta eſt, Rege Patre expreſſe nolente quod hujuſmodi Matrimonium ullo pacto ſortiretur effectum. His cauſis Rex hic Sereniſſimus, tanquam bonus & Catholicus Princeps, timens ne ob tam diuturnam cum Regina continuationem, indignatus & iratus Deus citius ex humanis evocaverit Maſculam e Regina ſuſceptam prolem, graviuſq; a Deo ſupplicium expaveſcit ſi in Matrimonio

trimonio hoc non-legitimo perſeveraverit; ex hac ideo occaſione, intimis præcordiis hunc Conſcientiæ ſcrupulum concepit, in animo nihilominus habens, pro animi conſcientiæq; ſuæ quiete & ſalute, proliſq; ſecuritate, ad Sanctam Domini noſtri ſedemq; Apoſtolicam confugere, tantæ rei remedium impetraturus confidens, quod ob complura ſua erga eam merita & officia tum calamo ingeniiq; viribus, tum armis præſtita, ſubſidia in Eccleſiæ calamitatibus prompte ſubminiſtrata, Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter non gravabitur ſua benignitate, Authoritate ac facultate, intimum hunc Regiæ Majeſtatis cordi inhærentem dolorem amovere, eumq; modum ac rationem inire qua Regia Majeſtas prædicta Uxorem aliam ducere, &, Deo volente, maſculam prolem in ſuæ ſucceſſionis ſecuritatem queat ex ea ſuſcipere, & tam certam quietem in ſuo Regno conſtituere: Quumq; ejus Sanctitas ab his nunc captiva detineatur, qui pro virili ſua forſan conabuntur impedire, turbareq; hoc Regiæ Majeſtatis deſiderium & Statutum, ipſa præterea cogitur vias omnes excogitare, quibus dicta Sanctitas de hac re dexterius & commodius inſtrui, & facilius adduci queat ad ea concedenda, quorũ medio & vigore Regiæ Majeſtatis animus & deſiderium queat optatum ſortiri effectum: Proinde ipſa Regia Majeſtas de fide, induſtria, dexteritate prudentiaq; veſtra pleniſſime confidens, vult ut ſtatim his literis acceptis, rebus aliis omnibus quibuſcunq; ab eo vel a quovis alio vobis commiſſis omnino poſthabitis, vias modoſq; omnes poſſibiles excogitetis quibus poteſtis ſecretiſſime, mutato habitu & tanquam alicujus Miniſter, vel tanquam Commiſſionem habens a Duce Ferrariæ pro nonnullis inter Pontificem & eum componendis controverſiis, vel alia qua licuerit ſecuriori via, ad Pontificis præſentiam & colloquium accedendi, omnibus arbitris ſemotis, ſi fieri poſſit; pro veſtris obeundis mandatis; quorum obtinendorum gratia, ſi ita expedire judicaveritis, eam mercedem ac pecuniarum ſummam promittetis ac tradetis, his qui revera volent atq; poterunt hoc negotium ad effectum pertrahere, quam ſummam, & ejus limitationem, judicio, prudentiæque veſtræ integram Regia Majeſtas remittit; etiam ſi his danda foret qui Pontificem aſſervant, vel cuicunq; alio qui vos tuto ad ſecretum cum ſua Sanctitate Sermonem adducere, in locumq; tutum reducere poſſet: Cujus rei gratia, aliiſq; ad hunc finem conſequendum ſuſtinendis oneribus neceſſariis, pecuniæ ad ſummam decem mille ducatorum, per Menſarios Venetias tranſmittentur, qui illic in promptu aderunt, perſolvendæ & conſignandæ Prothonotario Fratri veſtro, Regio illic exiſtenti Oratori; per eumq; de tempore in tempus ad vos tranſmitti ea ſumma poterit quam huic obtinendo negotio conducere poſſe exiſtimaveritis, nihilq; ambigo quin dictam pecuniam fideliter collocetis, ex Regiæ Majeſtatis utilitate, expectatione atq; ſententia. Atq; ubi ad Sanctum Dominum noſtrum acceſſeritis, poſt filiales & cordatiſſimas Regiæ Majeſtatis meaſq; devotas & humillimas commendationes, & poſt exhibitas a Rege Credentiæ literas, in quibus in negotii adjumentum clauſula vehemens eſt propria ejus manu conſcripta, ut ex earum exemplo cognoſcetis, ejus Sanctitati exponetis quam grave, moleſtumq; Regiæ Majeſtati & mihi ſit, audire infæliciſſimos eventus, calamitatemq; miſerandam, in qua nunc ejus Sanctitas cum Reverendiſſ. Cardinalib. verſatur, cum graviſſimo detrimento irreparabiliq; ſedis Apoſtolicæ illiuſq; Patrimonii jactura, ad quæ mala ſublevanda & corrigenda nullum in Regia Majeſtate officium deſiderabitur, quod ab ullo erga Sanctam Domini noſtri vel ſedem Apoſtolicam

ſtolicam obſervantiſſimo Principe queat excogitari; in eoq; omne meum miniſterium ac ſtudium non minus promptum aderit, quam ſi ex ea re ſolum poſſem mihi cœlum comparare: quemadmodum experientia, aliqua in parte, jam docuit, & Deo duce poſthac uberius comprobabit: quam rem copioſius optimiſq; verbis agetis, præſertim, quum ſciatis quanto & quam ſincero affectu Regia Majeſtas ejus Sanctitatem proſequatur, & quanta mea ſit in ipſam devotio, in hiſque ſermonibus inſiſtetis prout loci, temporis, negociique ratio videbitur judicio veſtro poſtulare.

Secundo, Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro ſolita veſtra dexteritate aperietis id quod in his ipſis literis ad vos ſcripſi concernens hujus Matrimonii inſufficientiam, ab hiſq; rationibus & cauſis fundamentum capietis, quæ ſuperius enarrantur integrumq; diſcurſum ejus Sanctitati declarabitis, non omittentes intrinſecum dolorem, conſcientiæ ſcrupulum, Dei rationem, Maſculæ prolis reſpectum, hujus Regni bonum, & alia omnia ut ſuperius ſcripta ſunt: addentes inſuper, nihil vehementius optari a tota Regni Nobilitate, ſubditiſq; omnibus nullo diſcrimine, quam è Regiæ Majeſtatis corpore Maſculum hæredem a Deo ſibi dari, in perpetuam conſolationem, gaudium, quietem, ac totius Regni ſecuritatem, poſteritatiſq; firmiſſimum columen; prudentiorumq; opinionem eſſe, quod Deus omnipotens a tanto bono concedendo divinam ſuam manum ſubſtrahit, ob errorem, culpamq; in dicto Matrimonio hactenus admiſſam, quæ niſi mature corrigatur, graviora ex hac occaſione in hoc Regno mala ſuccedent, quam antea unquam fuerunt audita; etenim ſi hoc negotium in ſuſpenſo & indiſcuſſum relinqueretur, hujuſmodi poſſent quæſtiones, controverſiæ & contentiones ac factiones poſt defunctum Regem exoriri, ob Regni hæreditatem, quæ non poſſent in multorum ævo reſtingui, ut antea olim ex cauſa longe leviori accidit, neq; ex re tam ambigua, tam ſævæ olim depopulationes, bella, inteſtinæq; controverſiæ exortæ, & ad multum tempus continuatæ ſunt, in extremum & ferme ultimum Regni excidium; quæ quum tam gravia ſunt, Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter veluti pater & gubernator Chriſtianitatis proſpicere ex officio debet, & quibuſcunq; modis poteſt, pro viribus adniti & conari, ut hæc Regna ac dominia quæ nunc ſuper-ſunt in fide & obedientia Eccleſiæ aſſidue contineat, inter quæ, Deo ſit laus, hoc Regnum haud recenſendum eſt inter minima ſed tanquam illud quod hactenus juvavit, & poſthac pro tuto præſidio ſemper haberi poterit, adverſus ea quæ cedere poſſent in Eccleſiæ Catholicæ vel ſanctæ fidei detrimentum.

Tertio, Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro proponetis præſentem Eccleſiæ ſtatum, rogabitiſq; ut in mentem velit redigere, quo nunc in ſtatu ſuæ Sanctitatis res cum Chriſtianis Principibus verſentur, cumq; privatæ contentiones, quæ illi ſunt cum magna eorum principum parte, addita & ambitione immoderatoq; regum appetitu & ex arbitrio ſuo, Temporale jus omne atq; Spirituale tractandi, Eccleſiaſticamq; Juriſdictionem & Authoritatem invertendi, eo certe animo ut ſedis Apoſtolicæ dignitatem extinguant; his omnibus in unum connexis ac bene conſideratis, ejus Sanctitas manifeſte cognoſcet, Principem nullum; neq; portum, aut refugium tam tutum, cui in omnem eventum queat inhærere, ſibi relictum eſſe, quam hæc Regia Majeſtas eſt quæ nihil ſibi vendicat, nil ambit, quod præjudicio eſſe poſſit dictæ Sanctitati, ſed ejus, Apoſtolicæque

que ſedis, ſemper fuit, eſt, eſſeq; decrevit firmiſſimum ſcutum, tutiſſimumq; propugnaculum, ita ſuas actiones cum cæteris Principibus firmans & connectens, ut ſemper ex ea occaſione in ſuam hanc optimam ſententiam reliquos poſſit attrahere, adeo quod Regi tam optime in Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum affecto nihil denegari debeat, utcumq; maximum quod poſſit ab ejus Sanctitate præſtari ordinaria vel abſoluta ſua Authoritate; nam procul dubio, poſt vias modoſq; omnes tentatos, omnino perſpicietur omnia alia amicitiæ officia, ſi huic quod petitur comparentur, eſſe perquam exigua, & hoc amicum officium hujuſmodi futurum, ex quo reliqua queant incrementum capere, ſine eo futura alioquin parvi ac nullius fere momenti.

Tertio, probe notandum eſt, quod res nunc aperta & petita, a Regiaq; Majeſtate tantopere optata, ex tam magno conſcientiæ ſcrupulo, cordiſq; remorſu oritur, ut unicuiq; debita ſit, quantumcunq; minori quam Regia Majeſtas ſit de Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro merito. Quocirca judicat, & pro re comperta ſibi perſuadet, quod ſi ulla meritorum vel officiorum ratio habeatur, nunc ipſius Sanctitas huic ſuo deſiderio & petitioni benigniſſime liberrimeque adjuvet, nullo prorſus dubio, difficultate, contradictione aut mora injecta. Negotiumque hujuſmodi eſt, ut cognita Diſpenſationis inſufficientia, quamvis id non requiſiviſſet Rex, ultro proponi offerrique debuiſſet ab eadem Sanctitate tanquam a Patre Spirituali, in ejus ſalutis & conſcientiæ beneficium.

In gratiam igitur & contemplationem præmiſſorum omnium inſtantiſſime vehementiſſimeq; a Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro requiretis & contendetis, ut dubio, metuq; omni ſepoſito, reſpicere velit ad cauſæ ſtatum, & ad ea quæ ſubſequutura videantur, rationemq; habere infinitorum commodorum, quæ ex hac re ſuæ Sanctitati Apoſtolicæq; ſedi inde provenient, rem hanc ſtatim, abſq; temporis tractu, & cauſæ circumſtantia, nemini eam aperiens, libere concedere & indulgere nulliq; communicata ſpecialem Commiſſionem ad hunc effectum & finem confectam in forma Brevis concedere, & ad me dirigere, Facultatem addens, ut mihi liceat quoſcunq; voluero ad me vocare, mihiq; aſciſcere ad procedendum in hac cauſa, & inquirendum de dictæ Bullæ ac Diſpenſationis ſufficientia, juxta formam ac tenorem expreſſum in quodam libello hujus rei gratia confecto; quem cum his ad vos mitto, ſic in debita forma conſcriptum & digeſtum ut non ſit futurum opus quo denuo ab ullo alio exſcribatur, ſi forſan periculoſum putaretur eam rem cuiq; patefacere vel in dubium aut dilationem protractum iri negotium, ſi ulli ex Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri officiariis committeretur rurſus conſcribendum; ſed quod in hujuſmodi periculi eventum poſſit ejus Sanctitas ſine ullo diſcrimine vel alicujus cognitione eam dicto libello ſignaturam, ſigillumq; apponere, ut aperte inde conſtet, Pontificis meram voluntatem ſic eſſe, illiuſq; Signaturæ ac Sigilli vigore, legitime & ſufficienter poſſim ego procedere ad inquiſitionem de dictæ Diſpenſationis inſufficientia, cognitionem & aliarum cauſarum & rationum, quæ adduci poſſunt pro dicti Matrimonii invaliditate.

Item cum his ad vos mitto Diſpenſationem in debita forma confectam & ſcriptam in modum Brevis, ſecreto impetrandam & expediendam eidem Signaturam vel Sigillum apponendo, vel alio quovis modo valido: Et quamvis ex hac re multa pendeant, ob quæ iſta requiruntur, &

quæ,

quæ, Deo favente, neutiquam timenda ſunt; Attamen Regia Majeſtas exemplo innitens, & recordationi complurium rerum, quæ olim præteritis temporibus fuerunt injuſte aſſerta, vel adducta, in animo habens cauſas ſuas omnes abſq; ulla controverſia aut difficultate ad perfectum finem perducere, & ne ullo quovis prætextu, argumento aut colore, poſtmodum emergente perturbarentur, hoc a Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro requirit, veluti rem neceſſariam, qua nullo pacto carere queat; firmiter confidens, quod Sanctitas ſua, benigne atq; amanter iſti ejus deſiderio aſſentiet, & concedet ſine ullo obſtaculo dictam Commiſſionem, juxta formam quam Regia Majeſtas petit & eodem tempore, atq; hæc omnia ita benigne ac liberaliter expedire, ſecretiori & validiori quo fieri poſſit modo, quo optatus finis ſubſequi poſſit in eum effectum, laudabileque propoſitum, de quo ſuperius dictum eſt; Qua ex occaſione Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum in perpetuum ſibi adſtringet, indiſſolubiliq; amicitiæ vinculo hanc Regiam Majeſtatem ſibi alligabit, quæ nulli labori, periculo, opibus, Regno, ſubditis, nec ipſi ſanguini parcens, ab ejus Sanctitate nunquam divelletur aut eam deſeret, ſed totis ſuis viribus conſtantiſſime ſemper illi adhærebit, tum in ſuæ Sanctitatis & Cardinalium liberationem, tum in hoſtibus perſequendis; ad quem finem, magnam jam pecuniarum ſummam ad Regem Chriſtianiſſimum miſit, pro illo Italiæ exercitu continuando, & præter id in animo ſtatutum habet, quod niſi Cæſar de dicta Sanctitate liberanda conſentire, & ad pacem devenire voluerit, bellum gerere adverſus has inferiores Cæſaris Regiones & Dominia, quo vehementius urgeat Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri liberationem, Eccleſiæq; in priſtinam ſuam dignitatem & authoritatem reſtitutionem, eaq; de ſe indicia exhibebit ut univerſo orbi manifeſtum ſit futurum, dictam ſuam Majeſtatem eſſe ſolidum perfectum amicum, filium obſequentiſſimum & ejus devotiſſimum; a qua pectoris ſui ſententia, nullo theſauro, nullis opibus, nullis Regnis, ſeu Ditionibus, vel occaſione quacunq; unquam adducetur, ſed ex filiali ſua obſervantia & in Chriſtianam Religionem zelo, innatoq; erga ſedem Apoſtolicam ſtudio, & præcipuo quodam affectu, quem Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro gerit: in compenſationem quoq; gratitudinis, quam tam avide in hoc ſuo negotio ab ejus Sanctitate expectat, decretum prorſus habet in conſtantiſſimo hoc & indiſſolubili amicitiæ & conjunctionis vinculo ſinceriſſimo perſtare, id quod dicta Regia Majeſtas Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum vehementiſſime rogat, ut probe velit in omnem partem librare, viciſſemq; efficere, ut ex Regiæ petitionis indulgentia palam conſtet parem benevolentiam & humanitatem a Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro ex mutuo præſtari.

Hac autem cauſa ipſius Sanctitati a vobis, ut dictum eſt, expoſita & declarata, neutiquam dubitandum eſt, quin benevole atq; libenter ſtatim adnuat Regiæ Majeſtatis expectationi & quod huic aſſentiet, dictam Commiſſionem ſecreto modo ipſa concedens, neminem de ea re ut dictum eſt, participem faciens; qui modus ſervandus eſt, ſi videritis hæc effici non poſſe, niſi cum periculo quin hæc res eis communicetur, qui eam ſint interturbaturi, vel ſi id præſtare fuerit in Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri arbitrio, tunc ejus Sanctitas non gravetur, per Brevia, vel per Bullas, prout validius & magis ſufficiens fore judicaverit, præmiſſa omnia concedere, ad quod veſtram omnem induſtriam, prudentiam, ſtudium, diligentiamq; adhibebitis: Sic omnia prudenter ac circumſpecte agentes,

ne in diſcrimen deveniatur negotium hoc his detegendi, qui illud vel impedire vel retardare forſan voluerint aut poterint, ſed potius quam ad id periculi res deducatur contenti eritis ſola dictorum libellorum Signatura, in eam formam confecta, quum ex ea palam conſtet, Pontificis aſſenſum in id actualiter concurriſſe, qui poſtea recentioribus ſcriptis, ſi ita opus fuerit, firmius confirmari corroborariq; poterit.

Et quoniam incertum eſt, utrum ante veſtrum ad Pontificem acceſſum, ejus Sanctitas fuerit in ſuam libertatem reſtituta, necne, quæ forſan libera non tanti faciet Regiæ Majeſtatis amicitiam & conjunctionem, vel allegabit, ſe nec audere nec poſſe, ex ſuis cum Cæſare conventionibus iſta concedere, nec ſecreto ullo modo, vel ullo colore, quod ea in re feciſſet apud Cæſarem juſtificare, & potuiſſet antea in Regiæ Majeſtatis auxilio pro ſua liberatione ſperans, dum adhuc detineretur captivus; eo caſu Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro in mentem redigetis, quam parum fidere poſſit ullis ſibi factis a Cæſare promiſſis, quum nulla in parte redundare poſſit in commodum aut ſecuritatem, ſed ſolum in extremum excidium ac detrimentum ſedis Apoſtolicæ; & licet ad breve tempus multa videretur Cæſar in ejus Sanctitatis gratiam facturus, compertiſſimum tamen ſemper Pontifici eſſe debet Cæſarianos ea facere, ſemperq; facturos, quæ Cæſarem poſſint exaltare, & tendant ad uſurpationem potius & depreſſionem ſtatus Eccleſiaſtici, quam ad ejus continuationem, vel conſervationem; & quotiens adverſus Eccleſiam iſta tentarentur, Regia Majeſtas in hac ſua petitione paſſa repulſam, quæ alioquin ejus Sanctitati in omnem eventum firmiſſime adhæſiſſet, & alios ſuos confœderatos in eandem ſententiam pertraxiſſet, quam, ea deficiente, in contrarium facile poſſent allici, quo animo futura ſit, & quam bene ſuum affectum & obſervantiam collocaſſe exiſtimatura: ſummæ eſt prudentiæ omnia conſiderare.

Haud incognitum præterea eſt Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum ad Cæſaris inſtantiam, quum non multam ab ejus Sanctitate gratiam promeritus eſſet, ei conceſſiſſe Diſpenſationem & Abſolutionem a jurejurando ab illo præſtito, de ducenda in Conjugem Domina Principiſſa, nullo ut par fuiſſet a Regia Majeſtate habito, ſeu petito conſenſu, non obſtante quod Cæſar in validiſſima forma, non ſolum præſtito jurejurando, ſed cautione & Eccleſiaſticarum cenſurarum & pœnarum abhibita, quod perſtringeretur de dicto Matrimonio perimplendo, ac ſi Pontifex contentus eſſe potuit, tantam ei oſtendere gratitudinem, quum veluti hoſtis indies certior tunc poterat haberi, & qui majora parabat quam juſte poſſet optare, ſuis petitionibus, Regia Majeſtate inconſulta, neutiquam parcens, quanto propenſius ejus Sanctitas adnuere debet ejus Principis voto, cujus fidem & obſervantiam vere filialem ſæpe experta eſt. Verum tamen ſi Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter difficulter viſus fuerit poſſe adduci, ut in meam Perſonam dictæ Commiſſioni aſſentiat, allegans quod non ſum indifferens, cui ex ſuæ Sanctitatis honore hoc negotium committi poſſit, cum Regiæ Majeſtati ſum ſubditus & intimus Conſiliarius, tunc tamdiu perſiſtetis ea in re, quoad vobis viſum fuerit conveniens, negotii expeditionem non ideo protrahentes, aut differentes, ſed inſtantes ut hujuſmodi Commiſſio concedatur; affirmabitiſq; me pro re nulla quantumlibet grandi, nullo favore, aut commodo, quicquam effecturum eſſe, quod averſetur officio meo, & erga Chriſtum præſtitæ profeſſioni, neq; unquam a recto, vero, juſtoq; tramite digreſſurum; Et quin Cardinalis

lis ſim & Apoſtolicæ ſedis de latere Legatus, ejus Sanctitatis honor, integraque conſcientia, a me omnino conſervaretur, ex hujuſmodique conceſſa Commiſſione, omni ex parte exoneraretur. Tandem ſi ad hoc, nullis rationibus Pontifex potuerit adduci, ab ejus Sanctitate requiretis, ut dictam velit Commiſſionem concedere in perſonam Domini Staphylei Decani Rotæ, qui & vir indifferens eſt, & hujuſmodi rei ob eruditionem accommodatus, nullo pacto omittentes Diſpenſationis expeditionem, ut dictum eſt; & hujus rei gratia Commiſſionem nunc ad vos mitto, in debita forma confectam & paratam, quæ ſignetur ad dictum Dominum Staphyleum directa, quam Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro reddetis, caſu quo alia nequeat obtineri, rogabitiſq; ut cum dicta Diſpenſatione eam velit concedere. Et quoniam fieri poſſit quod dum fieret mentio de me excipiendo, forſitan ejus Sanctitas aliquem alium quam Dominum Staphyleum nominaret, ad quem Commiſſio hujuſmodi dirigeretur, hoc vero in loco tenaciſſime inſiſtetis, firmiterq; inhærebitis ei rei, nec in alium aliquem virum exterum ullo pacto conſentientes, ſed ſolum pro eodem Domino Staphyleio inſtantes, ejus Sanctitatem ſummis precibus vehementiſſime rogantes, & rationibus omnibus ſuadentes, ne alium ullum nominare velit, aſſerentes quod quum in Inſtructionibus veſtris non contineatur, nec de alio ullo fiat mentio, niſi illo, me recuſato, iterum atq; iterum ab eadem Sanctitate petetis, ut nomine hujus Auditoris Rotæ hæc fiat & expediatur commiſſio, vos nec audere nec poſſe vobis præſcriptos fines tranſgredi.

De Regii vero deſiderii ac petitionis fruſtratione ſuper dicta Commiſſione obtinenda, diretis unum & idem eſſe, hanc illi denegare, vel alii concedere quam in veſtris Inſtructionibus contineatur, non quod Regia Majeſtas de aliorum rectitudine aut indifferentia quicquam ſuſpicetur, vel quod judicet eorum aliquem affectibus obnoxium; ſed quod pro re certiſſima credidit, quod Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter in neminem tam facile condeſcenderet, quam in dictæ Rotæ Decanum, ob idque de eo in Inſtructionibus veſtris mentionem fecit: ſed Commiſſiones in debita forma cum his nominibus fieri & conſcribi juſſit, quod ſi huic credidiſſemus, Dom. Staphileum habitum iſtic iri pro ſuſpecto, affirmare poteſtis me fuiſſe omnino miſſurum conſimilem Commiſſionis formulam, ſpatio relicto pro aliquo alio inſcribendo nomine, aliquamq; aliam ſuper ea re Inſtructionem me daturum fuiſſe, & haud dubie; ſi de nominibus duntaxat fuerit controverſia, hæ rationes facile poterunt Pontificem attrahere, ut in me conſentiat, vel in Staphyleum. De aliis vero neminem admittetis, nec tamen Pontifici aperietis vos, ne id faciatis habere in mandatis, ſed ſuperius enarratas Cauſas in veſtram excuſationem allegantes, omnino ut vobis injungitur ea in re inſiſtetis.

Quod ſi nullis modis dictam Commiſſionem, & Diſpenſationem impetrare poteritis, ad idq; nequiverit Pontifex adduci, niſi rem prius alicui ex Cardinalibus vel Officiariis communicaverit, in eo tunc caſu, ejus Sanctitati in memoriam reducite, quot & quam gravia mala ex hujus negotii propalatione poſſent provenire, ſi ex ea occaſione aliquæ contrarietates vel impedimentum ſuboriretur, unde Regiæ Majeſtatis expectatio poſtmodum fruſtaretur: Quo igitur, ſi ullæ injiciantur in hac re tractandæ difficultates, ut Pontifex etiam facilior ad Regium votum concedendum promptiorq; reddatur, alias etiam præter has literas ſeorſim ad vos ſcripſi, quas una cum his accipietis, in quibus copioſe aggeſſi, quam multas

magni momenti rationes, ob quas ſententia judiciumq; meum eſt, ne ullo pacto Pontifex hanc petitionem Regiæ Majeſtatis deneget; quas literas, quum in eis argumentum vehemens eſt, nec ob prolixitatem tædioſum aut moleſtum quod legatur, modum aliquem ipſius Sanctitati legendi invenietis; ſpemq; certam habeo, ſi earum ſumma, tenor, atq; ſententia profunde perpendatur, quam ſatis id eſſe poterit ad omnem tollendam difficultatem, quæ poſſit obverſari in dicta Commiſſione Diſpenſationeque obtinenda, in eis contenta ſigillatim exponetis adeo, quod hoc negotium confici queat, Arbitris aut Conſiliaribus ad id neutiquam accitis, ſi fieri poſſit: ſi tamen Pontifex ſperaverit ſe poſſe hæc omnia eos celare qui huic rei forſan voluerint refragari, & omnino decreverit aliquos Cardinales vel Officiarios iſtius cauſæ participes facere, omnem tunc induſtriam ſtatim adhibebitis, ut his cognitis eorum gratiam & favorem eâ in re vobis comparetis, partim eis reſpectus, & cauſas omnes in meis literis contentas, etiam in cauſæ commodum facientes, uberius exponentes, partim vero eam remunerationem illis dantes, quæ judicio veſtro conveniens habebitur, dummodo optatum res ſortiatur effectum. Et ut omnia queatis præſtare commodius cum his, meas literas accipietis quas ad Cardinalem *Sanctorum Quatuor* & Collegium Cardinalium ſcribo, eaſque reddetis ut expedire cenſueritis, plane confidens nihil a vobis omiſſum iri, ut hac in re eorum gratiam atq; favorem queatis obtinere, in quem eventum ea munera offeretis, quæ convenientia viſa fuerint, Regiaq; Majeſtas quicquid ejus nomine promiſeritis, id fideliſſime, uberrimeq; præſtabit, pro quarum rerum expeditione, illis pecuniis uti poteritis per literas Cambii Venetias tranſmiſſis, quouſq; ſuffecerint, neceſſariumq; vos exiſtimaveritis rei impetrandæ. Et quum ambiguum ſit an vobis licuerit hoc tempore ad Pontificis præſentiam accedere, hujuſmodi acceſſus defectus, ſi aliæ rem ad bonum exitum perducendi rationes non excogitarentur, cauſa eſſe poſſet longioris moræ, & totius rei impedimento; proinde Regia Majeſtas, ut modos omnes experiatur, nec uni ſoli inhæreat, hæc eadem in mandatis dedit Domino Secretario, quem non procul ab Urbe eſſe intelleximus, quemadmodum in his aliiſq; meis brevioribus literis continentur, ita quod alter veſtrum, vel uterque, ſi fieri poſſit, ad Pontificis præſentiam acceſſum habeat; nihil tamen, ſub ſpe Domini Secretarii, veſtræ vos diligentiæ aut induſtriæ omittetis, nec ille ſub ſpe veſtra, in re hac modis omnibus promovenda, remiſſior erit, ſed nihil conjunctim aut diviſim intentatum relinquetis. Quod ſi uterq; veſtrum ad Pontificem admittatur, alter de altero neſcius, id non oberit, ſed multum proficiet, etiam ſi ante alterius adventum negotium hoc alter impetraverit; ſed ſi aliquis veſtrum cognoverit cauſam hanc expeditam eſſe, omniaq; pro certo impetrata eſſe, tunc labori & ſumptibus Pontificem pro eadem re accedendi parcere poteritis, neq; in eam amplius ingerere, neq; neceſſarium aut opportunum erit, ut pro ulla alia re in præſentia quam pro hac apud Sanctiſſimũ Dominũ noſtrũ agatis, ſed ſolum nunc procurabitis de Commiſſione & Diſpenſatione juxta formam ad vos miſſam obtinenda, necnon de profeſtinatione illa, quam compendio ad vos dedi, in quibus omnibus & ſingulis apte tractandis Regia Majeſtas magnam fiduciam in veſtra prudentia collocavit, in quibus, cum tam magni ſint momenti, ex Regiæ Majeſtatis ſententia nunc vobis maxime elaborandum eſt.

Deniq; quum intelligam Dominum Lautrek nonnihil mirari, quod

Regiæ

Regiæ Majeſtatis iſtic agentes, nullam ſuorum mandatorum partem cum eo conferunt, ad eum nunc ſcribo, & nonnulla Domino Roberto Jerningham ei exponenda committo concernentia actiones cum Ferrariæ Duce, & alia quædam eodem Domino Lautrek; ſignificans, vos miſſos eſſe ad dictas cauſas juvandas, & Pontificis liberationem promovendam, quemadmodum ex literarum ad Dominum Jernyngham exemplo cognoſcetis: expediens itaq; fuerit, ut præ ſe feratis, vos dictæ rei gratia miſſos eſſe, ne forſan Dominus Lautrek in falſam aliquam conjecturam aut ſuſpicionem incideret, quæ communibus rebus nocere poſſet, & in veſtrarum quoq; actionum impedimentum redundare.

"Illud deinde reticere nolui, quod ſi ullo pacto vobis liceat ad Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri præſentiam accedere, nihil omittatis in favorem & gratiam Reverendi Domini Datarii, de cujus animo nihil dubitamus, comparandam, eiq; aſſeretis, quod quum in noſtris omnibus occurrentiis illius opera ac Patrocinio ſemper uſi fuerimus, ipſe vero tanta ſemper fide ac ſedulitate omnia effecerit quæ nobis grata & optata eſſe cognovit, ut noſtram omnem operam ſuis rebus reddiderit, promptiſſimam, & ſuæ utilitatis & exaltationis cupidiſſimam. Quocirca hæc Regia Majeſtas hac in re, qua nullam magis cordi habet, nec gravioris momenti quicquam ſibi accidere poſſe judicat, ex animi ſui ſententia conficienda, poſt Sanctiſſimum Dominum noſtrum, in Domino Datario ſpem omnem collocavit, qui ex hac occaſione, ſi operam ſuam ad optatum uſq; exitum interponere non gravetur, Regiæ Majeſtatis animum & pectus, ſic omni ex parte promerebitur, ut dicta Majeſtas non ſolum omnia curatura ſit, quæ ex Domini Veronenſis commodo & ornamento fuerint, ſed eam etiam munificentiam & gratitudinem addet, quæ majorem vel integram partem, a captivitate Redemtionis perſolvendæ compenſabit; In me vero non aliam fidem & amicitiam experietur, quam ab ullo fratre poſſet expectare. Et bene valete. Londini ex meis Ædibus. Die quinto Decemb. M. D. XXVII.

Veſter tanquam frater Amantiſſ.

T. Cardinalis Eborac.

Rome *Jan.* 1. 1528.

IV. *Two Letters of Secretary* Knights *to the Cardinal and the King, giving an account of his Conference with the Pope about his Divorce. Taken from the Originals.*

PLeaſe it your Grace to underſtand, That immediately upon the receipt of your Graces Letters, ſeverally directed unto Mr. *Gregory* and me; he and I reſorted unto the Pope his Holineſs, making congratulation of his reſtitution unto liberty on yours and his behalf, to his ſingular comfort and conſolation; and ſo much the more, becauſe that I was the firſt that made like ſalutation in any great Princes Name; He being well aſſured that I ſpake the ſame on the behalf of his two chief, ſincere, & unfeigned Friends: Wherefore with great high thanks, and long diſcourſe, *Cotton Libr. Vitell. B.* 10.

diſcourſe, with rehearſal of the King's and your Merits and Acts, in moſt vertuous and Catholick manner, employed for his reſtitution, and your continual and effectual ſtudy how the See Apoſtolique might recover the priſtine Reputation and Dignity; He confirmed as much as I had ſpoken. After this Mr. *Gregory* and I entred into our Charge, ſhewing at length the high deſerts of the Princes and Realm of *England*, the devotion of the ſame towards the Church; how expedient it was, as well for the See Apoſtolique, as for the ſaid Realm, to foreſee and provide that all occaſions of Diſſenſion and War were extinct and put away; which for lack of Heir Male of our Sovereign's Line, and Stem, ſhould undoubtedly follow, with other conſiderations at length contained in our Inſtructions. We deſired his Holineſs to commit the knowledg of the Diſpenſation that was obtained in time of *Julius*, of famous memory, for Matrimony to be had between the King and the Widow, Relict late of Prince *Arthur*; and that we might have it in form as that was that your Grace ſent hither. His Holineſs anſwered, That our ſayings had great likelihood of truth, for lacking of Iſſue Male of the King's Stem, conſidering the nature of Men being prone unto Novelties, and diſpoſed unto Parties and Factions. The Realm of *England* would not only enter into their accuſtomed Diviſions, but alſo would owe or do ſmall devotion unto the Church; Wherefore his Holineſs was right well content and ready to adhibit all Remedy that in him was poſſible as this time would ſerve. And becauſe he was not expert in making of Commiſſions, he would conſult with the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, and uſe his advice, which we ſhould ſhortly know.

We perceiving that the obtaining of our Charges after the King's and your Graces pleaſure, depended much upon the Advice of *Sanctorum Quatuor*, did prevent his going unto the Pope and delivering your Grace's Letters with Recommendations accordingly, we deſired him to be good and favourable unto our Requeſts in the King's behalf; and for the better obtaining of our deſires, we promiſed to ſee unto him with a competent reward. And this communication had, we ſhewed unto him the Commiſſion, which he ſaid could not paſs without perpetual diſhonour unto the Pope, the King, and your Grace; and a great part of ſuch Clauſes as be omitted, he hath touched and laid reaſon for the ſame in a Writing, which I do ſend unto your Grace with this. Conſidering his great Experience, Wiſdom, Learning, and the entire affection that he beareth unto the King and your Grace; and that it was far from the King's deſire, and nothing for your purpoſes, that I ſhould firſt have ſent the ſaid Cardinal's Sayings unto your Grace, and abide anſwer, and eft-ſoons prevent to do the ſame: Conſidering alſo that the ſaid King deſireth a Commiſſion convenient and ſufficient, we deſired him to make the minute of one, which he gladly did: When it was made, the Pope ſaid, That at his being in the Caſtle of St. *Angelo*, the General of the Obſervants in *Spain*, required his Holineſs, in the Emperor's Name, not to grant unto any Act that might be preparative, or otherwiſe, to Divorce to be made between the King and the Queen: and moreover deſired an Inhibition, that the ſaid Cauſe ſhould not come in knowledg before any Judg within the King's Dominions. The Pope anſwered that *Inhibitio non datur niſi poſt litem motam.* And as unto the firſt his Holineſs was content, if any like thing were demanded,

ed, to advertiſe the Emperor before, that he did let it paſs; and this was in a manner for his Holineſs being in Captivity. But his Holineſs being yet in Captivity, as your Grace reports, and eſteemeth him to be as long as the *Almaines* and *Spaniards* continueth in *Italy*; he thought if he ſhould grant this Commiſſion, that he ſhould have the Emperor his perpetual Enemy, without any hope of reconciliation: Notwithſtanding he was content rather to put himſelf in evident ruine, and utter undoing, then the King, or your Grace, ſhould ſuſpect any point of ingratitude in him, heartily deſiring *cum ſuſpiriis & lachrimis*, that the King and your Grace, which have always been faſt and good unto him, will not now ſuddenly precipitate him for ever; which ſhould be done, if immediately upon delivering of the Commiſſion your Grace ſhould begin Proceſs. He intendeth to ſave all upright thus: If *Monſieur de Lautrech* would ſet forwards, which he ſaith daily that he will do, but yet he doth not, at his coming the Pope's Holineſs may have good colour to ſay, He was required by the Ambaſſadour of *England* of a like Commiſſion. And denying the ſame, becauſe of his promiſe unto the General, he was eft-ſoons by *Monſieur de Lautrech*, to grant the ſaid Commiſſion, inaſmuch as it was but a Letter of Juſtice. And by this colour he would cover the Matter, ſo that it might appear unto the Emperor, That the Pope did it not as he that would gladly do diſpleaſure unto the Emperor, but as an indifferent Prince that could not nor might deny Juſtice, ſpecially being required by ſuch Perſonages; and immediately he would diſpatch a Commiſſion, bearing date after the time that *Monſieur Lautrech* had been with him or nigh unto him. The Pope moſt inſtantly beſeecheth your Grace, to be a mean that the King's Highneſs may accept this in a good part, and that he will take patience for this little time, which as it is ſuppoſed will be but ſhort, and (*in omnem eventum*) I do bring a Commiſſion with me, and a Diſpenſation, which I truſt the King and your Grace will like well.

We have given unto my Lord Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor* 4000 Crowns, and unto the Secretary 30 Crowns.

With this Your Grace ſhall receive a Letter from the Pope's Holineſs, *Item*, a Counſel of *Oldrand.* that giveth light unto the King's Cauſe. I ſhall make the moſt diligence homeward that I can. Our Lord Jeſus preſerve Your Grace.

At *Orvieto*, this first day of *January*.

Your moſt humble Servant

and Chaplain,

W. Knight.

Rome.

Rome *Jan.* 1. 1528.

To the KING.

PLeaſe it your Highneſs to underſtand, That as ſoon as the Pope was at liberty, and came unto *Orvieto*, I reſorted unto his Holineſs with all diligence; and at my coming unto him, did make congratulation on your Highneſs behalf; foraſmuch as he was reſtored unto his Liberty, which he accepted very joyfully and thankfully, giving unto your Highneſs manifold and high thanks for your great goodneſs, as well proved in his adverſity, as when he was in his moſt felicity. After this he rehearſed my being at *Rome*, how dangerous it was, inaſmuch as when my being there was detect, eſpial was made, and I was not paſſed out of *Rome* by the ſpace of two hours, or two hundred *Spaniards* invaded and ſearched the Houſe. He ſhewed alſo that he had received all ſuch Letters as I at my being in *Rome* did ſend unto his Holineſs; whereby he did perceive the Effect of your Highneſs deſire concerning your Diſpenſation: And albeit he did ſend me word that I ſhould depart, and his Holineſs would ſend unto me the ſaid Diſpenſation fully ſpeed. Nevertheleſs he truſted that your Highneſs would be content to tarry for a time: for the General of the Obſervants in *Spain* being lately in *Rome*, had required him, according unto his Inſtructions, that he ſhould ſuffer nothing to paſs that might be prejudicial or againſt the Queen, directly or indirectly, but that the Pope ſhould firſt advertiſe thereof certain of the *Cæſarians* here. And foraſmuch as this Diſpenſation might encourage your Grace to cauſe my Lord Legate *Auctoritate Legationis* to hear and decern in the Cauſe that your Highneſs intendeth, and his Holineſs ſtandeth as yet in manner in captivity and perplexity: His Holineſs therefore beſought your Grace to have patience for a time, and it ſhould not be long e're your Highneſs ſhould have, not only that Diſpenſation, but any thing elſe that may lie in his power. I replied unto this, That his Holineſs had once granted it, and that I had diſpatched a Poſt, and made relation thereof, by my Writings, unto your Highneſs; ſo that I could not imagine by what reaſon I might perſwade unto you that he would perform the promiſe that he had once broken. In concluſion; He was content that your Highneſs ſhould have it, but he would have it delivered with this condition; That the *Prothonotary* and *Gambora* and I, ſhould beſeech your Highneſs not to attempt any thing in your Cauſe againſt the Queen, till ſuch time as the Pope were frankly at his Liberty; which could not be as long as the *Almaynes* and *Spaniards* did thus reign in *Italy*; and promiſe made, we ſhould deliver the Diſpenſation: and in my poor judgment, it was beſt always to be in poſſeſſion of this Diſpenſation. After this he ſhewed the Minute unto the Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, willing him to reform it according to the ſtile of this Court; which done, he ſhewed it unto me, and after ſaid, That he thought good I ſhould depart, becauſe I rode but competent Journies, and the Prothonotary *Gambora* ſhould follow by Poſt and bring the Bull with him, which is of the ſame form and ſubſtance that your Highneſs's Minute is of: And if there be any thing omitted,

ted, or to be added, his Holineſs is always content to reform it, and to put it under the ſame date that the ſame Diſpenſation now beareth; the Copy whereof I do ſend unto your Highneſs with this, the Commiſſion General and Proteſtation being void, becauſe they were conceived *durante captivitate* only. And here, on my behalf, none other thing being to be done, I took my leave of the Pope and departed. At my coming unto *Scarperii* near unto *Bonony*, I did meet with *Thadeus* this Courier, which brought certain Expeditions Triplicat; the one unto the Prothonotar *Gambora*, the other unto *Gregory de Caſſali*, and the third unto me; among which was a general Commiſſion Triplicat, the one to be committed to my Lord Legate; and if that could not be obtained, becauſe my Lord Legate might be thought partial, then the ſame to be committed unto *Staphileius*. *Item*; There was a Copy of a Diſpenſation, where I perceived, by your Grace's Letter, that your pleaſure was to have your Diſpenſation in form, after the minute that *Barlow* brought, which was then ſped, and already paſſed; ſo remained nothing to be ſped, but the Commiſſion your Highneſs pleaſes. This knowing, I cauſed my Servants to continue their Journey, and with one Servant and this Courier, I returned unto *Orvieto* with Poſt-Horſes; where Mr. *Gregory* and I, with much Buſineſs, have obtained a Commiſſion directed unto my Lord Legate, not in the form that was conceived in *England*, but after ſuch manner as is ſufficient for the Cauſe, and as I truſt ſhall content your Highneſs; wherein the Lord Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, hath taken great pains to pen, as well your Diſpenſation as the Commiſſion; for which, and that hereafter he may do unto your Highneſs the better ſervice, Mr. *Gregory* and I have rewarded him with 4000 Crowns, of ſuch Mony as your Highneſs hath cauſed to be made unto *Venice* for the furtherance of your Cauſes. But albeit that every thing is paſſed according to your Highneſs pleaſure, I cannot ſee, but in caſe the ſame be put in execution at this time, the Pope is utterly undone, and ſo he ſaith himſelf. The *Imperialiſts* do daily ſpoil Caſtles and Towns about *Rome*; *Monſieur de Lautrek* is yet at *Bonony*, and ſmall hope is of any great Act that he intends. The *Cæſarians* have taken within theſe three days, two Caſtles lying within ſix miles of this: and the Pope being in this perplexity, not aſſured of any one Friend but of your Highneſs, that lieth too far off; if he do at this time any diſpleaſure unto the Emperor, he thinketh he is undone for ever; wherefore he puts his Honour and Health wholly into your Highneſs Power and Diſpoſition. This morning I return homewards, and *Gregory de Caſſali* goeth in my Company as far as unto *Florence*; and from thence he goeth unto *Monſieur de Lautrek*, to ſollicit him forwards, if it may be. The Holy Ghoſt ſend your Highneſs a proſperous New Year, and many.

At *Orvieto*, the firſt day of *January*.

Your moſt humble Subject,

Servant, and Chaplain.

W. Knight.

Rome 10. *Jan.* 1528.

V. *A part of an Original Letter from the ſame Perſon to Cardinal* Wolſey, *by which it appears that the Diſpenſation was then granted and ſent over.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10. YOur Grace commandeth, That I ſhould ſend the Commiſſion and Diſpenſation with diligence, in caſe they were ſped, before the receit of your Graces Letters ſent at this time. Wherefore the Prothonotar *Gambora* and I being commanded *ſub pœna Excommunicationis* to deliver the ſame, with a certain Requeſt to be made to the King's Highneſs and his Grace, at the time of delivery; I ſend the ſame at this time unto *Gambora*, requiring him in any wiſe to make diligence towards the King's Highneſs, and not to abide my coming; the Requeſt and Cauſe thereof your Grace ſhall perceive by mine other Letters adjoined herewith. And ſuppoſing that when your Grace hath ſeen my Letters, and the Diſpenſations, and conſidered this time well, it may chance that the King and your Grace will be rather well content with that that is paſſed, without ſuing for any other thing that could not be obtained without long tract, and peradventure not ſo. Your Grace hath committed as much unto *Gregory de Caſſali* at this time, as unto me, which being near unto the Pope, will without fail do his beſt diligence: And if it ſhall be thought good unto the King's Highneſs, and your Grace, that I do return unto *Orvieto*, I ſhall do as much as my poor Carcaſe may endure, and thereby at *Turine* I ſhall abide the knowledg of your Grace's pleaſure. The Datary hath clean forſaken the Court, and will ſerve no longer but only God and his Cure. The Cardinal *Campegius* continueth in *Rome* ſore vexed with the Gout; The Cardinals *Piſane*, *Triuulcis*, *Urſine*, *Gadis* and *Ceſis*, remaineth for Hoſtages. The Cardinals, *Monte*, *Sanctorum Quatuor*, *Ridulph*, *Ravenna*, and *Peruſino*, be with the Pope; the reſt abides abſent. Our Lord Jeſus preſerve your Grace.

At *Aſte* the 10*th* day of *January*.

Your moſt humble Beadſman and Servant,

W. Knight.

Orvieto *the* 13*th of* January.

VI. Gregory Caſſali's *Letter about the Method in which the Pope deſired the Divorce ſhould be managed. Taken from a Copy written by Cardinal* Wolſey's *Secretary.*

Cotton libr. *Vitel.* B. 10. HEri & hodie ad ꝯultam diem ſum alloquutus Sanctū Dominū noſtrū de mittendo legato, inſequens ordinem a Reverendiſſimo Domino Eboracen. ſuis literis 27 Decemb. mihi præſcriptum. Pontifex oſtendit ſe

ſe cupidiſſimum ſatisfaciendi Regiæ Excellentiæ, cui omnia ſe debere fatetur, & nunc habuit mecum longum de hac re colloquium, ut inveniatur modus omnia, bene, firme & ſecure faciendi, quo facto & tueri poſſit; ideoq; conſulere voluit judicium Cardinalis *Sanctorum Quatuor* & *Symonettæ*, qui excellentior & Doctior Auditor *Rotæ* eſt, cum quibus ſub ſigillo Confeſſionis egit, ut ex eorum conſilio inveniatur modus, ad moram tollendam, & cauſam ſecure peragendam: Atq; ita Pontifex cum illis, in hoc quod ſequitur, ſe revolvit, videturq; optimus, verus & ſecurus modus, & me rogavit, ut nullo pacto dicam hoc obtinuiſſe ab ejus Sanctitate ſicuti revera obtinui, nam Cæſariani eum ſtatum pro ſuſpecto allegarent, ſed quod dicam me habuiſſe a Cardinali Sanctorum Quatuor, & a dicto Auditore. Dicunt quod Rex deberet committere iſtic cauſam Cardinali, ratione Commiſſionis quam attulit Secretarius, vel propria Authoritate Legationis, quod facere poteſt; & ubi cauſa fuerit commiſſa, ſi Rex conſcientiam ſuam perſentiat coram Deo exoneratam, & quod recte poſſit facere quod quærit, quia nullus Doctor in mundo eſt, qui de hac re melius decernere poſſit quam ipſe Rex, itaq; ſi in hoc ſe reſolverit, ut Pontifex credit, ſtatim cauſam committat, aliam Uxorem ducat, litem ſequatur, mittatur publice pro Legato, qui Conſiſtorialiter mittetur, ita enim maxime expediret: nam Cardinalis Sanctorum Quatuor & *Symonetta* dicunt hoc certum eſſe, quod ſi Regina citetur illa nihil volet reſpondere, niſi quod proteſtabitur locum & judices ſuſpectos eſſe, & Cæſariani petent a Pontifice per viam Signaturæ, juſtitiæ Inhibitionem, qua Rex aliam nullam poſſit Uxorem capere, & ſi capiat proles non ſit legitima donec cauſa non definiatur, & petent Commiſſionem qua Cauſa audiatur in Curia; de Inhibitione vero Pontifex non poteſt negare, neq; & Commiſſionem niſi injuſtitia & mera vis inferatur, adverſus quam omnis mundus exclamaret. Quod ſi Rex aliam Uxorem ceperit hoc non poſſunt petere, & ſi petant, negabit Pontifex quod jure poſſit, nec aliud dicere poterunt vel allegare, niſi quod Cardinalis Eboracen. & Cardinalis mittendus & locus ſit ſuſpectus, & petere quod Cauſa videatur hic, in quo ſi deducatur, ſtatim feretur ſententia quam Pontifex maturabit, non ſervatis terminis propter momentum negotii & alias rationes, quas ſciet Pontifex adducere, & ita hic obtinebuntur ſententiæ quæ per totum Orbem approbabuntur, quibus nullus Hiſpanus aut Germanus poterit contradicere, & mittentur in Angliam declarandæ per Cardinales prout Rex voluerit, & hoc etiam non obſtante Pontifex mittet Cardinalem.

Tandem hic eſt modus rebus omnibus ſecure medendi, ad quem ſequendum vos Pontifex hortatur, & rogat ut nihil dicatur quod ab eo procedat. Iſte modus non videtur inutilis, quia hic Auditor aſſerit, non aliter eſſe faciendum ſi bene volumus; & quia Reverendiſſimus Cardinalis Dominus Eboracen. inſtat pro celeritate, interim accerſiri poterit qualiſcunq; Legatus Rex voluerit, & magis ſatisfiet vulgo in mittendo Legato, veluti ad definiendam cauſam, & hic etiam ut dixi omnia fient quæ ſuper id Rex petierit.

Præterea, Pontifex, id quod fecit ut me reſolverem ad has literas ſcribendum, contentus eſt mittere quemcunq; Cardinalem ego petiero, ſed ait oportere ut aliquis mittatur habilis, id eſt Doctor in Jure, vel in Theologia, qui ſunt iſti *Campegius*, *Cæſarinus*, *Senenſis*, *Ceſis*, *Araceli*, *Monte*, qui ſenex eſt & immobilis; *Cæſis* in obſidem ivit Neapolim, *Cæſarinus*

ſarinus Epiſcopatum, habet in Hiſpania, *Araceli* podagra laborat & Frater eſt, *Senenſis* eſt Imperialis & non valde prudens, *Campegius* eſſet maxime ad propoſitum, ſed Romæ eſt locum tenens Pontificis, unde non poſſet diſcedere, continuantibus diſcordiis inter Germanos & Hiſpanos, neq; auderet egredi a caſtro; ſed hoc periculum & dubium brevi expedietur, nam intra octo dies Cæſariani cogentur ſibi conſulere ut eant in Regnum, ſi Dominus Lautrek eo progrediatur, vel ibunt Senas per iter Florentiæ, & tunc *Campegius* poterit exire, & ſi Rex ita juſſerit ſtatim accingetur itineri. Pontifex juſſit ut ſcribam, quod nunquam ingenio aut ſtudio deerit in excogitando ut adimpleat deſiderium & voluntatem Regis, & quod ſolum iſta proponit pro meliori ſecuritate, ne iſta fiant quæ poſtea referri debeant, quod pareret dilationem & difficultatem, & quantum ego poſſim conjicere Pontifex exoptat ſatisfacere Regiæ voluntati. Pontifex denuo replicavit quod ſe totum rejicit in Brachia Regiæ Majeſtatis, & quod certus eſt quod Cæſar nunquam hoc illi ignoſcet, & quod ex hac octaſione vocabit eum ad Concilium, vel nihil aliud quæret niſi ut eum omni ſtatu & vita privet; & dicta Sanctitas parvam ſpem habet in Gallis, niſi quantum operabitur per Regiam Majeſtatem & Reverendiſſimum Dominum Eboracen. Ad quod Reſpondi, illum ex præteritis & præſentibus poſſe judicare futura. Tandem affirmo, quod ſi ſemel tollatur Cæſarianorum metus, poteritis ex arbitrio veſtro diſponere de ſede Apoſtolica.

Cardinalis *Campegius* ad Pontificem ſcripſit, quod ſunt tres dies ex quo frater Generalis communicaverat ſecum negotium Regiæ Majeſtatis, & quod dixerat ut ad ejus Sanctitatem ſcriberet, ut omnino faceret aliquam Inhibitionem ne cauſa iſtic tractaretur. Ad quod Pontifex non reſpondit, ſed reſpondebit, ſe nihil de eo poſſe facere, quia non pendet cauſa.

Januar. 1528. ad Collegium.

VII. *A Duplicat. The King's Letter to the Colledg of Cardinals; from which it appears how much they favoured his Cauſe.*

Cotton libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

HEnricus Rex, Reverendiſſimis in Chriſto Patribus Dominis Epiſcopis Patribus & Diaconis S. R. E. Cardinalibus & Amicis noſtris Chariſſimis ſalutem. Nihil unquam tam grande eſſe poſſe putavimus, quin de iſta Sancta ſede, veſtrarumq; Reverendiſſimarum Dominat. ſumma erga nos benignitate, illud ſemper audacter nobis fuerimus polliciti, quod certe S. Sanctum iſtud Collegium, quotiens ullam nobis gratificandi occaſionem oblatam habuit, cumulatiſſime præſtitit: Cæterum benevolentiam iſtam veſtram, & ſingulare in nos ſtudium, nunc longe ſuperavit, alacritas, quam in noſtra omnium graviſſima cauſa, juvanda ac promovenda, in publico Conſiſtorio, amantiſſime omnes exhibuiſtis, quo certe beneficio ſic Sacro iſti Collegio Sanctiſſimæq; iſti ſedi adſtrictos nos fatemur, ut vehementiſſime optemus gratiam, vel ſanguine ipſo, publice ac privatim Reverendiſſimis Dominat. veſtris quoq; poſſe referre. Quocirca iterum eas impenſe rogamus, ut in ſuo erga nos affectu perſeverare non graventur, efficiemuſq; (Deo bene juvante) ut brevi perſpiciant, apud gratum & memorem Principem, Sanctæq; Rom. Eccleſiæ obſervan-

obſervantiſſimum, ſua ſe beneficia & officia collocaſſe. Interim vobis quas poſſumus ex animo, tum his literis, tum per Oratorem iſtic noſtrum immortales gratias Reverendiſſimis veſtris Dominis agimus, exiſtimetiſq; quicquid a nobis præſtari queat, id ſuo ornamento & commodo promptiſſimum futurum.

Febr. 10. 1528.

VIII. *A duplicate of the Cardinal's Letter to the Pope, about the the Divorce; corrected with his own hand.*

BEatiſſime Pater, poſt humillimam Commendationem, & Sanctiſſimorum pedum oſcula, doleo atq; graviſſime excrucior, quod ea quæ tanta ſolicitudine, literis & nunciis apud Beatitudinem veſtram ago, nequeam, ut unice & rerum omnium maxime vellem, prius tractare, hoc eſt, negotium Potentiſſimi Domini mei Regis, negotium inquam rectiſſimum, honeſtiſſimum ac ſanctiſſimum, in quo procurando non aliter me interpono, quam in ejus Regiæ Majeſtatis ſalute tuenda, in hoc Regno conſervando, in publica tranquillitate fovenda, in Apoſtolica Autoritate, in mea deniq; vita & anima protegenda debeo. Beatiſſime Pater, ad veſtræ Sanctitatis genua provolutus, obſecro & obteſtor, ut ſi me Chriſtianum virum, ſi bonum Cardinalem, ſi S. Sancto iſto Senatu dignum, ſi Apoſtolicæ ſedis membrum non ſtupidum & inutile, ſi recti, juſtitiæq; cultorem, ſi fidelem Creaturam ſuam, ſi demum æternæ ſalutis cupidum me exiſtimet, nunc velit mei Conſilii & interceſſionis rationem habere, & pientiſſimis hujus Regis precibus, benigne, prompteq; adnuere: quas niſi rectas, ſanctas ac juſtas eſſe ſcirem, omne prius ſupplicii genus ultro ſubirem, quam eas promoverem, pro hiſq; ego vitam meam & animam ſpondeo. Alioquin vereor (quod tamen nequeo tacere) ne Regia Majeſtas humano, divinoq; jure (quod habet ex omni Chriſtianitate ſuis his actionibus adjunctum) freta, poſtquam viderit ſedis Apoſtolicæ gratiam, & Chriſti in terris Vicarii clementiam deſperatam, Cæſaris intuitu, in cujus manu neutiquam eſt tam Sanctos conatus reprimere, ea tunc moliatur, ea ſuæ cauſæ perquirat remedia, quæ & non ſolum huic Regno, ſed etiam aliis Chriſtianis Principibus, occaſionem ſubminiſtrarent, ſedis Apoſtolicæ Autoritatem & Juriſdictionem imminuendi, & vilipendendi, non abſq; Chriſtianæ Reip. perturbatione: Quibus malis poteſt veſtra Sanctitas ſua autoritate & prudentia mederi. Hæc loquor ut Chriſtianus, & ut devotiſſimum iſtius Sedis membrum ſincere ſuadeo; non affectus, non Principis amor, non ſervitutis vinculum me impellit, ſed ſola rectitudine ad id adducor. Cæterum animi ſolicitudo non ſinit plura exprimere. Veſtra Sanctitas in tam juſto Regis voto adnuendo, ſic ejus Majeſtatis animum ſibi devinciet & conſervabit, ut non ſolum ipſe & ego, ſed omnes ejus ſubditi ſint ad omnem occaſionem, opes, vires, & ſanguinem in Sanctitatis veſtræ, Apoſtolicæ Sedis beneficium, libentiſſime profuſuri. Mitto ad Beatitudinem veſtram hujus rei gratia, Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum, Primarium Secretiſſimorum Conſiliorum Secretarium, mei dimidium, & quo neminem habeo cariorem; referet ille cuncta diſtinctius, meum pectus aperiet. Veſtram igitur Sanctitatem humillime

Cott. libr. Vitel. B. 10.

humillime rogo, ut eum loquentem me loqui exiſtimares, & eam fidem quam præſenti mihi haberet, illi & Domino Edwardo Foxo Regio familiari in omnibus præſtare, & me a tam anxia expectatione liberare dignetur.

IX. *Cardinal* Wolſey's *Letter to* Gregory Caſſali, *directing him to make Preſents at* Rome.

Cotton Libr. *Vitell.* B. 10.

TAnta deinde ſunt, tamq; magna officia, quæ Reverendiſſimus Dominus *Sanctorum Quatuor*, tum erga Regiam Majeſtatem, tum erga me, nunquam non amantiſſime exhibuit, ut quum ea in agendis gratiis aſſequi conamur, id animo facilius complecti, quam exteriori ullo propenſæ noſtræ in eum voluntatis teſtimonio indicare queamus: ad noſtriq; in eum ſummum ſtudii & affectionis cumulum, nunc tantum acceſſit, quantum vix unquam poſſit a nobis exſolvi; licetq; de ejus Reverendiſſim. Dominat. ingenti Regiæ Majeſtati, & mihi gratificandi ardore nunquam addubitaverim, ſic tamen pectus ſuum, in Regiæ Majeſtatis promovenda juvandaq; cauſa, ſic in meis ſeorſim curandis expediendiſq; negotiis, operam, fidem, autoritatemq; ſuam interpoſuit, ut non minora ſemper efficeret, quam nos optare potuerimus: quo certe nomine, ita utrumq; noſtrum, ſuo ſuorumq; omnium commodo & ornamento devinxit, ut non prius conquieturi ſumus quam aliquo indicio rebus ipſis noſtram viciſſim gratitudinem fuerimus teſtati; quot enim modis & quanta ſollicitudine Reverendiſſimus *Sanctorum Quatuor* de nobis ſit optime meritus, res præſtita indicat, & Dominus *Stephanus* Secretarius meus ſuo Sermone ac relatu aſſidue prædicat; & quamvis minuſculum illud olim oblatum recuſaverit, non tamen Regiæ Majeſtati ſatisfactum eſſe poteſt, niſi memoris ſui animi pignus aliquod exhibuerit. Quocirca cum eodem Reverendiſſimo Domino dexterime agite, ut in familiari aliquo colloquio eliciatis, quibus rebus ille maxime oblectetur, mihiq; quam primum ſignificate, num illi, aulea, Vaſa aurea, aut equi maxime probentur, efficiamq; ne putet apud Principem inhumanum aut ingratum ſua ſe officia collocaſſe. Intellexi quoq; ex eodem Domino *Stephano*, quam ardenter idem Dominus *Sanctorum Quatuor* cupiat ædificium Sancti Petri abſolvi, veluti monumentum illud Religionis ac pietatis perpetuo futurum, quod certe ejus animi conſilium, ut Sanctum ita digniſſimum cenſeo, ut Chriſtianorum Principum liberalitatem quam plurimum mereatur; meo igitur nomine affirmabitis, ſic meam me eſſe operam apud hunc Sereniſſimum Regem interpoſiturum, ut palam conſtet omnibus, me Eccleſiæ membrum non omnino inutile aut ſtupidum eſſe.

De aliis vero rebus, in quibus S. D. N. benignitatem & Reverendiſſimi Domini *Sanctorum Quatuor* opera & Patrocinio Regiæ Majeſtati & mihi in præſentia eſt opus, per Dominum Stephanum copioſe vos inſtruo, iterum atq; iterum impenſe rogans, ut ſolita veſtra diligentia & ſedulitate ex noſtra expectatione eas curare conficereq; velitis.

Rome

Rome *Feb.* 1527.

X. *The Decretal Bull that was deſired in the King's Cauſe.*

DIlecto, &c. Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedict. Sedis Apoſtolicæ Suprema Autoritas poteſtatis ſuæ copiam ſic omnibus exhibet, ut pro cauſarum, perſonarum & temporum qualitate remedia ſingulis ad ædificationem ſubminiſtrare, & cauſas ad Canonum Sanctiones expenſas æquiſſima certiſſimaq; lance trutinans, laborantibus conſcientiis & fluctuantibus conſulere, ſummamq; ipſis tranquillitatem ſtatuere contendat. Cum itaq; Clariſſimus in Chriſto Filius noſter Henricus Octavus Angliæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, & Dominus Hiberniæ, ſua nobis conqueſtione monſtraverat, quod cum Annos ab hinc decem & octo nobilem Mulierem Catharinam Ferdinandi quondam Hiſpaniarum Regis Filiam, Illuſtris Principis Arthuri Fratris ſui defuncti quondam Uxorem, hortatu, ſuaſu, ac conſiliis eorum, quibus ſe totum in prima Regni ſui Adminiſtratione crediderat, quadam ſedis Apoſtolicæ Diſpenſatione prætenſa ſibi bona fide Matrimonio copulaſſet, ac ab eo tempore hactenus cum eadem tanquam cum Uxore cohabitaſſet, prole interim fœmina ſuſcepta & ſuperſtite ex eadem, ac jam tandem poſt deſperatam prolem Maſculam, de ſtabilienda & confirmanda ejuſdem Filiæ ſuæ ſucceſſione cogitaret, luſtratiſq; Scriniis dictam ſuper Matrimonio præfato Diſpenſationem faceret proferri, doctorumq; Virorum judicia examinari, cujus quidem Diſpenſationis tenor ſequitur, & eſt talis, &c. *Cotton Libr. Vitel. B. 12.*

Quidam Sanctionum & Canonum Eccleſiaſticorum conſulti, datum dictæ cum narratis ejuſdem conferentes, aliaſq; nonnullas circumſtantias quæ tum ante dictæ Diſpenſationis impetrationem, quæ etiam poſt eandem impetratam intervenerunt, ponderantes, tum quod cauſa quæ in Bulla pretenſa eſt pacis continuandæ, viz. quæ ipſa tum coaluerat, fœderibus percuſſis firma conſtiterat, mutuis etiam populorum commerciis aucta, nullum ſuæ violationis timorem incutiens, qui juſtus & non omnino vanus dici poſſet, nec urgentiſſima proinde nec evidentiſſima videretur, qualem prohibitionis relaxatio exigat & requirat; tum quod preces falſæ erant dum narrabatur Prædeceſſori noſtro, eundem Cariſſimum Filium noſtrum tum cupere cum dicta chariſſima Domina Catharina contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera diutius continuarentur, cum eo tempore, ut aſſerit, impetrationem prorſus ignoraret, & per ætatis immaturitatem, duodecimum, viz. annum non excedentis, affectum hujuſmodi inducere non potuerat; tum quod Proteſtatione poſtmodum interveniente & vim Renunciationis habente, Diſpenſatio tunc per Renunciationem extincta videretur; Deniq; quod principes inter quos fœdera conſervarentur, ante mandatam executioni Bullam fatis conceſſerant; Bullam ipſam, tum ex ſurreptionis & obreptionis vitiis, quam aliis etiam de Cauſis minus validam & inefficacem eſſe renunciarunt & retulerunt, ſcrupulum dicti Regis animo conſcientiæq; gravem injicentes, eamq; illi opinionem inducentes, ut Matrimonium prædictum non conſiſtere, neq; hactenus jure conſtitiſſe judicaret. Porro autem cum frequentius apud ſe, ut aſſerit, animo volveret ac meditaretur, quales exitus hujuſmodi nuptiæ præfatæ habuerunt, ex quibus, viz. aliquot

quot partus maſculi imperfecti parumq; vitales prodiere, atq; ideo ſe omni ſpe ſucceſſoris prorſus deſtitui, quo ſuam familiam ad pauc redactam conſervaret, occurente ſimul memoriæ Divina interminatione quæ Fratris ſui turpitudinem revelanti, & illius Uxorem contra S. Sancta Dei præcepta accipienti inſcribitur, præſertim ubi Diſpenſatio non interveniat, quæ ex omni ſua parte valeat & conſiſtat, nonnullis etiam affirmantibus noſtram non eatenus proteſtatem patere ut in ea ſpecie gratiam faciamus, etiamſi ut ſcribit de noſtræ poteſtatis plenitudine non dubitet, juſte duntaxat legitimeq; interpoſitæ, quam ſummam in terris agnoſcit & veneratur, ad improbandas illas nuptias tantum undiq; videt conſenſum ut illas animo abhorreat, nec aliorum rationibus poſſet diſſuaderi quin abominandas eas judicet, & Divinæ Majeſtati odioſas. Deniq; idem Cariſſimus Filius noſter debita cum inſtantia nos precibus ſollicitaverit, quatenus perſonæ ſuæ & Regni nobis ſemper devotiſſimi rationem habentes, maturo judicio ab anguſtiis liberemus, quibus ſe uſu præſentis Matrimonii per legem conſcientiæ privatum, nec ad aliud per leges publicas ante ſententiam admiſſum, vehementer conqueritur comprehenſum eſſe. Nos igitur conſiderantes quot, quanta, tum in Sedem Apoſtolicam, tum in fidem Chriſtianam officia præ cæteris exhibuerit, promeritus eo nomine ut noſtræ viciſſim poteſtatis gratiam uberrimam & promptiſſimam referat, aliamq; illius cauſam atq; privati eſſe, ex qua nimirum pendeat ſalus plurimorum, nec poſſe dictæ cauſæ deciſionem diutius proferri & protelari ſine gravi diſcriminis periculo, dicti vero Principis cruciatu maxima quæ nos ex gratitudinis viciſſitudine minueret debeamus, qua decet feſtinatione procedi facientes ut ad finem celerrime perducatur, de Conſilio Fratrum noſtrorum, quorum in hac cauſa tam gravi atq; urgenti judicium adhibuimus, ac etiam eorum quos & Sacræ Theologiæ peritiſſimos & juris Eccleſiaſtici callentiſſimos deſuper conſulendos audiendoſq; putavimus, quoniam vitia & defectus prædictos ejuſmodi eſſe comperimus, quæ penſata præfatæ Prohibitionis natura, vires ipſius Bullæ merito enervarent; quo magis, viz. atteſtemur & palam faciamus, quanta animi cura & ſolicitudine præfati Cariſſimi Filii noſtri conſcientiam hujuſmodi ſcrupulis & difficultatibus impediri, implicari atq; vexari ſuſtineamus, cum alioquin te dilectum Filium noſtrorum Cardin. Eboracen. in illa Provincia & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatum, a præclaris animi tui virtutibus, ad juſtitiam vero & æquitatem propenſiſſimo ſinceriſſimoq; affectu nobis ſic commendatum & cognitum habeamus, ut tibi merito ſoli omnem noſtram Autoritatem, cum in hac Cauſa expedienda, tum etiam in reliquis committendam putaverimus, digniſſimus quidem nobis exiſtimatus, qui partes noſtras tractes & vices abſentis poſſes ſupplere: Te tamen Dilectũ Filiũ ——— a nobis ſpecialiter iſtuc deſtinandum duximus, ut conjunctim in hac cauſa procedere poſſitis, ita nihilominus propter incertum caſuum eventum mandatam Authoritatem temperantes, ut altero veſtrum nolente aut impedito alter omnia exequi & cauſam fine debito valeat terminare. Vobis ut præfertur conjunctim & ut præfertur diviſim, ad cognoſcendum & procedendum ſummarie & de plano, ſine ſtrepitu & figura judicii, ac de & ſuper viribus dictæ Bullæ ſive Diſpenſationis inquirendum, ipſamq; Bullam ſive Diſpenſationem, ſi de vitiis prædictis aut eorum aliquo tali probatione conſtiterit, quæ licet aliis minus clara videatur, animo tamen Religioſo, conſcientiæq; veſtræ, aut ejus veſtrum qui in hac Cauſa proceſſerit,

ceſſerit, diviſim ut præfertur, ſatisfecerit, & veriſimile apparuerit, vel pacem quæ in Bulla prætenditur finé hujus Matrimonii contractu conſiſtere potuiſſe & continuari, vel dictum Chariſſimum Filium noſtrum, ut allegabatur, non cupiiſſe contrahere Matrimonium ad hoc ut pacis fœdera conſervarentur, vel deniq; Principes in Bulla nominatos, inter quos fœdera per illud Matrimonium continuatum iri allegabatur, ante mandatam executioni Bullam fatis conceſſiſſe, ipſam nullam, minus validam, ex ſurreptione & obreptione ineffícacem, irritam & inanem fuiſſe, ſemper & eſſe pronuntiandam & declarandam; Matrimonium autem prædictum, quod ejuſdem virtute conſiſtere videtur, nullum ſimul ac minus legitimum eſſe, ac pro nullo minuſq; legitimo haberi deberi decernendum; ipſos porro contrahentes ab omni contractu Matrimoniali hujuſmodi liberos, a conſortio conjugali quod hactenus obſervarunt ſeparari deberi, ſententiendum & autoritate noſtra ſeparandum. Deniq; utrumque ad contrahendum cum alio vel alia, novum conjugium ineundi, licentiam & facultatem tribuendum & concedendum, citra omnem recuſationem, aut appellationis interpoſitionem, committimus & demandamus vices noſtras; ac vos conjunctim, & altero veſtrum nolente ut præfertur aut impedito, diviſim, ad præmiſſa exercenda & expedienda, plenæ finaliq; executioni demandanda, Vicarios noſtros & noſtrum Vicarium, aut ſi quo alio nomine uti poterimus, quod demandatam in prædictis Autoritatem ampliaret, cum omni poteſtatis plenitudine tam abſolutæ quam ordinariæ, quatenus vel ad præfati Matrimonii congruam diſſolutionem, vel novi contrahendi firmam Conſtitutionem, expedire videbitur aut pertinere; ita etiam ut Autoritate præſentis Commiſſionis noſtræ, cum omnibus illis Canonibus, ad validiorem efficacioremq; proceſſus veſtri firmitatem poteritis diſpenſare, quæcunq; eidem obſtare putabuntur, omnemq; defectum quacunq; ex cauſa contingentem noſtræ Autoritatis interpoſitione, Diſpenſatione Apoſtolica ſupplere poſſitis & valeatis, tam prolem ex primo Matrimonio ſuſceptam propter bonam fidem Parentum, ſi ita expedire viſum fuerit, legitimam decernendo, pronuntiando & promulgando, quam ex ſecundo Matrimonio ſuſcipiendam; legitimitatem etiam utriuſq; prolis, cenſuris & pœnis Eccleſiaſticis quibuſcunque, per modum decreti aut Sanctionis perpetuæ muniendo & vallando, omnibus validioribus & efficacioribus modis & formis quæ de jure concipi & excogitari poterunt, facimus, conſtituimus & ordinamus per præſentes: & quicquid per vos conjunctim, ut præfertur, aut diviſim procedentes, per cognitionem judiciariam & ſummariam, aut extrajudiciariam, proceſſus quoſcunq; faciendo, pronunciando aut promulgando, eóſdemve executioni mandando, Diſpenſationes quaſcunq; aut gratias in præmiſſis concedendo & faciendo, & generaliter in allquibus prædictorum poteſtatem noſtram vel ordinariam vel abſolutam exercendo, ut præfertur, actum, geſtum, decretum, diſpenſatum, pronuntiatum, mandatum, aut executum fuerit, id omne & totum, cum primum poterimus, ratum, gratum & firmum habentes, in validiſſima & efficaciſſima forma confirmabimus, nec eorum aliqua unquam infirmabimus aut infringemus, aut eorum alicui contraveniemus, nec interim revocabimus; declarantes etiam & proteſtantes per præſentes, noſtræ intentionis eſſe, ut præſens Commiſſio, ſive Delegatio Autoritatis noſtræ, perpetuo effectu gaudeat, & uſq; ad finalem prædictorum concluſionem extremumq; terminum duret & conſiſtat, non obſtantibus quibuſcunq;

decretis, ſententiis, mandatis, reſcriptis, literis aut Brevibus in contrarium, deinceps per nos tanquam irritatoriis, derogatoriis aut revocatoriis præſentis Conceſſionis noſtræ, emittendis, deſtinandis aut promulgandis; quibus omnibus expreſſe per præſentes derogantes, & illa omnia pro nullis, caſſis, irritis & inanibus reputantes, ac talia eſſe & haberi, iſtiſq; omnino anteriora judicari, præſentia vero ſemper poſteriora, & poſt illa repetita, emiſſa & deſtinata, cenſeri ac tanquam ultima & poſteriora contrariis ſic deinceps emittendis derogare debere, & cæteris contrariis non obſtantibus quibuſcunque.

Rome *Jan.* 1528.

XI. *The Cardinal's Letter to* John Caſſali *about it; Taken from a Duplicate written by his Secretary.*

Cott. libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

REverende Domine Protonotari, tanquam Frater Amantiſſime, cum aliis meis literis copioſe ad vos perſcripſi Regiæ Majeſtatis animum, & deſiderium ſuper his rebus quas vobis in præſentia commiſit, ſuo nomine S. D. N. declarandas.

Nunc vero ob humillimam ſinceramq; meam Devotionem, quæ ex jure & officio non ſolum ejus Sanctitati, ſed miſeris Eccleſiæ ſublevandis rebus, dignitatiq; Apoſtolicæ reſtituendæ adſtringor, his literis vos inſtruam ſuper quibuſdam rebus, præcipue & accurate notandis & conſiderandis, quas poſt humillimam, reverentiſſimamq; meam Commendationem dictæ Sanctitati, meo nomine ſigillatim, ſpeciatim declarabitis; & cum cauſam concernant, quam Regia Majeſtas nunc maxime optat & requirit, eandem Sanctitatem vehementiſſime rogabitis, ut cuncta legere & bene notare non gravetur.

Primo itaq; indolens infælicem adverſumq; præſentium rerum ſucceſſum, in quo S. D. N. Cardinaliumq; Collegium verſatur, diuq; ac noctu mente volvens, quo pacto quibuſve modis, totis meis viribus, omni ſumptu moleſtiaq; neglecta, & cum proprii ſanguinis vitæq; effuſione, miniſterium aliquod impendere, tantæq; afflictioni ſolamen afferre, & Eccleſiæ Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri collapſo ſtatui opitulari, in quam rem haud dubie quoadq; vita ſuppetet incumbam; mihiq; in hac cogitatione verſanti, in mentem recordationemq; ſubiit, mirus quidem & grandis affectus. qui Divina ſic diſponente Providentia, ex inſtanti aſſiduaq; mea opera provenit, ut hunc optimum Dominum meum Regem inducerem, eique perſuaderem quod ad arctiſſimam iſtam intimamq; cordis & animi conjunctionem deveniret erga, S. D. N. Eccleſiæq; & ſedis Apoſtolicæ tutelam ac patrocinium ſuſcipiendum, memoriæq; ſuccurrunt innumeræ rationes a me adductæ, ut Regiam Majeſtatem, quæ Cæſari tenaciſſime inhærebat, adducerem, ad S. D. N. defenſionem, rerumq; Italicarum tutelam amplectendam, ac inter omnes allegatas rationes, nulla fuit validior aut vehementior, vel quæ Regiæ Majeſtatis pectus magis permoveret, quam intima ſecuritas, perfectaq; conſtantia, quam ei aſſidue indeſinenterq; inſinuavi de ejus Sanctitatis vera optimaq; & flagranti correſpondentia in amore perpetuo, indiſſolubiliq; amicitia, animo & voluntate, petitionibus ſemper ſuæ R. Majeſt. & deſideriis concedendis, quoad

Eccleſiæ

Eccleſiæ Theſaurus & Autoritas ejus Sanctitati Chriſti Vicario conceſſa permittit, vel quoad ſe extendit, ſeu poſſit extendere; ſuper idq; omnia uberrime promiſi, meam etiam ſalutem, fidem, honorem animamque adſtringens, quod omnia ex ipſius Regiæ Majeſtatis votis, in omne tempus præſtarentur, abſq; ulla prorſus occaſione aut ſcrupulo, ab hujuſmodi indulgendis petitionibus digrediendi, adeo quod Regia Majeſtas, ex hoc meo aſſeveranti relatu, hunc propenſum S. D. N. in ſe animum perſpiciens, mihiq; ejus Sanctitatis nomine, veluti Legato, & Sedis Apoſtolicæ membro loquenti, firmam, certamq; fidem adhibens, periculis omnibus poſthabitis, laboribus ſumptibuſq; ſpretis, nullaq; ſui Regni aut ſubditorum habita ratione, animum adfixit, prorſuſq; ſtatutum & decretum in omnibus ſe adjungere, atq; perpetuo & conſtanter cum S. D. N. in affectu concurrere, in eoq; certum habeo velle decreviſſeq; perſtare, ad mortem uſque, niſi forſan ex eventibus, longe diverſis a meo promiſſo & ejus expectatione, occaſio ſubminiſtretur ſuam Regiam Majeſtatem ab hoc animi ſui decreto amovendi. Id ſi illi accideret (quod avertat Deus) merito mihi poſſet adſcribere perfidiam, levitatem, violationemq; promiſſionis, quo caſu quid mox officii aut miniſterii poſſem Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro præſtare, aut quæ fides in Eccleſiæ rebus mihi haberetur, ſingulari ejus Sanctitatis prudentiæ judicandum relinquo: nunquam enim meo in arbitrio poſthac eſſet, quicquam alicujus momenti hinc efficere, in ejus Sanctitatis commodum, hac nunc in re Regiæ Majeſtatis concepta ſpe, aut expectatione fruſtrata.

Eſt ſecundo accurate conſiderandum quantopere hoc negotium Regiæ Majeſtati interſit, & quanti ſit momenti, unde namque, præter Conſcientiæ Regiæ exonerationem, omnis quoq; Regiæ lineæ, & ſtemmatis continuatio pendet; huic adnectitur totius Regni fælicitas, vel excidium, hic ſecuritas & ſalus eorum conſiſtit, qui ſub Regis ſunt Imperio, & qui ullo unquam tempore naſcentur in ejus Regno, qua ex re oriri poteſt occaſio, & fomes tranquillitatis perpetuæ, aut diſcordiæ belliq; atrociſſimi in univerſum Chriſtianum orbem, quæ omnia majoris ſunt momenti, & vigilantius proſpicienda quam cujuſq; Principis vel Principiſſæ gratia, favor & expectatio.

Tertio, Cauſa ex ſe eſt hujuſmodi ut in animam meam ſpondere auſim, ejus conceſſionem, futuram non ſolum in conſcientiæ, honoriſq; Pontificis exonerationem coram Deo & hominibus, ſed in Cœlis quoq; gratam, acceptamq; extituram: In hac deinde re ſecreta inſunt nonnulla, ſecreto S. D. N. exponenda, & non credenda literis, quas ob cauſas, morboſq; nonnullos, quibus abſq; remedio Regina laborat, & ob animi etiam conceptum ſcrupulum, Regia Majeſtas nec poteſt, nec vult ullo unquam poſthac tempore, ea uti, vel ut Uxorem admittere, quodcunque advenerit. Non exigua præterea habenda eſt ratio eorum, quæ aliis meis literis continentur, concernentia, quæ pro ingenti theſauro S. D. N. habere queat, tam certam Regiæ Majeſtatis amicitiam, cum ejus Sanctitate conſtantiſſime conjunctam futuram in proſperis & adverſis, in quas etiam partes amicos ſuos omnes pertraxit, & aſſidue pertrahit: ad Eccleſiæ defenſionem, Sanctiſſimi Domini noſtri conſervationem, cauſas omnes ſuas & actiones dirigens; poſſentq; hi omnes, Regia Majeſtate deficiente, in contrarium verti, &, ut vera loquar, nullum Principem video in quo S. D. N. poſſit, quam in Regia Majeſtate plenius aut perfectius confidere, vel cujus medio Apoſtolicæ ſedis ſtatus in pri-

ſtinam ſuam dignitatem queat certius reſtitui, cum abſq; ejus ſubſidio, niſi ſolus Deus ex immenſa ſua bonitate manum citiſſime apponat, omnino imminutus iri videatur. Quod ſi Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter nunc (quod abſit) in his Regijs petitionibus durum ſe, aut difficilem ſe exhibuerit, mihi certe moleſtiſſimum eſt futurum vivere diutius, ob innumera mala, quæ inde ſubſecutura videntur, hoc præſertim firmo, tutoq; Regio ſubſidio tam ingrate abjecto; hocq; ſolum, & certum, & ſalubre remedium videtur tantæ corrigendæ calamitati ſupereſſe, quo neglecto omnia corruant neceſſe eſt. Hac autem in re S. D. N. ſua erga Regiam Majeſtatem animi gratitudine comprobata, poterit de illius amicitia & conjunctione quæcunq; volet ſibi polliceri, adverſus eos omnes, qui ejus Autoritatem aut dignitatem voluerint oppugnare. Tandem his cauſis rationibuſq; omnibus in unum congeſtis, mecum ipſe reputans, quam multa graviſſimi momenti in hujus conjugii Diſſolutione occurrant, in tanta æquitate juſtoq; fundamento poſita, ob quæ hæc Diſſolutio nec poſſit abſq; graviſſimo detrimento, nec debeat diutius protrahi aut intermitti; videns quoq; quid allegari poſſit & allegabitur omnino ad Regiæ Majeſtatis conſcientiam coram Deo purgandam, etiamſi id a S. D. N. neutiquam admittatur, quæ in hujuſmodi allegationibus confiſa, vereor ne in tanta rerum extremitate conſtituta, potius quam ingentia mala, quæ hinc apertiſſime imminent, ſuccedant, dicta Regia Majeſtas ex duobus malis minus malum eligat, & ſoli ſuæ puræq; conſcientiæ innitens, id agat, quod nunc tam reverenter a Sedis Apoſtolicæ Authoritate exigit, unde Sedis contemptus indies gravior excreſceret, hoc præſertim tempore admodum periculoſo: quæ omnia ſunt a S. D. N. ſumma ſua prudentia alte conſideranda, nullo prorſus dubio aut difficultate in re tam gravi mature concedenda interjecta; nec eam retardare debet cujuſquam mortalis inſtantia, contemplatio vel ſatisfactio, præſertim quum in multis aliis rebus, forſan non tam manifeſtis & apparentibus, Sanctitas ſua liberalem, facilemq; erga alios ſe ſæpe præſtiterit; cui humillima reverentia præmiſſa meo nomine dicetis, quod hæc loquor tamquam fidele, utcunq; Eccleſiæ indignum membrum, omnia excogitans quæ poſſent in Eccleſiæ augmentum & exiſtimationem cedere, ea etiam admovens & conſulens ut evitentur, quæ ceſſura videantur in contrarium. Quocirca Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro affirmabitis, quod præmiſſis omnibus tam maximi momenti exiſtentibus probe conſideratis, non veluti Mediator aut Interceſſor, ob privatum illum affectum quem Regiæ Majeſtatis cauſis, ut mei juris eſt, promovendis gero, ſed tanquam is qui in re tanta & ex tam certa ſcientia & cognitione, velim Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro ſuadere, ut quod nunc petitur omnino concedat, idque ſuaderem etiam ſi in hoc Regnum nunquam veniſſem, neq; hic commune quicquam haberem; rogoque, precor, & obteſtor ejus Sanctitatem, ut omni dubio, reſpectu, metuq; depoſito, nullo pacto neget aut differat ea concedere aut adnuere, quæ Regia Majeſtas urgentiſſimas ob cauſas tanta nunc animi ſollicitudine expoſcit; ſed his potius benignius liberaliterq; adnuat, & omnia concedere non gravetur in pleniorem modum qui hujus rei gratia poſſit excogitari, compertiſſimumq; ſibi ſua Sanctitas habeat, ſe id effecturum, quod coram Deo & hominibus juſtum omnino habebitur, actiſſimeque Regiam Majeſtatem devinciet ad ſuæ Sanctitatis, Eccleſiæ Apoſtolicæque Sedis, cauſaſque omnes pro viribus juvandas protegendaſque, nec ea in re, ulli labori, ſumptui,

Regno

Regno vel ſubditis parcet, nec (ſi opus fuerit) propriam Perſonam exponere recuſabit, in ea opinione conſtantiſſime permanſura, in eandemque ſententiam Gallorum Regem & alios confœderatos attrahet, tum pro ſuæ Sanctitatis & Cardinalium liberatione, tum pro Sedis Apoſtolicæ Authoritatis & dignitatis reſtitutione; & præterquam quum dicta Sanctitas mei humillimæ ſuæ Creaturæ fidem & exiſtimationem conſervabit, quo in omnem eventum & neceſſitatem ea poſſim hic facilius commodiuſq; tractare quæ in Eccleſiæ commodum, beneficium & ſecuritatem ceſſura videbuntur, in quæ officia omnem meam induſtriam,zelum, ſtudiumq; adhibebo, hunc quoq; Sereniſſimum Regem in perpetuum ſibi lucrifaciet. Quod ſi harum rerum rationem non habuerit, vereor ne ſit futurum in mea poteſtate, ut ullo modo hanc Regiam Majeſtatem vel alium ullum Principem ad ea adducam, quæ Sanctiſſimo Domino noſtro ſolatio aut ſubſidio eſſe poſſunt. Sed confido ab ipſius Sanctitate tantam malorum occaſionem ſublatam iri, gratiſſimo, benigniſſimo, liberrimoq; animo, omnia ut petuntur conceſſuram eſſe, nullo objecto impedimento, contradictione aut mora.

Romæ *Jan.* 20. 1528.

XII. Staphileus's *Letter to the Cardinal, that ſhews how much he was perſuaded of the juſtice of the King's Cauſe. The Original.* *

REverendiſſime & Illuſtriſſime Domine D. mihi colendiſſime, poſt humillimam cõmendationem D. V. Reverend. dignabitur intelligere, qualiter quintadecima die poſt receſſum noſtrum a Londino conſcendimus navem, retenti interim in portu ob tempeſtatem Maris & contrarios ventos: interim in itinere fui cum Reverendo Domino Roffen. & diſputavimus materiam multum, copioſe, & ſatis prolixe, in præſentia Domini Doctoris Marmeduci, qui intellexit omnia ex utraq; parte ab utroque dicta & ſæpius replicata; penes quem autem ſteterit victoria, vel ſaltem,uter noſtrum validius certaverit,D.V.Reverend. percipiet ex fideli relatione præfati D.Marmeduci. Unum certifico D.V.Reverend.quod pro uno mediocri Epiſcopatu deſideraſſem quod huic noſtræ Diſputationi interfuiſſet Sereniſſimus Rex noſter & D.V. & Regina,pro intelligentia veritatis & pro modo diſputandi: etenim commendo humiliter D. V. Reverend. iſtum bonum virum,bonum ſervitorem ac diligentem Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtatis & D.V.Reverendiſſ. Quibus me quoq; humillimum ac ex toto devotiſſimum eorum ſervum quam humillime poſſum ex toto corde meo ſemper commendo, præſtiturus utriq; fideliſſ. & amantiſſ. obſequium in rebus & negotiis mihi cõmiſſis & committendis. Bene valeat D.V.Reverendiſſ. quæ dignabitur tenere me ſemper in bona gratia Sereniſſimi Regis noſtri, qui eſt decus & ornamentum Regiæ Dignitatis. Ex Bononia 20 Jan. 1528.

Cotton Libr. *Vitell. B.* 10.

* D. V. Reverendiſſ.

Humillimus Servitor Epiſcopus
Staphileus.

The

Ad Campegium, 1528.

XIII. *The Cardinal's Letter to* Campegius, *taken from the Draught of it; Corrected with his own hand.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

REverendiſſime in Chriſto Pater, grata ſemper huic Regiæ Majeſtati extiterunt Veſtræ Reverend. Dominat. officia, ſed gratiſſimum omnium illud fuit, quod tanta fide & ſedulitate in ipſius promovenda cauſa ab ea fuiſſe præſtitum ex Reverendi Domini Jerdonen. ſermone cognovit: quam optimi amoris ſignificationem toto pectore amplexatur, juſſitq; ut ſuis nominibus ingentes veſtræ Reverendiſſimæ D. gratias haberemus: Cui ego eo quoq; nomine maxime quoq; me debere fateor, nulla enim in re magis obnoxium me ſibi poteſt efficere, quam ſi totis ſuis viribus, omni gratia & Authoritate adnitatur, quo negotium hoc ex Regiæ Majeſtatis ſententia quam citiſſime conficiatur; hujuſmodi enim eſt ut nullum gravius poſſit accidere, dilationem nullam patitur, utpote quod totius hujus Regni conſervationem, Regiæ ſobolis continuationem & ejus animi ſalutem in ſe contineat: cauſa quidem manifeſtior eſt quam diſputatione egeat, & ſanctior quam debeat in controverſiam adduci, hanc unam gratiam & nunc primum a Sede Apoſtolica votis omnibus petit, & eam tum ex rei juſtitia, tum ex ſua in S. D. N. filiali devotione, ſpem concepit, ut nullo pacto ſibi perſuadeat unquam fieri poſſe ut ſua expectatione fruſtretur, quam ſcit veſtræ R. D. opera ac pio patrocinio maxime poſſe juvari.

Iterum igitur atq; iterum Reverendiſſimam D. veſtram obſecro, ut poſtquam recenti & claro hoc teſtimonio purgavit quicquid antea in Regiam Majeſtatem fide ſiniſtre fuerat ad nos delatum, & noſtrum animum ſibi totum devinxit, non gravetur nunc ſtrenue in hoc Regio promovendo negotio ad optatum uſq; finem perſeverare, quod ita cor noſtrum premit, ut vel proprio ſanguine id vellemus poſſe a S. D. N. impetrare. Cætera, veſtra Reverendiſſima D. uberius ac diſtinctius cognoſcet ex Reverendo Domino Epiſcopo Jerdonenſi, & ex Domino Stephano Gardinero intimo meo ſervo, & Domino Edwardo Foxo Regio familiari, quibus rogo ut certiſſimam in omnibus fidem velit habere. Et fæliciſſime valeat.

Maii 7. 1528.

XIV. *The Cardinal's Letter to* G. Caſſali, *deſiring a Decretal Bull to be ſent over. A Duplicate.*

Cotton libr. *Vitel.* B. 10.

MAgnifice Domine Gregori, &c. Ingentem Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas & ego lætitiam concepimus, quum tum ex Domini Stephani literis, tum vero ex Domini Foxi relatu cognovimus, quanta fide, induſtria, ac vigilantia uſi ſitis in ejuſdem Regiæ Majeſtatis conficiendo negotio, quem veſtrum animum, etſi ſæpe antea arduis in rebus exploratiſſimum certiſſimumq; haberemus, hoc tamen tam claro teſtimonio nihil a

vobis

vobis omiſſum perſpicimus, quod votum noſtrum utcunq; juvare potuiſſet. Cæterum quum nonnulla adhuc meo aliorumq; Doctiſſ. virorum judicio ſupereſſe videantur, ad Regiæ Majeſtatis cauſam ſecuriſſime ſtabiliendam finiendamq; de quibus ad D. Stephanum in præſentia perſcribo; Vos iterum atq; iterum rogo, ut de illis impetrandis apud S. D. N. una cum Domino Stephano veſtram gratiam & Authoritatem, quam apud ejus Sanctitatem maximam eſſe & audio & gaudeo, pro viribus interponatis, maxime autem ut in Commiſſione illa Decretali a S. D. N. nullis Arbitris ſeu conſultoribus admiſſis concedenda, & ſecreto ad me mittenda, omnes vires ingenii, prudentiæ diligentiæq; veſtræ adhibeatis, affirmabitiſq; & in ſalutem animamq; meam eidem S. D. N. ſpondebitis, quod dictam Bullam ſecretiſſime nullis mortalium oculis conſpiciendam apud me aſſervabo, tanta fide & cautione, ut ne minimum quidem ex ea re periculum, vel periculi metum ejus Sanctitas ſit ſenſura; non enim eo conſilio aut animo eam Commiſſionem impetrari tam vehementer cupio, ut vel illius vigore ullius proceſſus aut aliud præterea quicquid ageretur, vel eadem publice privatimve legere illa ulli exhiberetur, ſed ut hac quaſi arrha & pignore ſummæ paternæq; S. D. N. erga Regiam Majeſtatem benevolentiæ apud me depoſito, quum videat nihil illi denegaturum quod petiverit, perſpiciatq; tantum fidei ejus Sanctitatem in me repoſuiſſe, ſic mea apud dictam Majeſtatem augeatur Authoritas, ut quanquam vires omnes ſuas opeſq; Apoſtolicæ Sedis conſervationi & in priſtinum ſtatum reparationi ſic ſponte dicaverit, me tamen ſuaſore & conſultore omnia in poſterum, & in ſanguinis effuſionem ſit conceſſura & effectura, quæ in ejuſdem Sedis & ſuæ Beatitudinis ſecuritatem, tranquillitatem & commodum, quaquam ratione cedere poterunt.

XV. *The Brieve of Pope* Julius *for the King's Marriage; ſuſpected to be forged.*

JUlius Papa Secundus. Dilecte Fili & dilecta in Chriſto Filia, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Romani Pontificis præcellens Authoritas conceſſa ſibi deſuper utitur poteſtate, prout (perſonarum, negotiorum & temporum qualitate penſata) id in Domino conſpicit expedire. Oblatæ nobis nuper pro parte veſtra petitionis ſeries continebat, quod cum alias tu Filia Catharina & tunc in humanis agens quondam Arthurus Cariſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri Henrici Angliæ Regis illuſtriſſimus primogenitus, pro conſervandis pacis & amicitiæ nexibus & fœderibus inter præfatum Angliæ Regem, & Cariſſimum in Chriſto Filium noſtrum Ferdinandum Regem, & Cariſſimam in Chriſto Filiam noſtram Elizabeth. Reginam Catholicos Hiſpaniarum & Siciliæ, Matrimonium per verba legitime de præſenti contraxeritis, *illudque carnali copula conſummaveritis*, quia tamen Dominus Arthurus, prole ex hujuſmodi Matrimonio non ſuſcepta, deceſſit, & hujuſmodi vinculum pacis & connexitatis inter præfatos Reges & Reginam ita firmiter veriſimiliter non perduraret, niſi etiam illud alio affinitatis vinculo confoveretur & confirmaretur, ex his & certis aliis cauſis, deſideratis Matrimonium inter vos per verba legitime de præſenti contrahere: Sed quia deſiderium veſtrum

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 12.

veſtrum in præmiſſis adimplere non poteſtis, Diſpenſatione Apoſtolica deſuper non obtenta, nobis propterea humiliter ſupplicari feciſtis, ut vobis providere in præmiſſis de Diſpenſationis gratia & benignitate Apoſtolica dignaremur. Nos igitur qui inter ſingulos Chriſti fideles, præſertim Catholicos Reges & Principes, pacis & concordiæ amænitatem vigere intenſis deſideriis affectamus, his & aliis cauſis animum noſtrum moventibus, hujuſmodi ſupplicationibus inclinati, vobiſcum, ut aliquo impedimento affinitatis hujuſmodi ex præmiſſis proveniente non obſtante Matrimonium inter vos contrahere, & in eo poſtquam contractum fuerit, remanere, libere & licite valeatis, Authoritate Apoſtolica per præſentes Diſpenſamus; & quatenus forſan jam Matrimonium inter vos de facto publice vel clandeſtine contraxeritis, ac carnali copula conſummaveritis, vos & quemlibet veſtrum ab exceſſu hujuſmodi, ac Excommunicationis ſententia quam propterea incurriſtis, eadem Authoritate abſolvimus, ac etiam vobiſcum ut in hujuſmodi Matrimonio ſic de facto contracto remanere, ſeu illud de novo contrahere, inter vos libere & licite valeatis, ſimiliter Diſpenſamus, prolem ex hujuſmodi Matrimonio ſive contracto ſive contrahendo ſuſcipiendam legitimam decernendo. Volumus autem, ſi hujuſmodi Matrimonium de facto contraxiſtis, Confeſſor, per vos & quemlibet veſtrum eligendus, pœnitentiam, quam adimplere teneamini, propterea vobis injungat. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum ſub annulo Piſcatoris, die 26 Decemb. milleſimo quingenteſimo tertio. Pont. noſtri Anno primo.

Sigiſmundus.

XVI. *A part of the Cardinal's Letter to* G. Caſſali, *deſiring leave to ſhew the Decretal Bull to ſome of the King's Council. A Duplicate.*

ILlud igitur video maxime neceſſarium ſupereſſe ut Decretalis Bulla, quam Reverendiſſimus Dominus Legatus ſecum defert, ſecreto legenda exhibeatur nonnullis ex Regis Conſultoribus, eo quidem conſilio, non ut in judicium proferatur, vel ad cauſam definiendam adhibeatur, ſed ſolum ut perſpicientes illi, quorum prudentia & Autoritas non parva eſt, nihil a me fuiſſe omiſſum, quod cauſam Regis poſſit ſecuriſſimam redere, omniaq; fuiſſe a S. D. N. conceſſa, quæ in cauſæ firmamentum ullo pacto queant excogitari facilius, ubi Regiæ Majeſtatis ſecuritati, Regni quieti, & perpetuo totius rei ſtabilimento undiq; conſultum viderint, in ſententiam noſtram deveniant, ſummaq; cum diligentia in Autoritate Apoſtolica ad Dei gloriam conjuncta rectiſſime abſolvantur. Proinde, Domine Gregori, iterum atq; iterum vos impenſe rogo, quod ad S. D. N. genua devoluti ejus Beatitudinem meo nomine obſecretis, ut hoc reliquum meæ fidei meæq; dexteritati de Bulla Decretali oſtendenda committere velit, quam rem ſic moderabor, ut nullum proſus periculum, nullum damnum, nullum odium queat unquam ſibi, vel Sedi Apoſtolicæ provenire; hocq; tam inſtanter precor, ut pro ſalute mea conſervanda petere queam ardentius nihil.

Cotton Libr. *Vitell. B.* 10.

Reveren-

XVII. John Caſſali's *Letter about a Conference he had with the Pope. An Original.*

Reverendiſſime ac Illuſtriſſime Domine D. mi Colendiſſime, &c.

QUum Tabellarius D. Veſtræ Reverendiſſimæ cum ejus mandatis literiſq; die 2. Novemb. datis Bononiam ad Equitem fratrem perveniſſet, neq; ipſe tunc poſſet præ debilitate properatis itineribus Romam venire, ne ad eam rem longioris temporis moram interponeret, miſit per diſpoſitos equos D. Vicentium Caſſalium fratrem noſtrum patruelem, volens ipſum ſtatim ſubſequi; venit igitur D. Vincentius Caſſalius. At ego Veſtræ Dominationis Reverendiſſimæ literis lectis ac perpenſis, S.D.N. adivi, & ea quæ D. V. Reverendiſſima ſcripſerat, diligenter ejus Sanctitati expoſui, ipſaſq; etiam literas recitavi, quæ prudentiſſime & efficaciſſime omnia explicabant. Atq; hujuſmodi verbis ſum loquutus. *Cotton* libr. *Vttel.* B.10.

Non locus hic nec tempus poſtulat, Beatiſſime Pater, ut ego nunc commemorem, quanto amore, quanto animi affectu, quibuſq; officiis illa Regia Majeſtas Apoſtolicam Sedem Sanctitatemq; Veſtram ſit ubique omni tempore proſequuta, quantaq; obſervantia & fide Reverendiſſimus Dominus Eboracen. ſemper coluerit; nec recenſendum hic videtur, quot labores, quot incommoda ſubiverint, quæ officia, quas multoties impenſas effecerint, quærentes Eccleſiaſticum ſtatum, Chriſtianam Religionem, & Catholicam Fidem protegere ac conſervare: Nec veſtra Sanctitas ignorare debet, quibus laboribus, quantis precibus, quot tabellariis, quot oratoribus miſſis, quot non dicam literis, ſed voluminibus conſcriptis, poſt multa inſuper Juriſperitorum conſilia, tum ex Anglia allata, tum hic etiam formata, fuerit tandem à veſtra Sanctitate impetratum, ut res eo, quo fuit pacto, componeretur: Qua ratione Regiæ Majeſtatis deſiderio indulgebatur, & Beatitudinis veſtræ honori ac conſcientiæ, juſtitiæq; & æquitati conſulebatur: At nunc Sanctitas Veſtra animadvertit illos, præter omnium noſtrum ſpem & opinionem, omni auxilio penitus eſſe deſtitutos: Reverendiſſ. Campegius non modo non oſtendit, ſe adeo urgentibus precibus Sereniſſimi Regis obtemperare velle, ſed ut primum ad Colloquium venit, rem totam pervertit, Regiam Majeſtatem a Divortio diſſuaſit, perinde ac ſi ei Legatio demandata fuerit, ut Sereniſſimo Regi ex parte Reginæ perſuadere debeat, ut ſe a Divortio abſtineat, adeo ut non poſſit Regia Majeſtas ſtimulum hunc Conſcientiæ ex ſuo pectore evellere, ſemperq; in ea mentis perturbatione illi ſit permanendum, ut omnibus horis cogitet ſucceſſorem ſui Regni ex ſuo ſanguine defuturum. Neq; adhuc Reverendiſſimus Campegius ullam ſignificationem dedit, velle ſe ad id exequendum deſcendere, quod priore illa generali Commiſſione continetur; verum, quod pejus etiam eſt, quum multis precibus Bulla Decretalis in hac cauſa Regia impetrata fuerit, promiſeritq; Veſtra Sanctitas ſe permiſſurum ut Sereniſſimo Regi ac Reverendiſſ. D. Eboracen. oſtenderetur, & eorum manibus crederetur, quam ipſi aliquibus ex Secretiſſimis Conſiliariis oſtenderent, ut Sereniſſimus Rex de totius negotii æquitate inſtructior fieret, noluit Reverendiſſimus Campegius eam credere Sereniſſimo Regi, aut Reverendiſ-

ſimo Domino Eboracen. ſuo in ea cauſa Collegæ. Cur autem velit Veſtra Sanctitas Regiam Majeſtatem in eam ſpem adduxiſſe, ut deinde hoc pacto illam fruſtretur ac deludat. Tunc S. D. N. injecta in meum brachium manu, me ulterius loqui prohibuit, ſe ira accenſum non abſcondens, dixit, Non parum ſibi de D. V. Reverendiſſima conquerendum eſſe, atque ſub ejus fide ſe deceptum eſſe; Bullam Decretalem dediſſe, ut tantum Regi oſtenderetur, concremareturq; ſtatim: ad hoc me (inquit) multis ille magniſque precibus protraxit, oſtendens, ſi id non daretur, manifeſtam ſuæ ſaluti ruinam impendere; nunc autem eam Bullam, quæ debuit eſſe Secretiſſima, vult divulgare, neq; unquam ſe promiſiſſe conceſſurum ut Conſiliariis oſtendatur: literas (inquit) ipſas Reverendiſſimi Eboracen. proferre poſſum, quibus id tantum, quod dixi, petit, & ipſum Equitem Caſſalium teſtem volo, quod Dominus Stephanus Gardinerus & ipſe nil aliud a me poſtulaverunt, nec ſi poſtulaſſent, quicquam amplius obtinuiſſent; atq; utinam aliter rem petiſſent, eam namq; facile denegaſſem, nec ad hanc pœnitentiam veniſſem, ex qua vel unius digiti jactura (modo fieri poſſit) quod factum fuit revocarem, video enim quantum mali ex eo mihi ſubeundum ſit. Quum S. D. N. hæc & ſimilia contra ſuum morem dixiſſet, ego in eam ſententiam ſubſequutus, ſciendum eſſe, quod D. V. Reverendiſſima petit, non eſſe ab eo, quod ejus Sanctitas conſtitutum fuiſſe dicit alienum, nec D. V. Reverendiſſima hanc rem divulgari velle, aut ſecundum eam Bullam ſententiam ferri; Cæterum Regiæ Majeſtati & ſibi tradi, ut poſſent aliquibus fidelioribus carioribuſq; Conſiliariis oſtendere, ut ipſi de re tota fiant inſtructiores, quod perinde arcanum erit, ac ſi in nullius notitiam deveniſſet. An non (inquam) Sanctitas Veſtra pleroſq; habet, quibus quum aliquid arcanum crediderit, putet id non minus celatum eſſe, quam ſi uno tantum pectore contineretur, quod multo magis Sereniſſimo Angliæ Regi evenire debet, cui ſinguli in ſuo Regno ſunt ſubjecti, neq; etiamſi velint, poſſunt Regi non eſſe fideliſſimi: Ve namq; illis ſi vel parvo momento ab illius voluntate recederent, quid hoc præterea obeſſe poteſt? an non ſic petitum, ſic conſtitutum fuit? quæ ratio Sanctitatem Veſtram propoſitum mutare cogit? Ibi Pontifex iracundus, & concitatior etiam quam paulo ante; Haud (inquit) ita fuit conſtitutum, nec me latet, quid de ea Bulla facere cogitent & cujuſmodi ex eo mihi damnum redundaturum ſit; firmum igitur illud habeatis, me decreviſſe, neq; ſententiam muto, nolle quicquam amplius hac in re permittere. At ego, nolit (quæſo) Veſtra Sanctitas ſic ex certa animi ſententia loqui, ac potius in his literis Reverendiſſimi Domini Eboracen. conſideret damna, ruinas, hæreſes, quæ Veſtræ Sanctitatis culpa in illo Regno orirentur: Regia enim Majeſtas male a Veſtra Beatitudine tractata, injuria, & ignominia affecta, ſtudium & voluntatem, quam ſemper optimam in Sedem Apoſtolicam habuit, in contrariam partem convertere poſſet, hoc eſt Dominationi Veſtræ toto pectore conſiderandum. Eſto quod de hujus negotii æquitate diſceptatum non ſit, concedamus etiam hanc rem malam, & mali exempli futuram (quod quidem ſecus eſſe judicaverunt omnes) an non Veſtra Sanctitas novit pleraq; quæ non bona ſunt præferri nonnunquam a nobis ſolere, ne pejora patiamur; atq; hoc tum aliis in rebus, tum imprimis hæreſium evitandarum cauſa providendum eſt, quas videmus, quum ſemel altiores radices egerint, non poſſe amplius extirpari: atq; ibi ad illius pedes genibus flexis, eam precibus omnibus ſum obteſtatus, ut amici-

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tiam potentiſſimi Regis conſervare, obſervantiam Dominationis Veſtræ Reverendiſſimæ erga ejus Sanctitatem, noſtramq; ſervitutem reſpicere vellet; relicta namq; Regiæ Majeſtatis amicitia, religionis imminutio ſubſequeretur, & Regni illius a tam antiqua cum Sede Apoſtolica conjunctione diſſolutio, ac Dominationis Veſtræ Reverendiſſimæ gratia & Autoritas apud Sereniſſ. Regem non ſuo merito deficeret, ejuſq; fortaſſe ſalus periclitaretur; Nos autem qui ſemper Beatitudini Veſtræ inſervivimus, pro qua tot bonis officiis functi ſumus, & tantum operæ perfecimus, ad integram amicitiam inter Regiam Majeſtatem & Veſtram Sanctitatem conſervandam, in medio noſtrarum actionum, Regni illius damna & calamitatem, noſtramq; certiſſimam ruinam conſpiceremus. Ad hæc S. D. N. & brachiorum & totius corporis agitatione, animum commotum oſtendens, Volo (inquit) ego ruinam, quæ mihi modo immineat conſiderare, & idipſum quod feci valde me angit; Si hæreſes, vel alia mala oritura ſunt, quænam in eo mea culpa erit, ſatis meæ conſcientiæ fuerit me vacaſſe culpa, cui eſſem obnoxius, ſi hoc etiam quod nunc ex me petitur concederem: Nec Reverendiſſimus Dominus Eboracenſis, nec vos ullam cauſam de me conquerendi habetis, quicquid nunc pollicitus ſum præſtiti, neq; aliud unquam, etſi mihi faciendi eſſet facultas, Regia Majeſtas & Reverendiſſimus Dominus Eboracen. a me petierunt, quod non promptiſſime conceſſerim, ut quiſq; facile intelligat, quanti eos ſemper fecerim; ad aliqua etiam Veſtri cauſa faciliorem me præbui. Cæterum ubi vertitur meæ conſcientiæ integritas omnia poſthabenda cenſeo, agant per ſe ipſi quod volunt, Legatum remittant eo prætextu, quod in cauſam ulterius procedi nolint, & deinceps ut ipſi volent rem conficiant, modo ne me autore injuſte quicquam agatur. Tunc ego, Nonne Veſtra Sanctitas vult, ut ex vigore Commiſſionis procedatur? quod quum velle affirmaſſet, dixi, igitur Reverendiſſimus Campegius Sanctitatis Veſtræ voluntati adverſatur, Divortium enim Regi diſſuaſit; At Pontifex, ego (inquit) illi impoſui, ut Divortium Regi diſſuaderet, perſuaderet Reginæ; quod autem ad Commiſſionem pertinet, ſi requiratur, exequetur. Sumus ergo (inquam) concordes, Beatiſſime Pater, quod quum ita ſit, quid nocere poterit Decretalem Bullam aliquibus ſecretiſſimis ac juramento addactis Conſiliariis oſtendiſſe: Tum quaſſans caput, Scio (inquit) quid de ea facere conſtituant, verum nondum Campegii literas ex Anglia legi, quapropter die craſtino ad me redibitis. Hoc pacto S. D. N. primo die me dimiſit. Ad fuit his ſermonibus Dominus Vincentius Caſſalius, quem ob equitem fratrem huc miſſum dixi, qui equitem ipſum excuſavit, quod quamvis ille animadverteret negotium hoc tanti momenti eſſe, ut etiam cum vitæ diſcrimine Romam per diſpoſitos equos ſibi properandum eſſe videret, nihilominus ſuperſediſſe videns quod ſi id feciſſet neceſſe ſibi futurum domi, & in lectulo permanere potius, quam de re tanta coram ejus Sanctitate agere. Atque interim Dominus Vincentius multas rationes ad perſuadendum, equitis Caſſalii nomine adhibuit, quas eodem pacto ejus Sanctitas in ſequentem diem rejecit.

Poſtridie ejus diei ſignatura habita eſt, cui ego tanquam referendarius interfui, in veſperumq; eſt protracta, nec judicavi opportunum Pontificem ſignaturæ munere defeſſum aggredi, quum præſertim ejus Sanctitas diceret ſe nondum Campegii literas perlegiſſe. Res igitur iterum in diem proximum rejecta fuit, quo poſtea horam commodam nactus Pontificem

adivi, quumq; omnium Capitum, quæ D. V. Reverendiſſimæ literis continebantur, quaſi ſummam effeciſſem, ne quicquam per oblivionem præterirem, ab ea primum parte cœpi, in qua dicitur ſuam Sanctitatem conceſſiſſe Commiſſionem generalem in ampliſſima forma, & promiſiſſe ferendam ſententiam, ſe ratificaturum. Pontifex hoc verum eſſe affirmavit, dicens ſe contentum eſſe, ut ad ſententiam procedatur; Qua vero parte eſt, ejus Sanctitatem Bullam Decretalem conceſſiſſe, ut ſecretiores Regiæ Majeſtatis Conſiliarios inſtrueret, id a veritate longe remotum dixit, poſſeq; ad id ſe literas D. V. Reverendiſſimæ oſtendere: Atque ea repetivit, quæ prior die ſuper hoc dixerat, viz. Dominum Stephanum Gardinerum & Equitem Caſſalium ſe teſtes habere, hanc Bullam non ea conditione petitam fuiſſe ut oſtenderetur cuiquam, præterquam Sereniſſimo Regi & D. V. Reverendiſſimæ, & Campegium nunc ad ſe ſcribere tantundem effeciſſe, quo facto ex conventione Bullam comburi debere, promiſſurum quoq; ſe dixit, ut ſi quæ allegantur, probentur, ad ſententiam ferendam procedatur, ſe id ratum habiturum. Quumq; ego quæſiſſem an vellet, quæ fierent per eam Bullam comprobare, minime id oportere dixit; negavit quoq; eam Conſiliariis oſtendendam eſſe, qui tametſi rem bonam non judicarent, approbarent tamen ſuper ejus Sanctitatis Conſcientiam; ac ſæpius interim repetivit, non eſſe amplius in ea re commorandum. Ad aliam igitur partem deveni, in qua D. V. Reverendiſſima dicit, Reverendiſſimum Campegium Divortium inter Regem Sereniſſimum & Reginam conatum diſſuadere: Tum Pontifex Campegium ſcribere dixit, eo ſe etiam functurum officio, ut Reginæ Divortium perſuaderet, quam ab eo alienam invenerit; modeſte tamen eam, ait, locutam fuiſſe, & Conſiliarios petiiſſe, qui ex Hiſpania denegati fuerint, ex Flandria autem conceſſi. Dixit etiam S. D. N. ſe literas ad Regem, Reverendiſſimo Campegio ex ſuo Chirographo dediſſe, ut Regia Majeſtas fidem his haberet, quæ Reverendiſſimus Campegius ſuæ Sanctitatis nomine diceret. Ad illam deinde partem deveni, ubi eſt: Cauſam Regis perinde differt, ac ſi nolit ad judicium, ſententiamq; in partem ſuæ Majeſtatis ferendam deſcendere, donec S. D. N. certiorem prius effecerit, de his ad hanc cauſam concernentibus, quæ ibi vidit & audivit. Ad hæc reſpondit, Campegium quandocunq; requiſitus fuerit, proceſſurum, neq; de ſuperſedendo Commiſſionem habere; ſe tantum injunxiſſe, ut quum procedi cœptum eſſet, ſe certiorem faceret, ne tamen interim moræ aliquid interponeretur. At ubi eſt nullo pacto adduci vult, ut mihi ſuo Collegæ Commiſſionem hanc Decretalem credat: Dixit verum id eſſe, ideo factum ne pluribus palam fieret, eaque conditione qua petitum fuit, oſtenſam nequicquam amplius expectandum, ea repetens, quæ prius etiam circa hoc dixerat. At ego, videat Sanctitas veſtra quod ex his verbis, quæ hic ſcripta ſunt loquor, quæ dicunt Sanctitatem Veſtram Commiſſionem Decretalem conceſſiſſe, ea conditione ut aliquibus Regiis Conſiliariis oſtenderetur. Tum Pontifex iterum excandeſcens; Oſtendam (inquit) literas ipſius Reverendiſſimi Eboracenſ. nec loquor mendacia, & non minus meis verbis, literiſq; prioribus Reverendiſſimi Eboracen. fides eſt habenda, quam his quas nunc affertis. Tum ejus Sanctitatem mitigari quæſivi, ſi minus urgenter mandata exequerer, quoniam id a me fieri oportet. Quod ad Regni ruinas, damna, calamitates, ſcandala, & diminutionem Religionis, multa in eandem ſententiam dixit, in quam primo die locutus fuit; quum diceret, Egregium

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vero decus Sereniſſimo huic Regi fuerit, ſi ipſe, qui Fidei Defenſor & ſit & appelletur, qui libros etiam pro ejus defenſione ediderit, eandem nunc impugnare cogatur; Ad hæc quam recte ſint venturi, viderint ipſi. Eo autem loco, in quo dicebatur aliquid de Regio negotio, inter Generalem Fatrum de obſervantia, & ejus Sanctitatem conveniſſe, & eo autore fœdus inter ejus Sanctitatem & Cæſarianos componendum, Dixit, id oſtendere, quod de Regio negotio nihil promiſerit, quod quicunq; pollicitus ſit, & quin poterit habita ratione ſuæ conſcientiæ, re ipſa præſtare velit: In eo autem quod de Pace tractanda affertur, dixit, ſe nullum modum in tali negotio invenire, neq; ſe adhuc ſcire, quod iſte Generalis ullas pacis conditiones ſit allaturus; atq; ea inſuper addidit, quæ meis literis die 15 Novemb. datis D. V. Reverendiſſimæ ſignificavi.

Aliis deinde diebus S. D. N. ſæpiſſime ſum alloquutus, qui decrevit cum Reverendiſſimis de Monte & Sanctorum Quatuor Cardinalibus de his rebus omnibus loqui, præterquam de Bulla Decretali, de qua cum nemine vult ullam fieri mentionem, juſſitq; ex omni Scriptura ejus memoriam eximi. De reliquis itaq; rebus omnibus loquutus ſum cum his duobus Cardinalibus qui dixerunt Pontificem contentum fore, ut ad ſententiam procedatur, tametſi id pleriſq; alienum videatur, deque eo nonnulli ex Cardinalibus cum obtrectatione loquuntur, & Cæſaris Orator ne procedatur Proteſtatur, voluntq; fieri in Curia Cauſæ advocationem, Commiſſionemq; cum Inhibitione ad partes; dicuntq; hi duo Reverendiſſimi, quod quæ poſtulant illi, juſta ſunt, nec minimo cuiq; denegari poſſent, nolle tamen Regiæ Majeſtatis cauſa S. D. N. quicquam ex eo quod factum ſit, immutare.

Quum alio etiam die Pontificem otioſum nactus eſſem, multa cum ejus Sanctitate, de rebus præteritis diſſerui, deque eo, quod ego ad ejus utilitatem cum Venetis egiſſem, quoniam ſcirem Sereniſſimi Regis, & D. V. Reverendiſſimæ voluntatem eſſe, ut quotieſcunq; occaſio daretur, pro ſuæ Sanctitatis commodo omnia fierent: Expoſui deinde quantopere elaboraſſem pro negotio Cerviæ & Ravennæ, utq; multa Gallici Oratores egiſſent a D. V. Reverendiſſima potiſſimum inſtigati; Addidi etiam efficaciſſima verba, quibus uſus eſt Dominus Stephanus Gardinerus. Ad omnia S. D. N. reſpondit, ſe ea de re Regiæ Majeſtati, ac D. V. Reverendiſſimæ gratias habere, & mihi quoque gratias egit; dixitque, non tamen omnes ſimul tantum efficere potuiſtis, ut mihi mæ civitates redderentur. Scitis autem conditiones fœderis in quo ego quoque eram, fuiſſe, ut quum quis noſtrum injuria afficeretur, ab eo cæteri confœderati injuriam propulſarent, quod multo magis pro me faciendum erat, quum qui in ipſo fœdere eſſent mihi injuriarentur; Et inde Cæſariani volunt mihi perſuadere Venetos non fuiſſe id facturos, ſi putaſſent Regi Angliæ aut Chriſtianiſſimo diſpliciturum: Neque interim deſiſtunt, multa, magnaq; mihi polliceri, unde ego, quod alias etiam dixi, id quod affertur, quum aliter facere nequeam, accipere cogar. Illudq; etiam vos ſcire volo promiſſum mihi fuiſſe, ſi legatus hic in Angliam mitteretur, futurum ut mihi civitates a Venetis reſtituerentur. Tum ego, non omnia, Beatiſſime Pater, adhuc ſunt perfecta, Rex enim potentiſſimus omnino operam dabit, ut illæ civitates Beatitudini

dini Veſtræ reſtituantur: An non, quæ ejus Majeſtas ſcribit Veſtra Sanctitas animadvertit? Cui videndum imprimis eſt, ne de ipſa Sereniſſimo Regi ſit conquerendum; & ex hac occaſione iterum ad Regiam Cauſam redii. At ejus Sanctitas dixit, ſe omnia quæ potuiſſet pro Regia Majeſtate & D. V. Reverendiſſima feciſſe, facturamq; etiam libenter.

Nonne igitur (inquam) poſſet ratio aliqua inveniri qua concederetur eam Bullam aliquibus ex Secretioribus Conſiliariis oſtendi poſſe? Tum Pontifex, non (inquit) Non poteſt hoc fieri, nec a me impetrari; quod ſi ullo modo fieri potuiſſet, minime tam multas magnaſq; preces a Sereniſſimo Rege, & Reverendiſſimo Domino Eboracen. expectaſſem; quumq; quibuſdam validis Argumentis inſtarem, prohibuit me ulterius de hujuſmodi re loqui. Nolui ego unquam dicere, equitem fratrem brevi eſſe venturum, ne Pontifex rem in illius adventum protraheret, ea tantum de cauſa, ut moram interponeret.

Omnibus deinde aliis diebus ſuper eodem negotio inſtiti, nunquam tamen Pontifex ſententiam ſuam ulla ex parte immutare voluit; tantum illud decrevit, Nuntium mittere velle, qui ſuam ſententiam verbis explicaret: quumq; nulla mihi amplius ſpes relinqueretur quicquam amplius impetrandi, tum demum dixi, Equitem fratrem Romæ futurum ſequenti die, qui quum adeo gravis momenti rem, cerneret, noluerit ſuæ valetudini conſulere, & quod is minime putaſſet, ſuæ ſervitutis in ejus Sanctitatem merita hoc modo male tractanda fuiſſe. Gratum ſibi dixit Pontifex Equitis adventum fore, quodq; cum ipſo & conſtituerentur omnia, negans tamen ſe ullo pacto id quod nunc petitur conceſſurum. Venit itaq; Eques frater, qui non ſecus ac ſi nunquam quiſquam de hac re cum Pontifice egiſſet, ſingula de integro tractavit, omnibus his modis & rationibus tentatis quæ excogitari poterunt. Quæ omnia minutim Dominus Vincentius Caſſalius noſter patruelis, quem ad ipſum mittimus, verbis coram explicabit, egoque ne D. V. Reverendiſſimæ jam nimis moleſtus ſim, de hac ulterius non ſcribam.

Quod ad Wintonienſem Expeditionem ſpectat, multum hi Reverendiſſimi Domini Cardinales offendebantur, nunc ab ipſis pecuniarum remiſſiones poſtulari, quum deprædata eorum bona ſint, ipſiq; propter id ad Paupertatem redacti. Quibus ego oſtendi, majus emolumentum ad ipſos venturum, ſi D. V. Reverendiſſima unam Eccleſiam acciperet, alteram deponeret, quam ſi alter tantum Wintonienſis Eccleſiæ expeditionem faceret; neque D. V. Reverendiſſimam nimis hanc permutationem optare dixi, quum Wintonienſis non multo Eccleſiæ Dunelmenſi ſit ditior. Ad hæc dixerunt, quod libentius D. V. Reverendiſſimæ quam cuiquam alteri erunt gratificaturi, quoniam ipſa de ſede Apoſtolica ſit ſemper bene merita, non tamen ſe vereri, quin D. V. Reverendiſſima Wintonienſem Eccleſiam illius Regni primariam ſit acceptura. Ego quum Pontificem, & deinde Cardinales eos qui magis rebus noſtris ſtudent ambiſſem, effeci ut Pontifex, de ea re in Conſiſtorio referret, quod ejus Sanctitas effecit, multis etiam additis laudibus D. V. Reverendiſſimæ, quibus aliqui Cardinales, & maxime Neapolitani, reſponderunt ea quæ ſuperius dixi. Illud tandem decreverunt, quod quum D. V. Reverendiſſima ſolvere debeat, pro expeditione Wintonienſis Eccleſiæ, & pro retentione Eccleſiæ Eboracenſis & Abbatiæ Sancti Albani, habita ratione totius ſummæ, ejus pars dimidia V. D. Reverendiſſimæ condona-

condonaretur, & ut ad 13 vel 14 millia aureorum remittant, & non multo plus eo, quod pro Wintonien. tum Eccleſia deberet ſolvere. Id Reverendiſſimis Cardinalibus ideo diſplicebat, quoniam nollent res hujuſmodi in exemplum trahi, quum præſertim Magnus Franciæ Cancellarius, ipſe quoque in magna quadam Expeditione, idipſum in præſentia flagitat, quod iſti concedere nolunt.

Cætera ex Domini Vincentio D. V. Reverendiſſima copioſius coram intelligat; Quæ bene valeat. Dat. Romæ die 17 Decemb. 1528.

Humillimus ſervus

Jo. Caſſalius

Prothonotar.

XVIII. The Pope's Letter to the Cardinal, giving Credence to *Campana*. An Original.

Dilecto Filio noſtro Thomæ Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali Eboracen. In Regno Angliæ, noſtro & Sedis de Latere Legato.

Dilecte Fili noſter, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Exiſtimavimus non tam commode per literas reſponderi poſſe his, de quibus poſtremo Oratores Carriſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri iſtius Regis nobiſcum egerunt; Itaq; proprium hominem Franciſcum Campanam familiarem noſtrum iſtuc mittimus, ex quo ſua Serenitas ac Circumſpectio tua plenius intelligent quæ nobis occurrant, tam de rebus ad pacem & publice ad univerſam Chriſtianitatem ſpectantibus, quam ſuper privatis Serenitatis ſuæ, de quibus nobis per literas & Oratores veſtros ſignificaſtis, quas quidem ſummopere cordi habemus. Circumſpectionem tuam hortamur, ut ſibi ac Serenitati ſuæ perſuadeat nos paternam benevolentiam atq; animum geſſiſſe & gerere erga Serenitatem ſuam, ab eodemq; amore proficiſci omnia quæcunq; illi ſignificamus, ut pluribus Circumſpectionem tuam, quam merito multum amamus, exponet Dilect. Fil. Card. Campegius, Legatus una tecum noſter, ac dictus Franciſcus, quibus pleniſſimam fidem habebitis. Datum Romæ 15. Decembris M.D.XXVIII. *Cotton* Libr. *Vitell. B.* 10.

J.

Clemens manu propria.

Decemb. 1. 1528.

XIX. *A part of* Peter Vannes *his Inſtructions, directing him to threaten the Pope. An Original.*

——— And *Peter*, as of himſelf, ſhall a-part ſay unto his Holineſs; Sir, I being an *Italian*, cannot but with a more fervent zeal and mind than any other, ſtudy and deſire the Weal, Honour, and Safety

Safety of your Holineſs and the See Apoſtolick; which compelleth me to ſhew unto your Holineſs, frankly, what I ſee in this matter. Surely, Sir, in caſe your Holineſs continuing this particular reſpect of fear of the Emperor, do thus delay, protract, and put off the accompliſhment of the King's ſo inſtant deſire in this Matter, and not impart to his Majeſty therein bounteouſly of the Treaſure and Goods of the Church, and the See Apoſtolick, *quantum poteſtis ex Theſauro Eccleſiæ & ex plenitudine Poteſtatis ac Autoritate a Deo vel ab Eccleſia collata.* I ſee aſſuredly, that it will be a means ſo to alienate the faſt and entire mind which his Highneſs beareth to your ſaid Holineſs, as not not only thereby his Grace, Nobles, and Realm, but alſo many other Princes his Friends and Confederates, with their Nobles and Realms, ſhall withdraw their Devotion and Obedience from your Holineſs, and the See Apoſtolick, ſtudying how they may acquite this your Ingratitude, in the higheſt cauſe that can be deviſed, ſhewed, and ſo long continued with the ſemblable. And therefore, Sir, at the reverence of Almighty God, caſt not from you the heart of this noble virtuous Prince, who finally cannot fail, the Peace had, which Chriſtendom may not long forbear, to have in his puiſſance, ſuch a ſtay as may be able, in the higheſt and largeſt manner, to recompence his Friends, and to acquite the contrary.

Henry R.

XX. The Cardinal's Letter to the Ambaſſadors about his promotion to the Popedom. An Original.

Magnifico Equiti Domino Gregorio Caſſalio ac Domino Petro Vanni, Sereniſſimi Domini Angliæ & Franciæ Regis in Rom. Curia oratoribus.

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 10. MAgnifice Domine Gregori & Domine Petre ſalutem. Sicuti incommodiſſimus totius Reipublicæ Chriſtianæ, ac potiſſimum Regis Majeſtatis negotiis S. D. N. obitus accidit, ita etiam vos non latere puto quantum periculi & diſcriminis hujus Sereniſſimi Regis ſaluti & honori, ac Regni ſui quieti ab hac futuri Pontificis Electione immineat, & quantopere vobis adnitendum, ac veſtro ſtudio, diligentia, induſtria & prudentia occurrendum & obſtandum ſit, ne aliquis eligatur Pontifex alienus ab hac Regia Majeſtate; & quid pro me promovendo facere ac tractare debeatis, cumulate per communes meas literas vos admonui: nec oportet per has quicquid aliud replicare, quas ſolum ad vos ſcribere volui, ut ſignificem vobis me totum hoc graviſſimum & omnium maximum negotium, de quo acturi eſtis, veſtræ prudentiæ, fidei, & dexteritati, quam longo temporis uſu exploratiſſimam habeo, committere & credere, ſperoq; vos ſpei & opinioni meæ de vobis conceptæ omnino reſponſuros, & bene valete. Londini die 6 Feb. 1528.

Veſter amantiſſimus Frater
T. Cardin. Eborac.

XXI. An

XXI. An Information given to the Pope about the Divorce. An Original.

Adnotatio Summaria eorum quæ aliis libellis fuſius explicata S. D. N. tum licere, tum expedire, perſuadent, ut in Cauſa Regiæ Majeſtatis Sententiam divortii ferat.

PRimum licet atque etiam expedit dirimere hoc Matrimonium, quod juri tum divino tum humano repugnat. *Cotton libr. Vitel. B. 11.*

Divinum enim jus duci prohibet Uxorem fratris, quin hic fratris Uxorem ductam fuiſſe ſit notorium.

Humanum verò jus, duo hujus Matrimonii impedimenta continet, alterum Affinitatis, quod divino jure inductum ſeveriſſime ſancivit; alterum publicæ Honeſtatis, & juſtitiæ, quod promulgavit Deus, ſi ex definitione Matrimonii, divini, humaniq; juris commutatio interveniret, quibuſnam auſpiciis hoc Matrimonium conſtare dicemus, quod utroque jure adverſante ac repugnante, contractum eſt, coit, & utcumque conſiſtit?

Sed ceſſavit, inquiunt, in hac ſpecie juris utriuſq; prohibitio per gratiam & Diſpenſationem ſummi Pontificis.

Reſpondetur quidem iſtis multis modis. Primo non eſſe videri, quod nullum eſt, nullum autem haberi quod ſine Autoritate legitima fiat; deniq; Pontificis Autoritatem non eatenus pertinere, ut in gradibus divina lege prohibitis diſpenſare poſſit: non opinionibus Scripturientium, qui Pontificis Authoritatem imminutam velint, ſed ipſius Pontificis ſententia conſtat, quem ſuæ Juriſdictionis modum, & optime noviſſe & ampliare velle potius quam reſtringere credendum eſt; quæ quum ita ſint, etiam ſi humani juris prohibitio per Diſpenſationem ſublata videatur, manet nihilominus immotum, quod divinum eſt, ſi ipſis contra ſeipſos credimus Pontificibus.

Deinde, ut poſſe Pontifices diſpenſare fateamur, & in ea parte tribuamus plus Authoritatis quam ipſi ſibiipſis audeant arrogare, tamen non paſſim, non quocunq; modo, non temere, & ſine omni conſideratione, poſſe eos diſpenſare; atq; fatendum eſt ne ſuo teſtimonio Diſſipatores verius, quam Diſpenſatores appellentur. Itaque ut cauſam urgentiſſimam & evidentiſſimam, tum etiam manifeſtiſſimam debet habere Diſpenſatio, precibus deniq; veris, non ementitis atq; confictis inniti.

In Diſpenſatione autem, quo conſtat hoc Matrimonium, verbis quidem pacis cauſa proponitur, ſed non ideo quia ſic refertur, re ipſa ſubſiſtit, Pontificis facta non ad verborum ſuperficiem, ſed rei ipſius ſolidam veritatem expendi convenit.

Certum eſt, pacem multis modis, tum firmiſſimam fuiſſe unoq; Matrimonio conciliatam, pactorum deniq; ac fœderum vi conſtantem, iſtud neceſſario Matrimonium non deſideraſſe, & jam Diſpenſationem ſine cauſa interveniſſe dicimus, & conſequenter nullam eſſe, manereq; adhuc divinam prohibitionem atq; adeo & humanam.

Porro etiam, ſi aliqua ſit, & cauſam haberet, tum mendaciis conflata

eſt, ſubreptitia & obreptitia merito appellanda, jure tum divino, tum humano reprobata.

Nam quum quod alioqui Canonibus cautum ſit, ipſius etiam Diſpenſationis proæmium contineat, " Romani Pontificis Autoritatem conceſſa " ſibi deſuper uti poteſtate, prout perſonarum, cauſarum, & temporum " qualitate penſata, id in Domino ſalubriter conſpicit expedire; Quomodo potuit S. D. N. hujus Sereniſſimi Regis qualitates penſare quas ignoravit? Neque enim de ætate quicquam, quæ in contrahendo hoc Matrimonio præcipua qualitas erat, narrabatur, & tamen illum annum eo tempore duodecimum non exceſſiſſe notorium eſt; & tacita ad hunc modum ætate, mendacium pro cauſa ſuggeſtum eſt manifeſtiſſimum; Cupiiſſe, *viz.* tunc Sereniſſimum Regem contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur: facti veritas eſt, tum quid ageretur ignoraſſe, & etiamſi tum ſciviſſet, tamen non fuiſſe verum quod cuperet ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur, ætas oſtendit, quæ per communis juris diſpoſitionem diſcretionem non admittit; cupere quidem affectus eſt, cæterum cupere contrahere Matrimonium, ad hoc ut pacis fœdera continuarentur, judicii eſt & diſcretionis. Porro autem, quum de continuandis inter duos Principes fœderibus ageretur, alter ante mandatam exequutioni Bullam fatis conceſſit, & re integra, cauſa, ſi quæ fuit, ceſſavit.

Sed producitur aliud Breve tenoris tam efficacis ut iſtas Objectiones non admittat.

Sed manet nihilominus eorum ſententia, qui Pontificem non poſſe diſpenſare affirmant, ſecundum quos nec Breve nec Bulla conſiſtit; deinde Breve falſum eſſe, & pro falſo judicari deberi, multis rationibus convincitur; denique falſum cum ſit, & tamen prioris Bullæ errores corrigat, illam opinionem merito confirmet, ne prior Diſpenſatio efficax videatur, vel eorum judicio, qui hoc Matrimonium defendere ſtudierunt, viz. qui veris allegationibus diffiſi, ad falſas & confictas Diſpenſationes, vitia objecta removentes confugere coacti ſunt.

Iſta, ſi ſingula minus ſufficiant, ſaltem collata, obtineant & perſuadeant licere. Illa vero opinio multis perſuaſa, Pontificem, viz. non potuiſſe diſpenſare, ut ſola infirmet Diſpenſationem, non petitur, ſed habet nihilominus aliquid conſiderationis; quanquam enim refellatur a quibuſdam & reprobetur, manet tamen ſcripta, atque adeo teſtimonio ipſius Pontificis comprobata. Perpendatur deinde cauſa & ſuggeſtionis veritas, ſi mendacium interveniſſe apparet, & quod eſt notorium, illam Diſpenſationem adverſariorum factis in novi Brevis fabricatione tacite reprobari, quis non videt ex his cauſis licere ut ſententia Divortii proferatur?

Poſtremo expedit ut id pronuntietur, quod in omnium ſententias conſentiat, Reprobatio autem Diſpenſationis cum omnibus convenit opinionibus, ſive quia Authoritas abfuit, ſive quia non recte interpoſita dicatur; Approbatio vero cum iſtis diſſentit omnibus.

Expedit ut firma ſit & inconcuſſa Regni Succeſſio, quæ contra has opiniones confirmari non poteſt.

Expedit ut conſcientia Sereniſſimi Regis his ſcrupulis impedita, & turbata, expedita & tranquilla reddatur.

Breviter,

Breviter, expedit votis Sereniſſimi Regis ſatisfieri, qui pro genuinis & innatis ſuis virtutibus, non niſi optima cupit, & modo etiam optimo votorum ſuorum compotem effici laborat; ſi non virtutem ſpectaret, cætera nihil haberent difficultatis, ſed omnium virtutum cogitationem quandam eſſe animadvertens, ſuum juſtitiæ decorum, quod temperantia eſt, quærit, ut juſtum, juſto modo, obtineat & aſſequatur. Itaq; expedit ne auxilium denegetur, vel differatur ei qui id juſte implorat.

To my loving Friends Maſter Stephen Gardiner *Doctor of both Laws; Sir* Francis Brian, *and Sir* Gregory Caſſalis, *Knights; and Mr.* Peter Vannes *Secretary to the King's Highneſs for the Latin Tongue; His Graces Orators, Reſidents in the Court of* Rome.

XXII. *The ſecond part of a long Diſpatch of the Cardinals concerning the Divorce. An Original.*

——ANother part of your Charge conſiſteth in expedition of the King's great and weighty Cauſe of Matrimony, whereupon depend ſo many high Conſequences, as for no earthly Cauſe to ſuffer or tolerate, tract or delay, in what caſe ſoever the Pope's Holineſs be of amendment or danger of life; nor as is aforeſaid, oweth to be by his Holineſs preteromitted, whether the ſame be in the ſtate of Recovery, or in any doubt or deſpair thereof: for one aſſured and principal fundamental and ground is to be regarded, whereupon the King's Highneſs doth plant and build his Acts and Cogitations in this behalf, which is from the reaſonable favour and juſtice, being the things from the which the Pope's Holineſs, *in proſperis nec adverſis*, may lawfully and honeſtly digreſs; and when the plainneſs of his Cauſe is well conſidered, with the manifeſt Preſumptions, Arguments, and Suſpitions, both of the inſufficiency of the Bull, and falſity of the Brief, ſuch as may lead any Man of reaſon or intendment, well to perceive and know, that no ſufficiency or aſſured truth can be therein; How may the Pope's Holineſs, *ex æquo & juſto*, refuſe or deny to any Chriſtian Man, much leſs to a Prince of ſo high merits, and in a Cauſe whereupon depend ſo many conſequences, to his Holineſs well known, for a vain reſpect of any Perſon, or by excuſe of any Sickneſs, juſtifie, colour, or defend any manner refuſal, tract, or delay, uſed in declaration of the truth in ſo great a Matter, which neither for the infinite conveniences that thereby might enſue, admitteth or ſuffereth to be delaied, nor by other than himſelf, his Act or Authority, may lawfully be declared. And well may his Holineſs know, That to none it appertaineth more to look unto the juſtneſs of the King's deſire in this behalf, than to his Highneſs his ſelf, whoſe Intereſt, whoſe Cauſe, with the ſame of his Realm and Succeſſion reſteth herein; for if his Grace were minded, or would intend to do a thing inique or injuſt, there were no need to recurr unto the Pope's Holineſs for doing thereof. But becauſe his Highneſs and his Council, who beſt know the whole of this Matter, and to whoſe part it

Cotton Libr. Vitell. B. 11.

it belongeth moſt profoundly to weigh and ponder every thing concerning the ſame, be well aſſured of the truth of the Matter, needing none other thing but for obſervance of his Duty towards God and his Church, to have the ſame Truth alſo approbate and declared by him to whom the doing thereof appertaineth; his Grace therefore ſeeing an untruth alleadged, and that ſo craftily as by undue and perverſe ways, the ſame, without good reaſon adhibited, may for a ſeaſon bring things into confuſion, doth communicate unto the Pope's Holineſs preſumptions and evidences enough, and ſufficient to inform the Conſcience of his Holineſs of the very truth: which then, if his Holineſs will not ſee, but either for affection, fear, or other private cauſe, will hearken to every dilatory and vain allegation of ſuch as led upon undue grounds would colour the Truth; What doth his Holineſs leſs therein, than under a right vain colour expreſly deny and refuſe the ſaid Juſtice, which to be done either in health or ſickneſs, in a matter of ſo great moment, is in no wiſe tolerable? But for the ſame reaſons that be before mentioned, is the thing, whether the Pope's Holineſs be in hope or deſpair of life, without further tract to be abſolved and determined; for if Almighty God grant his Holineſs life, this Act is, and always ſhall be, able to bear it ſelf, and is meet to be an Example, a Preſident, and a Law, in all like Caſes emerging, the Circumſtances and Specialities of the ſame in every part concurring as they do in this; nor can the Emperor make exceptions at the ſame, when he beſt knowing, percaſe, the untruth ſhall ſee the grounds and occaſions, that of neceſſity and meer Juſtice have enforced and conſtrained the Pope's Holineſs thereunto; which he could not refuſe to do, unleſs he would openly and manifeſtly commit expreſs injury and notorious injuſtice. For be it that the Pope's Holineſs hearkning to the ſaid frivolous and vain Allegations, would refuſe to declare the Law herein to the King's purpoſe, then muſt his Holineſs, either ſtanding in doubt, leave and ſuffer the Cauſe to remain in ſuſpence to the extream danger of the King's Realm and Succeſſion for ever, or elſe declare the Bull or Breve, or both to be good, which I ſuppoſe neither his Holineſs nor any true Chriſtian Man can do, ſtanding the manifeſt occaſions, preſumptions, and apparent evidences to the contrary. Then if the matter be not to be left in ſuſpence, no judgment can be truly given to the approbation of the Bull or Breve; how can the Pope's Holineſs of Conſcience, Honour or Vertue, living or dying, thus procraſtinate or put over the immediate finiſhing thereof, according to the King's deſire? or how may his Holineſs find his Conſcience towards God exonerate, if either living he ſhould be the cauſe of ſo many evils as hereof may ariſe; or dying, wilfully leave this ſo great a Matter, by his own default, in this confuſion, incertainty and perplexity? It is not to be ſuppoſed, that ever Prince moſt devout to the See Apoſtolick, could ſo long tolerate ſo high an Injury, as being ſo merited towards the ſaid See, is both unacquitted for his kindneſs with any ſpecial Grace, and alſo denied upon his petition of that, which is evident to be plain Juſtice. This thing is otherwiſe to be looked upon, than for the Pope's Sickneſs, where moſt need were to put an end unto it, to be delaied, ſeeing that living and amending, it is of it ſelf expedient and juſtifiable, and dying, it ſhall be an act both neceſſary, meritorious and honourable. For this cauſe ye now knowing the King's

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mind in this behalf, ſhall, if ye have not already before this time ſpoken with the Pope's Holineſs at length in theſe Matters, as the King's Grace truſteth ye have done, ſollicite as well by the means of *Meſſiere Jacobo Salviati*, as by the Biſhop of *Verone*, and otherwiſe as ye can think beſt, to have ſuch commodious acceſs unto his Holineſs, as ye may declare the Premiſes unto him; which by your wiſdoms, in as effectual and vive manner as ye can open it unto his Holineſs. It is undoubtedly to be thought the ſame ſhall rather be to his comfort and encreaſe of Health, than to any his trouble or unquietneſs; and that his Holineſs hearing theſe Reaſons not evitable, will, whether he be in way and hope of amendment, or otherwiſe, both proceed to the ſaid indication, and alſo to the Declaration of the Law, and paſſing of a ſufficient and ample Decretal, as hath been deviſed in the King's ſaid Cauſe, with other ſuch things, as by former Letters and Inſtructions, by the Decrees mentioned in the ſame, that failing have been committed unto you, to be ſolicited and procured there; in the labouring whereof, albeit ſince your departures from hence, the things have, by reaſons of the Pope's ſore ſickneſs, otherwiſe chanced than was here ſuppoſed, by means whereof ye not inſtructed what to do in any ſuch caſe, were peradventure not over-haſty or importune to labour theſe Matters, till the Pope's Holineſs might be better amended, nor could percaſe find the means to have convenient acceſs unto his preſence for the ſame, ye muſt nevertheleſs adhibit ſuch diligence, as howſoever the ſickneſs of his Holineſs ſhall ceaſe, amend, or continue, theſe things be not for the ſame, or any other cauſe, tracted or left in longer ſuſpenſe; but finding poſſible means to come unto the Pope's preſence, to declare all ſuch things unto the ſame, mentioned both in the former Letters and Inſtructions given unto you, and alſo in theſe preſents, as may make to the purpoſe; and failing of often acceſs in your own Perſons to his Holineſs, ye cauſe the Biſhop of *Verone*, and other ſuch aſſured Friends as ye can attain, being about him at ſuch times as they may have with his Holineſs, to inculcate unto him the ſaid Points and Conſiderations, and all other that ye can excogitate and deviſe to the furtherance and advancement of theſe Matters, not forbearing or ſparing alſo, if ye ſhall ſee difficulty at the Pope's hand, or in audience to be given to you or your Friends there, being about his Perſon, to break and open after a good faſhion and manner the ſame unto ſuch of the Cardinals, as ye may perceive aſſuredly and conſtantly to favour the King's Highneſs, and the *French* King in Election of a future Pope, in caſe (as God forbid) the Pope's Holineſs ſhould deceaſe; and to ſhew unto the ſame Cardinals, all ſuch things as you ſhall think meet, both for their more ample inſtructions in the truth and ſpecialities of the Matters, as well concerning the Indication of Truce, as the King's ſaid Cauſe, and the preſumptuous Reaſons, and plainer Evidences, leading to the inſufficiency of the Bull, and apparent falſity of the ſaid Breve; to the intent, that as many of the ſaid Cardinals as ye can win, made ſure in thoſe Matters, they may, both in time of ſickneſs, and alſo of amendment, move and induce the Pope's Holineſs thereunto, laying before him as well the Merits and Honour that may enſue by the perfection of the Premiſes, as the danger imminent by the contrary: and ſemblably it ſhall be expedient that ye win and make ſure to the ſame purpoſe, as many of the Officers of

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the *Rota* and other as ye can, who as ye write be not accuſtomed, nor will give counſel to any Perſon but the Pope's Holineſs; for albeit, ye cannot have them to be of the King's Council, yet nevertheleſs they may do as much good, or more, in training and counſelling the Pope's Holineſs, upon the great Reaſons that you can ſhew unto them, to hearken unto your Overtures in this behalf. To which purpoſe you ſhall adjure, make, and win, as many Friends of the Cardinals, of them, and other, as ye poſſibly may, as for the thing which the King's Highneſs and I more eſteem than twenty Papalities; and amongſt other, ye ſhall inſiſt, by all means and good perſuaſions ye can, for the continuance there of the ſaid Biſhop of *Verone*, ſo as he may countervail the Arch-Biſhop of *Capuan*; who, as it ſeemeth, is continually about the Pope's Perſon, and were neceſſary to be met with in the labours and perſuaſions, which by likelihood he maketh to the hindrance of the King's Purpoſe: For the better continuing of the which Biſhop of *Verone*, not only the King's Highneſs and I write unto him at this time, as by the Copy of the ſame ſeveral Letters being herewith ye ſhall perceive, but alſo the *French* King will do the ſemblable. And furthermore, to the intent that the Pope's Holineſs may well perceive, that not only the ſaid *French* King mindeth the King's ſaid Cauſe, and taketh it to heart as much as it were his own, and will effectually join and concur with the King's Highneſs therein, but that alſo he is and will be conformable to the ſaid Indication; He will ſend thither, with all ſpeed, the Biſhop of *Bayon* to further, ſollicite, and ſet forth the ſame; who, before his departure from hence, which was a good ſeaſon paſſed, was and is ſufficiently and amply inſtructed in all things requiſite to this purpoſe; and not only in theſe Matters, but alſo in ſuch other as were written unto you by *Vincent de Caſſalis*, and *Hercules*, upon advertiſement given hither that the Pope's Holineſs was deceaſed; ſo as ye may be ſure to have of him effectual concurrence and advice in the furtherance and ſollicitation of your Charges, whether the Pope's Holineſs amend, remain long ſick, or (as God forbid) ſhould fortune to die; truſting, that being ſo well furniſhed by all ways that can be deviſed, ye will not fail to uſe ſuch diligence as may be to the conſecuting and attaining of the King's Purpoſe: wherein, tho ye be ſo amply and largely inſtructed, that more cannot be, yet nevertheleſs having lately received from the Biſhop of *Worceſter* a Memorial of divers great things to be well noted and conſidered, for trial of the falſity of the ſaid Brieve, I ſend you herewith a Copy of the ſame Memorial, to the intent ye ſubſtantially viſiting and peruſing the ſame, may follow and put in execution ſuch part thereof, for better trial of the falſity, as is to be done there, like as the reſt meet to be done here, ſhall not fail to be executed with diligence accordingly.

Thus be ye with theſe, and other former Writings, ſufficiently inſtructed what is to be done by you there, whether the Pope's Holineſs continue long in his ſickneſs, or whether the ſame fortune to deceaſe, or ſoon, God willing, to amend. There reſteth no more, but that ye always take for a perfect ground, That tho to every new chance not before known, ſufficient Proviſion and Inſtruction could not be given to you at your departure, ye always note, remember, and regard, That this the King's Cauſe admitteth nor ſuffereth any manner negative,

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tract, or delay; wherefore knowing that ſo well as ye do, and alſo how much the Indiction of the Truce ſhall be commodious and neceſſary, both to the King's Highneſs in particular, and to all Chriſtendom in general, by means whereof his Grace ſhall avoid Contribution, and other Charges of the War, ye muſt now, if ever you will have thanks, laud, or praiſe for your Service, employ your ſelves *opportune & importune*, to put an end to the Points to the King's ſatisfaction and deſire; and in every difficulty to ſtudy, by your Wiſdoms, the beſt and next Remedy, and not always to tract your doings, till upon your Advertiſement hither, ye ſhall have new knowledg from hence: For thereby the matter it ſelf, and alſo your demur there, be of over-long a continuance, and infinite inconveniences by the ſame may enſue. I therefore require you, according to the ſpecial truſt and confidence that the King's Highneſs and I have in you, now for ever to acquit your ſelves herein with all effect poſſible, accordingly ſo as the King's Highneſs be not longer kept in this perplexity and ſuſpence, to his Graces intolerable inquietneſs, and the great heavineſs of all thoſe that obſerve and love the ſame.

Furthermore, tho it ſo be that the King's Truſt, and alſo mine is, Ye will by your Wiſdom find ſuch good means and ways as ye ſhall not fail, God willing, to open and declare unto the Pope's Holineſs, the whole of the King's Mind, and all and ſingular the Premiſſes, with the reſidue above-mentioned in your former Inſtructions and Letters ſent unto you: Yet nevertheleſs conſidering what ye wrote of the doubt of continuance of the Pope's ſickneſs, and to make ſure for all Events and Chances, in caſe his Holineſs (as God forbid) ſhould long remain in ſuch ſtate, as he might either take upon him the naming of the Peace, journying and repairing to the ſacre Diet, nor alſo hear the whole of the things by you to be opened and propounded touching the King's ſaid Cauſe; It hath been thought to the King's Highneſs convenient, rather than theſe great and weighty Matters ſhould hang in longer ſuſpenſe, to excogitate ſome other good means and way how theſe Matters, ſo neceſſary, may by ſome ways be conduced and brought to an end: And it is this; That the Pope's Holineſs not being able to travel to the place deviſed, where the Princes may be near him for Treaty, and managing of the Peace, he do depute me and my Lord Cardinal *Campegius*, *conjunctim & diviſim*, as his Legats for that purpoſe, to do and execute all ſuch things in his Holineſs's Name, as the ſame ſhould do in that behalf if he were there preſent; whereunto, for the well of Chriſtendom, we ſhall be contented to condeſcend. So always, that as hath been written heretofore unto you, before I paſs or ſet forth to any Convention or Place, to the intent before ſpecified, the Kings Highneſs be fully ſatisfied and pleaſed in his ſaid matter of Matrimony, without which, neither with nor without the Pope's preſence, I will ever begin or take that Voyage: for performance whereof, this Article following is of new deviſed, to be by you propounded unto his Holineſs, if the Decretals cannot be obtained, or ſome other thing, that ye ſhall well know and perceive, by advice of expert Counſel there, to be better to the Kings purpoſe than this thing now deviſed, and that may without tract be paſſed or granted; that is to ſay, That his Holineſs do enlarge, extend, and amplify his Commiſſion given to me and my Lord Legate

Campegius,

Campegius, whereby we jointly and ſeverally may be ſufficiently furniſhed and authorized, to do as much in this cauſe of Matrimony, with all the emergents and dependencies upon the ſame, as his Holineſs may do of his ordinary and abſolute Power, with ſufficient and ample Clauſes, *ad Decernend. & Interpretand. jura, leges, & Reſcripta quæcunq; hoc Matrimonium concernentia, una cum omnibus & ſingulis dubiis in eadem cauſa emergentibus.* And further, to make out Compulſories to any Princes, or Perſons of what preheminence, dignity, ſtate, or condition ſoever they be, *Etiam ſi in Imperiali, Regali, vel alia quacunque dignitate perfulgeant, ſub quibuſcunq; pœnis*, and in what Countries and places ſoever they be, to exhibit and produce any manner Witneſs, Records, Originals, Reſcripts, or other thing, in what place, or time we, or the one of us ſhall require them, or any of them in this behalf, with all and ſingular the Circumſtances requiſite and neceſſary to ſuch a Commiſſion, after ſuch ample and aſſured manner, as the ſame once had, we ſhall not need for any Objections, doubt, or other thing that might infringe or lack, to ſend of new to the Pope's Holineſs for other proviſion, whereby the King's ſaid Cauſe might hang in any longer tract or delay. In which caſe of coming to this Commiſſion, ye Mr. *Stevins* muſt have ſpecial regard to ſee the ſame ſufficiently and ſubſtantially penned, by advice of the moſt expert Men that ye can find to that purpoſe: For the better doing whereof, I ſend unto you herewith a Copy of the ſaid Commiſſion to me and my Lord *Campegius*, with certain Additions thereunto noted in the Margin, ſuch as have been here deviſed; and alſo a Copy of certain Clauſes in a Bull, to the intent ye may ſee how amply the ſame be couched, to avoid appellations and other delays in Cauſes of far leſs moment and importance than the King's is. Nevertheleſs ye muſt, if it ſhall come to the obtaining of this new Commiſſion, ſee to the penning and more fully perfecting thereof, ſo as the ſame may be in due perfection, without needing to ſend eftſoons for remedying of any thing therein, as is aforeſaid; looking alſo ſubſtantially whether the Chirograph of Policitation, being already in your hands, be ſo couched, as the Date, and every thing conſidered, it may ſufficiently oblige and aſtringe the Popes Holineſs to confirm all that we, or one of us, ſhall do, by virtue of this New or the Old Commiſſion: And if it be not of ſuch efficacy ſo to do, then muſt ye in this caſe ſee, that either by ſufficient and ample words to be put in this new Commiſſion, if it may be ſo had, or by a new Chirograph the Pope's Holineſs may be ſo aſtringed; which Chirograph, with the Commiſſions before ſpecified, if ye obtain the ſame, the King's pleaſure is, That ye Sir *Francis Brian* ſhall bring hither, in all poſſible diligence, after the having and obtaining thereof, ſolliciting nevertheleſs, whether the Pope be to be facilly ſpoken with, or not, the immediate Indication of the Truce, as is aforeſaid, without which in vain it were for me, either with or without the Pope, to travel for labouring and conducing of the Peace. And ſo by this way ſhould the Pope's Holineſs, with his merit and ſufficient juſtification, proceed for the Truce, as a fundament of Univerſal Peace, ſatisfy the King's deſires, and avoid any doubt of the Emperor; foraſmuch as his Holineſs might alledg, That being ſo extreamly ſick, that he was not able to know of the Cauſe himſelf, he could no leſs do of juſtice, than to commit it unto other, ſeeing that the ſame is of ſuch

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importance as ſuffereth no tract or delay. And finally, the King's Highneſs, God willing, by this means, ſhould have an end of this Matter. One thing ye ſhall well note, which is this; Albeit this new Device was now for doubt of the Pope's long continuance in ſickneſs, firſt excogitate; yet is it not meant, nor ye be limited to this Device, in caſe ye can obtain any other, nor ye be alſo commanded, to prefer this before all the other Devices: but now that ye ſhall ſee and underſtand what this Device is, and knowing what thing is like or poſſible to be obtained there, without long putting over of your purſuits, expend, conſider, and regard well with your ſelf, what thing of this, or any other that may beſt ſerve to the brief and good expedition of the King's Cauſe. So always that it be a thing ſure, ſufficient, and available to his Grace's Purpoſe, that may without any further tract be there had; and then by your Wiſdom taking unto you the beſt Learned Counſel that ye can have there, leave you to the expedition of that which ſo may be moſt meet, as the times require and ſuffer, to the brief furniſhing of the King's ſaid Cauſe to this purpoſe, without tract or delay, and that ye may ſee is the thing, which as the matter ſtands, can ſpeedily be obtained and ſped, as is aforeſaid. For whether the Decretal be better than this, or this better than that, or which ſoever be beſt, far it ſhall be from Wiſdom to ſtick, and ſtill to reſt upon a thing that cannot be obtained; but ſince ye know the King's meaning, which is to have a way ſufficient and good for the ſpeedy finiſhing of this Cauſe to his Grace's purpoſe, note ye now, and conſider with your ſelf, by advice of Learned Counſel, as is aforeſaid, how ye may bring that to paſs, and ſhall ye deſerve as high thanks as can be poſſible. So always that it be ſo well provided and looked upon, that in it be no ſuch limitations or defaults, as ſhall compel us any more to write or ſend for reformation thereof: And coming to this Commiſſion, tho percaſe ye can by no means or ſticking have it in every point as the Copy, which I ſend you with the Annotations do purport; yet ſhall ye not therefore refuſe it, but take it, or any other thing as can be had, after ſuch form as may ſubſtantially ſerve, and as ye can by your wiſdom and good ſollicitations obtain, for the ſpeedy finiſhing of the King's Cauſe to his purpoſe, as is aforeſaid, which is the ſcope whereunto we muſt tend at this time; and therefore ye be not limited or coacted within any ſuch bounds as ye ſhould thereby be compelled or driven, for lack of obtaining any thing or point mentioned in theſe or other your Inſtructions, or former Writings, to ſend hither again for further knowledg of the King's pleaſure; but ye be put at liberty ſo to qualify, ſo to add, detray, immix, change, chuſe or mend as ye ſhall think good; ſo always that ye take the thing that beſt can be had, being ſuch as may as effectually as ye can bring about, ſerve to the King's purpoſe, and to put indelayed end to it, according to his Grace's deſire, without further tract, or ſending thither, which is as much as here can be ſaid or deviſed. And therefore at the reverence of Almighty God, bring us out of this perplexity, that this Vertuous Prince may have this thing ſped to the purpoſe deſired, which ſhall be the moſt joyous thing that this day in Earth may chance and ſucceed to my heart; and therefore I eſtſoons beſeech you to regard it accordingly: Howbeit if the Pope's Holineſs refuſing all your deſires, ſhall make difficulty and delay therein, it is an evident ſign and token,

that his Holineſs is neither favourable to the King's reaſonable Petitions, nor indifferent, but ſhould thereby ſhow himſelf both partial, and expreſly averſe unto his Grace; wherefore in that caſe finding in his Holineſs ſuch unreaſonableneſs, as it can in no wiſe be thought ye ſhall do, The King's pleaſure is, that ye proceed to the Proteſtations mentioned in the firſt Inſtructions given to you Mr. *Stevins*, for you and the reſidue of your Collegues; and that ye not only be plain and round with the Pope's Holineſs therein, if ye come to his ſpeech, but alſo ye ſhow and extend unto the Cardinals, and other that be your Friends, which may do any good with him, the great peril and danger imminent unto the Church and See Apoſtolick; thereby exhorting them, That they like vertuous Fathers have regard thereunto, and not to ſuffer the Pope's Holineſs, if he would thus wilfully, without reaſon or diſcretion to precipitate himſelf and the ſaid See, which by this refuſal is like to ſuffer ten times more detriment, than it could do for any miſcontentment that the Emperor could take with the contrary: for ye ſhall ſay, ſure they may be, and ſo I for my diſcharge declare, both to the Pope's Holineſs and to them, If this Noble and Vertuous Prince, in this ſo great and ſo reaſonable a Cauſe, be thus extreamly denied of the grace and lawful favour of the Church, the Pope's Holineſs ſhall not fail for the ſame to loſe Him and his Realm, the *French* King and his Realm, with many other their Confederates; beſides thoſe that having particular Quarrels to the Pope, and ſo aforeſaid will not fail, with diverſe other, as they daily ſeek occaſions, and provoke the King's Highneſs thereunto, which will do the ſemblable, being a thing of another ſort to be regarded, than the reſpect to the Emperor; for two Cities, which nevertheleſs ſhall be had well enough, and the Emperor neither ſo evil contented, nor ſo much to be doubted herein, as is there ſuppoſed, This, with other words mentioned in your Inſtructions concerning like matter, ye ſhall declare unto his Holineſs, and to the ſaid Cardinals, and other being your Friends, if it come to that point; whereby it is not to be doubted, but they perceiving the dangers aforeſaid, ſhall be glad to exhort and induce his Holineſs, for the well of himſelf and the Church, to condeſcend to the King's deſire; which is as much as can be here thought or deviſed, to be by you done in all Events and Chances: And therefore I pray you, eft-ſoons, and moſt inſtantly require you, as afore, to handle this Matter with all effect poſſible. Coming to this new Commiſſion, when you ſhall have once attained ſuch thing as ſhall be ſufficient for the King's purpoſe, as is aforeſaid; and that ye have it in your hands and cuſtody, and not afore, leſt thereby ye might hinder the expedition thereof, ye ſhall by all ways and means poſſible, labour and inſiſt, That the King's Highneſs, as need ſhall be, may uſe and enjoy the benefit of the Decretal, being already in my Lord Cardinal *Campegius*'s hands, whereunto his Highneſs and I deſire you to put all your effectual labour for the attaining of the Pope's conſent thereunto accordingly.

Ye ſhall furthermore underſtand, That it is thought here, in caſe, as God forbid, the Pope ſhould die before ye ſhould have impetrate any thing that may ſerve to the abſolution of the King's Matter; That the Colledg of Cardinals have Authority, Power, and Juriſdiction, *ſede vacante*,

vacante, to inhibit, avoke, *& ex conſequenti*, to paſs and decide the King's Matter, ſeeing that the ſame is of ſo high moment and importance, concerning the ſurety of a Prince and his Realm, as more amply ye ſhall perceive in the Chapters, *ubi Periculum de Electione, ne Romani, de Jure-jurando, & capite primo de Sciſmaticis*; Wherefore the King's pleaſure is, That ye Mr. *Stevins* ſhall diligently weigh and ponder the effect of the ſaid Chapters, not only with your ſelf, but alſo with ſuch the King's Learned Counſel as ye and your Collegues have conducted there; and what Juriſdiction, *ſede vacante*, the Colledg of Cardinals have, either by the Common Law, uſage or preſcription, which may far better be known there than here: And if ye find that the Cardinals have in this the King's Cauſe, and ſuch other like Authority and Juriſdictions to inhibite, avoke and decern, then, *in caſu mortis Pontificis, quod Deus avertat*, ye ſhall ſpecially foreſee and regard that for none Interceſſion or purſute made by the Emperor and his Adherents, they ſhall either inhibit or avoke: And alſo if before ſuch Death, ye ſhall not have obtained ſuch thing to the Kings deſire and purpoſe, as theſe preſent Letters before do purport, his Grace's pleaſure is, That ye ſhall purſue the effectual expedition of the ſame, at the hands of the ſaid Colledg, *Sede vacante, ne res quæ nullam dilationem expoſcit, tantopere uſque ad Electionem novi Pontificis quoquam modo differatur*; uſing for this purpoſe all ſuch Reaſons, Allegations, and Perſuaſions mentioned in thoſe Letters, and your former Inſtructions, as ye ſhall ſee and perceive to ſerve to that effect; and ſo to endeavour and acquit your ſelf, that ſuch things may be attained there, as may abſolve this the King's Matter, without any further tract or delay; whereby ye ſhall as afore highly deſerve the King's and my ſpecial thanks, which ſhall be ſo acquitted, as ye ſhall have cauſe to think your pains and diligences therein in the beſt wiſe imployed, truſting in God that howſoever the World ſhall come, ye ſhall by one means or other bring the King's Matter, which ſo highly toucheth his Honour and quiet of Mind, unto the deſired end and perfection.

Finally; Ye ſhall underſtand that the *French* King, among other things, doth commit at this time to the Biſhop of *Bayon*, and Mr. *John Joachim* to treat and conclude the Confederation heretofore ſpoken of, between his Holineſs and the King's Highneſs, the *French* King, the *Venetians*, and other Potentates of *Italy*, for a continual Army to be entertained to invade *Spain* in caſe it ſtand by the Emperor, that the Peace ſhall not take effect: Wherefore the King's pleaſure is, That ye having conference with them at good length in that Matter, do alſo for your parts, ſollicite, procure, and ſet forth the ſame; entring alſo on the King's behalf unto the Treaty, and concluſion thereof, after ſuch manner as your former Inſtructions and Writings do purport. So as like as the *French* King is determined, that his Agents ſhall join and concur with you in the King's Purſuits and Cauſes; So ye muſt alſo concur with them in advancement of their Affairs, the ſucceſſes whereof, and of all other your doings there, it ſhall be expedient ye more often notify hitherto than ye do, for many times in one whole month no knowledg is had from you, which is not meet in thoſe ſo weighty Matters, ſpecially conſidering that ſometime by ſuch as paſs to *Lyons*, ye

might find the means to ſend your Letters, which ſhould be greatly to the King's and my conſolation, in hearing thereby from time to time, how the things ſucceed there; I pray you therefore to uſe more diligence therein, as the Kings and my ſpecial truſt is in you. And heartily fare you well. From my Palace beſides *Weſtminſter*, the ſixth day of *April*.

The *French* King hath ſent hither an Ambaſſiate, *Monſieur de Langes*, Brother to the ſaid Biſhop of *Bayon*, with certain clauſes in his Inſtructions, concerning the ſaid Treaty of Confederation, the Copy whereof ye ſhall receive herewith, for your better carrying on that Matter. Praying God to ſpeed you well, and to give you grace to make a good and ſhort end in your Matters. And eft-ſoons fare ye well,

Your Loving Friend,

T. Cardin. Eborac.

XXIII. *Another Diſpatch to the Ambaſſadours to the ſame purpoſe. A Duplicate.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitell. B.* 11. RIght well beloved Friends, I commend me unto you in my hearty manner, letting you wit, that by the hands of *Thadeus* bearer hereof, the King's Highneſs hath received your ſeveral Letters to the ſame, directed with the Pope's Pollicitation mentioned in the ſame, and ſemblablie I have received your Conjunct and ſeveral Letters of the date of the 18 and 29 days of *March*; the 8, 19, 20, and 22 of *April*, to me directed, wherein ye at right good length have made mention of ſuch Diſcourſes, Conferences, Audiences and Communications as ye have had concerning your Charge, ſince the time of your former Advertiſements made in that behalf, with all ſuch Anſwers and Replications as have been made unto you by the Pope's Holineſs, and other on his behalf concerning the ſame. In the Circumſtances whereof ye have ſo diligently, diſcreetly, and ſubſtantially, acquitted your ſelves, as not only your firm and fervent deſire, to do unto the King's Highneſs ſpecial and ſingular ſervice in this his great and weighty Cauſe, but alſo your Wiſdom, Learning, and perfect dexterities, heretofore well known, hath every one for his part thereby been largely of new ſhewed, comprobate and declared to the King's good contentment, my rejoice and gladneſs, and to your great laud and praiſe. For the which his Grace giveth unto you right hearty thanks, and I alſo for my part do the ſemblable; aſſuring you, in few words, though the time and ſtate of things hath not ſuffered that your deſires might at this time be brought unto effect, yet the King's Grace well knoweth, perceiveth, and taketh, that more could not have been done, excogitated, or deviſed, than ye have largely endeavoured your ſelf unto for conducing the King's purpoſe, which his Grace accepteth, as touching your merits and acquittal

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in no leſs good and thankful part, than if ye finding the diſpoſition of things in more direct ſtate, had conſecute all your purſuits and deſires: Nor ye ſhall doubt or think, that either the King's Highneſs or I have conceived, or thought any manner negligence in you for ſuch things as were mentioned, in the laſt Letters ſent unto you by *Alexander*, Meſſenger, but that albeit his Highneſs had cauſe, as the ſame wrote, to marvel of your long demor, and lack of expedition of one or other of the things committed to your charge; yet did his Highneſs right well perſuade unto himſelf the default not to be in you, but in ſome other cauſe, whereof his Grace not knowing the ſame, might juſtly and meritoriouſly be brought unto admiration, and marvel: And therefore be ye all of good comfort, and think your perfect endeavours uſed, and ſervices done, to be employed there, as it can right well, in every part regarded and conſidered.

In effect coming to the Specialities of the things now to be anſwered, The King's Highneſs having groundly noted and conſidered the whole continue and circumſtances of all your ſaid Letters and Advertiſements, findeth and perceiveth evidently, that whatſoever Purſuits, and Inſtances, and Requeſts have been, or ſhall be for this preſent time, made there by you on his Grace's behalf to the Pope's Holineſs, for the furtherance of the ſaid great and weighty Cauſe; and how much ſoever the neceſſity of Chriſtendom for the good of Peace, the importance of the Matter, the juſtneſs of the thing it ſelf, reaſon, duty, reſpect to good Merits, detecting of Falſities uſed, evident Arguments and Preſumptions to the ſame, or other thing whatſoever it be, making for the King's purpoſe, do weigh; the Times be now ſuch, as all that ſhall be done in any of the Premiſſes there, is apparent by ſuch privy Intelligence and promiſe as is between the Pope and the Emperor, to hang and depend upon the Emperor's Will, Pleaſure, and Arbitre, as whom the Pope's Holineſs neither dare nor will in any part diſpleaſe, offend, or miſcontent, nor do by himſelf any thing notable therein, which he ſhall think or ſuppoſe to be of moment, the ſaid Emperor firſt inconſulted, or not conſenting thereunto. And for that cauſe, ſince the Emperor not only is the Adverſary of Univerſal Peace, Letter, and Impeacher thereof, but alſo, as hath appeared by ſundry Letters heretofore, and now of new ſent out of *Spain*, doth ſhew himſelf adverſe, and enterponing himſelf as a Party againſt the King's ſaid great Matter; It were in manner all one to proſecute the ſame at the Emperor's hands, as at the Popes, which ſo totally dependeth upon the Emperor; and as much Fruit might be hoped of the one as of the other, ſo as far diſcrepant it were from any wiſdom in a thing ſo neceſſary, and which as ye know muſt needs be brought unto an end without any further delay, to conſume and ſpend the time, where ſuch expreſs contrariety and in manner diſpair appeareth to do good therein, and where ſhould be none other but continual craft, colour, abuſes, refuſes and delays, but rather to proceed unto the ſame in place, and after ſuch form as may be a appearance of ſome good and brief effect to enſue. Wherefore to ſhew you in Counſel, and to be reſerved unto your ſelves, The King's Highneſs finding this ingratitude in the Pope's Holineſs, is minded for the time to diſſemble the Matter, and taking as much as may be had and attained there to the benefit of his Cauſe, to proceed in the Deciſion of the ſame here, by virtue

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of the Commiſſion already granted unto me and my Lord Legate *Campegius*.

And for becauſe that ye Mr. *Stevins* be largely ripened and acquainted in this Matter, and that both the King's Highneſs and I have right large experience of your entire zeal and mind to the ſtudying and ſetting forth of ſuch things concerning the Law, as may be to the furtherance hereof; conſidering alſo that for any great thing like to be done there herein, ſuch Perſonages as be of good Authority, Wiſdom, and Experience, tho they be not learned in the Law, may with ſuch Counſel as ye have retained there, right well ſerve to the accompliſhment of ſuch other things as ſhall occur, or be committed unto them on the King's behalf, tho ſo many Ambaſſadors do not there remain and continue: His Grace therefore willing and minding to revoke you all by little and little, except you Sir *Gregory* being his Ambaſſadour there continually reſiding, willeth, That after ſuch things perfected and done, as hereafter ſhall be mentioned, ye Mr. *Stevins*, and you Sir *Francis Brian*, ſhall take your leave of the Pope's Holineſs, and with diligence return home. For if ne had been the abſence of you Mr. *Stevins*, ſeeing that there is ſmall appearance of any Fruit to be obtained there, the King's Highneſs would have entred into Proceſs here before this *Whitſuntide*: But becauſe his Grace would have you here preſent, as well for the forming of the ſaid Proceſs, and for ſuch things as be truſted that ye ſhall obtain and bring with you, as alſo for the better knowledge to be had in ſundry Matters, wherein you may be the better ripened and informed by means of your being in that Court: And otherwiſe his Highneſs will ſomewhat the longer defer the commencement of the ſaid Proceſs, and reſpite the ſame, only for your coming; which his Grace therefore deſireth you ſo much the more to accelerate, as ye know how neceſſary it is, that all diligence and expedition be uſed in that Matter. And ſo ye all to handle and endeavour your ſelves there, for the time of your demor, as ye may do the moſt benefit and advantage that may be to the ſpeedy furtherance of the ſaid Cauſe.

And foraſmuch as at the diſpatch of your ſaid laſt Letters, ye had not opened unto the Pope's Holineſs, the laſt and uttermoſt Device here conceived, and to you written in my Letters ſent by the ſaid *Alexander*, but that ye intended, as ſoon as ye might have time and acceſs, to ſet forth the ſame; wherein it is to be truſted, ſince that thing could by no colour or reſpect to the Emperor be reaſonably denied, ye have before this time done ſome good, and brought unto perfection; I therefore remitting you to ſuch Inſtructions as ye received at that time, advertiſe you that the King's mind and pleaſure is, ye do your beſt to attain the Ampliation of the ſaid Commiſſion, after ſuch form as is to you, in the ſaid laſt Letters and Inſtructions, preſcribed; which if ye cannot in every thing bring to paſs, at the leaſt to obtain as much to the King's purpoſe, and the benefit of the Cauſe as ye can; wherein all good policy and dexterity is to be uſed, and the Pope's Holineſs by all perſwaſions to be induced thereunto; ſhewing unto the ſame how ye have received Letters from the King's Highneſs and me, reſponſives to ſuch as ye wrote of the Dates before rehearſed; whereby ye be advertiſed that the King's Highneſs, perceiving the Pope's ſtrange demeanour in this his great and weighty Cauſe, with the little reſpect that his Holineſs hath, either

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to the importance thereof, or to do unto his Holineſs at this his great neceſſity, gratuity and pleaſure; not only cannot be a little ſorry and heavy to ſee himſelf fruſtrate of the future hope and expectation that his Grace had, to have found the Pope's Holineſs a moſt loving, faſt, near and kind Father, and aſſured Friend, ready and glad to have done for his Grace, that which of his Power Ordinary or Abſolute, he might have done in this thing, which ſo near toucheth the King's Conſcience, Health, Succeſſion, Realm, and Subjects; But alſo marvelleth highly, That his Holineſs, both in Matters of Peace, Truce, in this the King's Cauſe, and in all other, hath more reſpect to pleaſe and content him of whom he hath received moſt diſpleaſures, and who ſtudieth nothing more than the detriment of the See, than his Holineſs hath either to do that which a good common Father, for the well of the Church, Himſelf, and all Chriſtendom, is bounden, and oweth to do, or alſo that which every thing well pondered, it were both of Congruence, Right, Truth, Equity, Wiſdom, and conveniency for to do. Thinking verily that his Highneſs deſerved to be far otherwiſe entreated, and that not at his moſt need in things neareſt touching his Grace, and where the ſame had his chief and principal confidence, thus to have his juſt and reaſonable Petitions rejected and totally to be converted, to the arbitre of his Enemy, which is not the way to win, acquire and conſerve Friends to the Pope's Holineſs and See Apoſtolick, nor that which a good and indifferent Vicar of Jeſus Chriſt, and common Father unto all Princes, oweth and is bound to obſerve. Nevertheleſs ye ſhall ſay the King's Highneſs, who always hath ſhewed, and largely comprobate himſelf a moſt devout Son unto the See Apoſtolick, muſt and will take patience; and ſhall pray to God to put in the Pope's mind, a more direct and vertuous intent, ſo to proceed in his acts and doing, as he may be found a very Father, upright, indifferent, loving and kind; and not thus for partial reſpect, fear, or other inordinate Affection, or cauſe, to degenerate from his beſt Children, ſhowing himſelf unto them, as a Step-Father, nor the King's Highneſs ye ſhall ſay can perſuade unto himſelf, that the Pope's Holineſs is of that nature and diſpoſition, that he will ſo totally fail his Grace in this Matter of ſo high importance, but that by one good mean or other, his Holineſs will perfectly comprobate the intire love that always the ſame hath ſhewed to bear towards his Highneſs, wherein ye ſhall deſire him now to declare by his Acts the uttermoſt of his intent and diſpoſition; ſo as ye Mr. *Stevins* and Mr. *Brian*, who be revoked home, do not return with void hands, or bring with you things of ſuch meagerneſs, or little ſubſtance, as ſhall be to no purpoſe: And thus by theſe, or like words, ſeconding to the ſame effect, which as the time ſhall require, and as he ſhall have cauſe, ye by your Wiſdoms can qualifie and deviſe, It is not to be doubted, but that the Pope's Holineſs perceiving how the Kings Highneſs taketh this Matter, and that two of you ſhall now return, will in expedition of the ſaid Ampliation of the Commiſſion, and other things requiſite, ſtrain himſelf to do unto the King's Highneſs as much gratuity and pleaſure as may be; for the better attaining whereof, ye ſhall alſo ſhew, how heavy and ſorry I with my Lord Legate *Campegius* be, to ſee this manner of proceeding, and the large promiſes which he and I ſo often have made unto the King's Highneſs, of the Pope's faſt and aſſured mind, to do all that

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his Holineſs, *etiam ex plenitudine poteſtatis*, might do, thus to be diſappointed: moſt humbly beſeeching his Holineſs on my behalf, by his high Wiſdom to conſider, what a Prince this is; the infinite and excellent gratitudes which the ſame hath exhibited to the Pope's Perſon in particular, and to the See Apoſtolick in the general; the magnitude and importance of this Cauſe, with the Conſequences that may follow, by the good or ill entreating of the King's Highneſs in the ſame; wherein ye ſhall ſay, I have ſo largely written, ſo plainly for my diſcharge declared the truth unto his Holineſs, and ſo humbly, reverently, and devoutly, made interceſſion, that more can I not add or accumulate thereunto, but only pray unto God that the ſame may be perceived, underſtood, and taken, as the exigence of the Caſe, and the merits of this Noble Prince doth require; truſting always, and with fervent deſire, from day to day, abiding to hear from his ſaid Holineſs ſome ſuch thing as I ſhall now be able conſtantly to juſtifie and defend, the great things which I and my ſaid Lord Legate have ſaid and atteſted on his Holineſs behalf.

This, with all other ſuch matter as may ſerve to the purpoſe, ye ſhall extend as well as ye can, and by that means get and attain as much to your purpoſe for the corroboration and ſurety of all things to be done here as is poſſible, leaving to ſpeak any more, or alſo to take or admit any reſcripts for exhibition of the Brief, advocation of the Cauſe, or other of the former degrees, ſeeing that all which ſhall or can be done or attained there, ſhall hang meerly upon the Emperor's Will, Conſent, and Arbitre: and therefore nothing is now or hereafter to be procured, that may tend to any Act to be done, in deciſion of the Cauſe or otherwiſe there, or which may bring the adverſe Party to any advantage to be taken by the favour or partiality, that the ſame may have in that Court; but to convert and employ all your ſuit, to that thing which may be to the moſt convalidation and ſurety of the Proceſs, and things to be done here, as well by attaining, as ample, large, and ſufficient words, clauſes and ſentences as ye can get, for ampliation of the new Commiſſion.

As for the defeating of any thing that may be procured to the impeachment of the Proceſs thereof, and the corroboration of the things to be paſſed, and done, by virtue of the ſame. And amongſt other things, whereas ye with theſe laſt Letters, ſent the Pope's Pollicitation, for the non-inhibition or avoking of the Cauſe, the ratifying and confirming of the Sentence by us his Legates herein to be given, and other things mentioned in the ſame, ye ſhall underſtand, that the ſaid Pollicitation is ſo couched and qualified, as the Pope's Holineſs whenſoever he will may reſile; like-as by certain Lines and Annotations, which in the Margin of a Copy of the ſaid Pollicitation I ſend you herewith, ye ſhall perceive more at large: And therefore after your other ſuits, for the ampliation of the new Commiſſion, if any ſuch may be attained, brought unto as good a purpoſe as ye can, ye ſhall by ſome good way find the mean to attain a new Pollicitation, with ſuch, or as many of the words and additions newly deviſed as ye can get; which ye may do under this form and colour, that is to ſay, to ſhew unto the Pope's Holineſs, by way of ſorrow and doleance, how your Courier, to whom ye committed the conveyance of the ſaid Pollicitation, ſo chanced, in

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wet and water in the carriage thereof, as the Pacquet wherein it was, with ſuch Letters as were with the ſame, and amongſt other the Reſcripts of Pollicitation, were totally wet, defaced, and not legible; ſo as the Pacquet and Reſcript was and is detained by him to whom ye direct your Letters, and not delivered amongſt the other unto the King's hands; and unleſs his Holineſs, of his goodneſs unto you, will grant you a double of the ſaid Pollicitation, ye ſee not but there ſhall be ſome notable blame imputed unto you for not better ordering thereof, to the conſervation of it from ſuch chance. And thus coming to a new Pollicitation, and ſaying, ye will deviſe it as near as ye can remember, according to the former, ye by your Wiſdoms, and namely ye Mr. *Stevins*, may find the means to get as many of the new and other pregnant, fat, and available words as is poſſible, the ſame ſigned and ſealed as the other is, to be written in Parchment; the politick handling whereof, the King's Highneſs and I commit unto your good diſcretions; for therein, as ye Mr. *Stevins* know, reſteth a great ſtrength and corroboration of all that ſhall be done there, in deciſion of the King's ſaid Cauſe; and as ye write, may be in manner as beneficial to the King's purpoſe, as the Commiſſion Decretal.

And to the intent ye may the better know how to proceed in this Buſineſs, I adverti ſe you that the King's Highneſs hath now received freſh Letters out of *Spain*, anſwering to thoſe ſent by *Curſon* jointly with a Servant of the Queens, for exhibition of the Original Brief here, of whoſe expedition you Mr. *Stevins* were privy before your departure. The Letters were of ſundry dates, the laſt whereof is the 21 of *April*, at which time the Emperor was at *Cæſar Auguſta*, upon his departure towards *Barſelona*. In effect, the Emperor minding by his departure thither, and other his Acts, to make a great demonſtration of his coming into *Italy*, who is to nothing, as the King's Ambaſſadours write, more unmeet and unfurniſhed to that voyage, not having any Gallies there but three, which lay on dry Land unrigged, as they have done a long time paſſed, none Aſſembly of the States of that Land, none order, proviſion of Victual, towardneſs in conſcription of Men of War, or appearance of ſuch thing, but that his going to *Barſelona*, is chiefly under pretext to attain certain old Treaſure there remaining, and to give the better reputation to his Affairs in *Italy*. As to the matter of Peace and Truce, he ſeemeth not ſo alien from it, but that he would, under colour thereof, be glad to ſeparate and diſ-join other from the ſincerity of confidence that is between them, working ſomewhat with the *French* King, which he himſelf confeſſeth to be but abuſes. On the other ſide, he maketh overture of Peace or Truce to be had with the King's Highneſs apart; and in the mean time entertaineth the Pope's Holineſs, as one whom won from the reſidue of the Confederates, he thinketh himſelf moſt aſſured of: Howbeit in all this his Buſineſs, ye may conſtantly affirm, that his Compaſſes cannot prevail in any thing that may be excogitate to the ſeparation of the King's Highneſs and the *French* King, who ſo entirely proceed together, that the Emperor coming or not coming into *Italy*, the ſaid *French* King intendeth to proſecute him in the place where his Perſon ſhall be. To whom the King's Highneſs now ſendeth the Duke of *Suffolk*, with the Treaſurer of his honourable Houſhold;

who, if the Pope will not really and actually intend to the maintaining of the Peace, coming to the convention of his Holineſs, moved as the caſe ſhall require, ſhall be furniſhed of a ſubſtantial number of Men of War out of his Realm to the aſſiſtance of the ſaid *French* King, if the Emperor happen to deſcend in *Italy*. So as his things there, be not like to be in ſuch ſurety as might bring the Pope's Holineſs to this extremity of fear and reſpect. And all the Premiſſes touching this knowledg had out of *Spain*, and the *French* King's Intereſt with the King's Concurrence, as afore; It ſhall be well done ye declare to the Pope's Holineſs, whereby peradventure the ſame ſhall be removed from ſome part of his ſaid overmuch reſpect to that part.

As to ſending of the Brief, the Emperor refuſing to ſend it into *England*, ſheweth ſome towardneſs of ſending it to *Rome*, minding and intending to have the King's Matter decided there and not here; howbeit all be but vain Colluſions: For as ye ſhall perceive by ſuch things as be extracted out of the Letters of the King's Orators Reſident in *Spain*, a Copy whereof I ſend you herewith, the more the ſaid Breve cometh into light and knowledg, the more falſities be deprehended therein; and amongſt other, one there is ſpecially to be noted, making, if it be true, a clearer and manifeſt proof of the ſame Falſity; which becauſe if it were perceived by the adverſe Party, or any of their Friends, Counſellors, or Adherents, it might ſoon by a ſemblable falſity be reformed, 'is above all other things to be kept ſecret, both from the Pope, and all other there, except to your ſelves: for in computation of the Year of our Lord is a diverſe order obſerved in the Court of *Rome* in Bulls and Breves; That is to ſay, in the Bull beginning at the Incarnation of our Lord, in the Brief at the Nativity; So as the thing well ſearched, it is thought it ſhall be found, that the date preſuppoſed to be of the Breve, which is 26 *Decemb. Anno Dom.* 1503. *Pontificatus Julii anno primo*, well conferred with the manner and uſages of that Court: He that counterfeited the Brieve, not knowing ſuch diverſity between the date of the Bull and Breves, and thinking to make both Dates of one day, dated the Breve at a day before Pope *Julii* was Pope; which ye ſhall more plainly perceive by the ſaid Copy, and ſpecially if under ſome good colour ye ripen your ſelves there, whether the year in the date of Breves change upon *Chriſtmaſs* day, or upon *New-years* day, wherein the King's pleaſure is, that ye enſearch and certifie here what ye ſhall know and perceive. And if ye ſhall by ſuch inquiry find matter making to the purpoſe, as it is not doubted but ye ſhall do, then for the more ſure juſtification and proof thereof before the Judges * It ſhall be expedient ye in writing make mention of ſuch a doubt, finding the means that it may be anſwered and declared in the ſame Writing, by certain expert Perſons of the Secretaries, and other Officers of that Court, with ſubſcription of their Anſwer and Names; whereby it may appear here before us as Judges, as a thing true and approved: Howbeit, great dexterity is to be uſed for the ſecrecy thereof; for if ſuch Exceptions might come to the knowledg of the Adverſe Party, they might, as the ſaid Orators write, ſoon reform that default by detrahing one Letter, or Title, or forging a new Brief, alledging error in the Tranſumpts, which might be the total diſappointment of depre-

deprehenſion of the falſity in that chief and principal point. I pray you therefore to regard that Matter ſubſtantially, and to order it by your good Wiſdoms accordingly.

XXIV. *The two Legates Letter to the Pope, adviſing a Decretal Bull. A Duplicate.*

PRioribus noſtris ad Sanctitatem Veſtram literis quid hic ageremus, quove in ſtatu cauſa hæc eſſet expoſuimus; poſtea quum, & res ipſa, & deſiderium Regis admodum urgeret, ut ad Cauſæ ipſius merita agnoſcenda accingeremur, quando in ſuſpenſo, non modo horum Regum vota, ſed nec hujus Regni firmandi ratio, diutius haberi poteſt, omni ſuaſionis genere horum animis prius adhibito, ut alterius voluntati alter cederet, eique morem gererent, cum nihil profecerimus, ad Judicii inſtitutionem accedentes, de modo cauſam ipſam pertractandi, multa longioribus colloquiis inter nos commentati ſumus; qua in re, dum quæ neceſſaria ſunt adornantur, exhibitum eſt per Reginam exemplum Brevis Julii 2. eodem tempore quo & Bulla ſuper hac materia, dati & ſcripti, ſed attentiore cura & longe conſideratiore mente confecti, quod, quia in ſubſtantialibus etiam ab ipſa Bulla diverſum eſt, non modo Regium, ſed noſtrum quoq; animum, mire ſuſpenſum habuit, uſq; adeo ut de ejus veritate plurimum ſuſpicari libeat; nam præter inſperatam in tanta opportunitate ejus apparitionem, incredibile videtur, ut eodem tempore idem author, eiſdem partibus, in eadem Cauſa, diverſa admodum ratione caverit, & permanſuro Diplomati ejuſq; Decreto, ad perpetuam rei memoriam, proferendo, & plumbeo caractere excudendo dormitaverit, brevioribus vero literis, molli cera communiendis exactiſſimi ſtudii & ſobriæ cogitationis ſpeciem impreſſerit: ne tamen Majeſtas hæc rem hanc damnatam priuſquam exploratam habeat, quippe quæ magis in veritate quam in voto ſuo, Cauſæ hujus eventum ſuſceptura videtur, ad ipſius Brevis exhibitionem inſtat, quod, quia honeſtum & rationi conſonum videtur, a nobis etiam probatur, propterea omni ſtudio curamus, ut Breve ipſum, quod in Hiſpaniis eſſe dicitur, & a quo exemplum hoc effigiatum aiunt proferatur; atque ut hoc expeditiore cura, & majore compendio aſſequamur, præter primam & ſummam illam de Cauſa cognoſcendi poteſtatem, quam a Sanctitate Veſtra habemus, aliam quoque ad hunc ſpecialiter articulum habendam putamus, per quam poſſimus etiam per cenſuras, omnes etiam Regia & Imperiali Authoritate fulgentes, monere & adigere ut dictum Breve nobis exhibeant, ſine quo cauſa hæc nedum abſolvi, ſed nec commode tractari queat. Atque hoc primum eſt, quod Majeſtas hæc, in tanta animi fluctuatione qua nunc æſtuat, a nobis curandum putat, quo impetrato, Judicii via inſiſtenres ad Cauſæ cognitionem procedemus; quod ſi non proferatur, vel inutile & vitiatum, & fide ſua facile rejiciendum, prolatum fuerit, nihil prohibebit, hoc ſublato obice, quin ex officio noſtro reliqua proſequamur: ſin vero exhibeatur, & veritate ſua, vel adeo ſcite conficta fallacia, ita ſe tueatur ut acriori examine id inquiri debeat, patefacto jam patronorum cavillis & calumniis foro, quibus undis & judicii fluctibus non ſolum articulum hunc Brevis, ſed univerſam Cauſam implicaturi ſimus, nullus

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non viderit; neque enim deerunt quæ ſuſpectam ipſius Brevis fidem faciant, vel ex hoc maxime, quod cum maxime Regis & Regni hujus interſit, nihil prorſus de eo antehac auditum fuerit, nec ejus memoria aut ratio ulla extet in Scriniis Regiis, in quibus etiam minima quæque ad Regnum ſpectantia aſſervari ſolent: nam veriſimile non eſt in Hiſpaniis majorem Anglicæ rei curam fuiſſe quam in ipſa Anglia, neq; quempiam ſolerti & acri adeo ingenio fuiſſe, qui hujuſcemodi diſſidium vigeſimo quinto ab hinc anno ſuboriturum, & hac ſola ratione ſublatum iri poſſe divinaverit, nulla ut diximus apud hunc Regem, & in hoc Regno talis rei memoria extante. Porro ſi ex Brevi ad Bullam, & ex Bulla ad Breve tranſitus fiat, atque illius jejunitatem & ariditatem inſectemur, hujus prægnantia verba, & ad omnes fere exceptiones tollendas, ſuperſtitioſam quodammodo vigilantiam conferamus, & quæ utrinq; deduci poterunt in Reſcriptis Apoſtolicis æquo animo audiamus, periclitaturi certe ſumus, ne, quod minime cupimus, Sedis Apoſtolicæ Authoritatem patientia noſtra in diſcrimen rapiamus, atque dum Regno, & Regi hinc ſuppetias ferre volumus; rem dignitatemq; noſtram multo minorem faciamus, cui tum poſita etiam anima, favere & adeſſe ſemper cupimus & debemus. Propterea, Beatiſſime Pater, non ſolum pro Regis & Cauſæ hujus commodo, ſed pro dignitate quoq; Eccleſiaſtica & Sanctitatis Veſtræ Autoritate hic tuenda & conſervanda, nullo pacto committendum ducimus, ut nobis ſpectantibus & audientibus, de Poteſtate Romani Pontificis, de literarum Apoſtolicarum ſub plumbo & ſub annulo ſcriptarum fide, & repugnantia, deque juris divini abrogatione diſceptetur, maxime in Regum cauſa oppugnanda & defendenda, qui, ut ſublimiore ſunt faſtigio collocati, ita iniquiori animo patiuntur Cauſæ ſuæ caſum, cum qua & dignitatem & exiſtimationem ſuam diminutam iri intelligunt, quæ ſi ignobilium etiam animos quoſq; exulcerare, ipſa rerum experientia docti cernimus, qualiter quæſo putamus Regios & generoſos affectura. Itaq; quoniam hanc carybdim & hos ſcopulos evitaſſe ſemper tutum erit, propterea hujuſmodi incommoda quodammodo prætervecti, ubi ad litis moleſtias & incertas fori fluctuationes cauſam deducendam perſpicimus, ſuadere, rogare & ſummis precibus pariq; reverentia contendere non deſinemus, ut ſi exhibito Brevi pura veritas ita latitaverit, quod rectumne an falſum, vitiatum ceu adulterinum fuerit judicare ac decernere minime valeamus, Sanctitas Veſtra Cauſam hanc ad ſe avocet, non ſolum ut tanto diſcrimine, & perplexitate nos eximat, ſed ut paterno affectu Cauſæ & Regi huic optimo ſubveniat & opem ferat, atque ex Poteſtatis ſuæ plenitudine & ſumma prudentia finem huic rei optatum imponat, quæ non ſine magno hujus Regni & Eccleſiaſticæ dignitatis periculo diutius trahi poteſt: Speramus autem Sereniſſimũ hunc Regem in hujuſmodi avocandæ Cauſæ conſilio facile quieturum, ſalebroſa hæc litium itinera & labirinthos evitaturum, modo in fide Sanctitatis Veſtræ chyrographo manus ſuæ teſtata, cognoverit, ſe diutius ſuſpenſo in hac re animo detinendum non fore, atq; ab hujuſmodi Matrimonio ſe tandem liberandum, in quo nec humano nec divino jure permanere ſe poſſe putat, ex cauſis Sanctitati Veſtræ forſan notis, & per hos ſuos nuntios longioribus verbis explicandis. Quod ſi Sanctitas Veſtra commodius exiſtimaverit, Avocatione hujuſmodi poſthabita, per Decretalis unius conceſſionem huic cauſæ occurri & ſuccurri poſſe, in hanc quoque rationem Regis animum paratum dabimus; & propterea concepto

quodam

quodam Decretalis modulo, eum per hos ipſos Majeſtatis ſuæ nuntios mittimus, ex quibus abunde intelliget, quodque non abſque exemplo iſtiuſmodi auxilia proponantur, & quam non temere nec abſque ratione Majeſtas hæc deſiderio huic ſuo inhæreat: interea vero, dum hac vel illa ratione huic rei occurritur & Breve ipſum perquiretur, poſſet utiq; Sanctitas Veſtra iterum Reginæ animum tentare, & ad Religionem emollire, curando (ut quod maxime apud eam gratia & Autoritate eſſe debeant) & literis, & precibus, & nuntiis, omniq; alia ratione, hac ipſa via, ſibi, ſuiſq; rebus omnibus, atq; aliis optime conſulat. Cujuſmodi multa, pro ſalute Regni & publica cum dignitate, tum tranquillitate animo agitamus, ut tandem optimo Regi præſidio ſimus, qui incredibili patientia & humanitate, noſtram & Sanctitatis Veſtræ opem expectat, ſed tanta obſeſſus cura, ſollicitudine & anxietate, ut nullus facile explicare poſſit, vix enim in hoc ipſo, oculis & auribus noſtris credimus; cujus uſque adeo nos miſeret, ut nihil ingrato magis animo audiamus quam ejus de hac re verba, querelas & cruciatum: jure, an injuria liceat nobis hoc, Beatiſſime Pater, cum Sanctitate Veſtra tacere, ne præjudicium nobis aut aliis faciamus, ſed quem non excitet tot annorum Conſcientiæ Carnificina, quam ut tranſverſum & modo in has & modo in illas partes agant Theologorum diſputationes, & Patrum decreta, nullus non videt; qua in re enucleanda ita ambiguo laboratur ſenſu, ut jam non doctioris ſed melioris hominis lumine & pietate egeamus, & propterea factum eſt ut cum ab utraq; parte ſtant aſſertores maximi, in illam magis Majeſtas ſua inclinat, quæ ab offenſionibus & periculis magis rémota videtur. Quem præterea non moveat dulcis illa inſitaque ſobolis ſucceſſio, in qua morientes & animam exhalaturi conquieſcere, natura ipſa, videmur omnes? quem inſuper non accendat, Regni atque imperii propagatio, & per ſolos liberos continuata quædam fruitio? quem deniq; populorum fidei ac ejus curæ commiſſorum tranquillitas & ſecuritas, quæ in deſignatis jam regibus & principibus nutritur & vivit, non ſollicitet? ita ut tanti adeoq; communis boni fundamenta nulla a ſe jacta, non doleat & ſuſpiret, cum in extremis ejus diebus, extrema quoque tempora eis adventare ſentiat, atq; ſecum omnia quodammodo in ruinam trahi? Majores habet, Beatiſſime Pater, Cauſa hæc anfractus & difficultates, quam ſuperficie tenus inſpectantibus offerantur, in qua vel hæ potiſſimæ ſunt quod nec moram patitur, & in alteram partem non inclinat quidem, ſed omnino cogit, ni velimus ab ea præcipites & maxima cum privatæ tum publicæ rei jactura cadere; nam qui vel Reginæ odio, vel ſperatæ, nec dum forſan notæ, futuræ conjugis illecebra & titillatione Regem agi putant, ii excordes plane & toto, quod aiunt, cœlo errare videntur: ut enim credere dignum eſt, nullis illius quamlibet duris moribus aut injocunda conſuetudine, vel ulterioris ſobolis ſpe deſperata, Regium animum tanto periculo ad odium impelli poſſe; ita nec in hominis bene ſani mente cadere debet, Regem hunc imbecillo adeo eſſe animo, ut ſenſuum ſuadela eam abrumpere cupiat conſuetudinem, in qua adoleſcentiæ ſuæ florentes annos exegerit perſancte adeo, ut in hac quoq; fluctuatione, non ſine reverentia & honore verſetur. Ineſt, credite omnes, voluntati ejus non modo divinæ legis timor, ſed humani quoq; juris ratio eximia, hæcq; non privata ſed publica, ad quam cum ejus animum trahant, utriuſq; juris peritiſſimi, & Regni hujus ſui proceres, & primates omnes, nihil tamen ſuo, aut ſuorum tantum

arbitrio

arbitrio conſtitutum habere cupit, ſed Apoſtolicæ Sedis judicio ; qua in re quanta ſit pietate, maxime oſtendit, quum non ex magorum carminibus, & circulatorum impoſturis, aliiſve malis artibus, ſed Sanctiſſima Pontificis manu, tanto huic vulneri ſuo opem petat, de quo vel plura forte quam licuiſſet Sanctitati Veſtræ ſubjecimus, quoniam hæc ipſa ulcera manibus noſtris contrectavimus,& quantum vitales ſpiritus exhalent cognovimus: proinde Sanctitas Veſtra, pii patris & peritiſſimi medici more, dum virtus adhuc ſtat, dum ſalus non deſperatur, dum æger ipſe ſeſe ſuſtinet & legitima petit auxilia, Regem de ſe & Apoſtolica ſede optime meritum in piætatis ſuæ ſinu foveat, illudq; ei indulgeat quod nec diſputationum immortalia diſſidia, nec litium immenſum chaos unquam dabit, nec ſine maximo diſcrimine unquam tractabitur ; atque illud etiam ſecum reputet, quam injurium, & cum privatis tum publicis rebus incommodum ſit, extremos juris apices conſectari, quanquam non expediat ex ſcripto jure ſemper judicari ; cui, quia Pontifices & Principes miro omnium conſenſu, a Deo ipſo præfecti, cenſentur Spiritus & animæ vice, merito in ambiguis, & ubi multa periclitatur hominum ſalus, arbitrio ſuo ejus duritiem moderari poſſunt & debent, in quo Sanctitas Veſtra & Regem & Regnum hoc plane ſervaverit. Quod ſi alia ratione vel aliunde paranda ſibi fuerint auxilia, veremur ne de Regno & Rege hoc actum ſit, quicquid enim alia manu huic vulneri impoſitum fuerit, nihil minus faciet quam ſanitatem, ſeditionibus enim & tumultibus omnia exponentur, atq; imprimis Eccleſiaſtica Dignitas & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Authoritas hinc deturbabitur ; quod non erit difficile, aut ingratum quibuſdam, qui Rege cum Sanctitate Veſtra nunc conjunctiſſimo, impietatis ſuæ venenum perbelle diſſimulant ; Cujuſmodi jacturam ſi dura hæc tempora noſtra fecerunt, quod deinde ſperandum ſit, non videmus. Conſervandus itaq; Rex eſt, ejuſq; eximia in Apoſtolicam Sedem voluntas & fides, ne eo a nobis abalienato, non modo Angliæ Regem, ſed Fidei quoq; Defenſorem amittamus, cujus virtutes & Religionem tanto plauſu orbi commendavimus. Brevitati ſtudentes multa præterimus, & præſertim quid Regni proceres, Nobiles æque atque ignobiles dicant, qui fremunt & acebtiſſime indignantur, ſe tamdiu ſuſpenſos haberi, atq; ab aliorum nutu & voluntate exſpectare, quid de fortunis eorum omnibus & capitibus ſtatuant, aut decernant: atq; hac potiſſimum via inſiſtunt, qui nullam aut certe diminutam hic Romani Pontificis Authoritatem vellent, quorum pleriq; in his diſceptationibus, quibus alter alteri, ut uſu venire ſolet, re in ambiguo poſita, adverſatur, ea dicunt quæ non abſq; horrore referri queant ; nam inter cætera illud maxime in ore obvium habent, & prædicant, ſe nunquam ſatis demirari, aut ridere poſſe quorundam ignaviam, qui patienter audiunt, Pontificibus in Jure Divino figendo & refigendo licere, Pontifici Pontificis ceram aut plumbum conflare non permitti ; nos, ut hos ſcopulos & has ſyrtes evitemus, nihil non agimus, & ne præceps, huc vel illuc, Rex hic ruat, curamus, quem in officio vix contineri poſſe confidimus, dum a Sanctitate Veſtra his literis reſcribatur: quibus ſi ut ſperamus & cupimus aliquid reſcriptum fuerit, per quod & Regem & horum omnium animos quietiores reddere valeamus, accedet nobis quoq; vis aliqua cætera fælicius perficiendi ; ſin minus, omnia in deterius itura non ambigimus. Quæ ut celerius Majeſtas ſua cognoſcat, præſentes hos nuntios ſuos per diſpoſitos equos ad Sanctitatem Veſtram mittit,

mittit, ex quorum ſermone plura quoque intelliget quam literæ ipſæ commode capere potuerunt. Ignoſcet vero Sanctitas Veſtra literarum noſtrarum prolixitati, quæ tametſi modum excedunt, rei tamen hujus difficultatem & periculum majori ex parte minime attingunt.

May 21. 1529. Richmont.

XXV. *Another Diſpatch to* Rome. *An Original.*

RIght well beloved Friends, I commend me unto you in my moſt hearty manner, by the hands of *Alexander*, Meſſenger; I have in good diligence received your Letters of the 4*th*. of this Month; and ſemblably the King's Highneſs hath received your other Letters, ſent by the ſame Meſſenger unto his Grace: By tenour whereof it well appeareth that the King's Highneſs is now fruſtrate of the good hope and expectation that his Grace and ſemblably I were in of the Pope's determination, to have done for his Highneſs in this great and weighty Cauſe of Matrimony, as his Holineſs by his Chamberlain promiſed; not only that which might be done of power ordinary, but alſo of abſolute; and that ye be utterly in deſpair to conſecute or attain any thing to the purpoſe there, to the benefit of the ſaid Cauſe, with the ſtrange demeanour that hath been uſed in calling you to make anſwer, why the ſupplications preſented by the Emperor's Ambaſſador for advocation of the Cauſe ſhould not proceed; and how diſcreetly and ſubſtantially ye have anſwered and ordered your ſelves therein; Affirming finally, that as to that Matter, ye think it ſhall not ſerve to any purpoſe, but only to ſtop your ſuit in the obtaining of a new Commiſſion, and deſiring to be aſcertained of the King's pleaſure touching the Proteſtation mentioned in your Inſtructions, and how the ſame is meant and underſtood, with many other things compriſed in your ſaid Letters, right well and ſubſtantially couched and handled; for the which the Kings Highneſs giveth you hearty thanks, and I alſo thank you in moſt hearty manner for my part.

Aſcertaining you, that by *Thadeus*, Courier, upon receipt of your former Letters ſent by him, who I truſt be arrived with you long before this time; I wrote unto you the King's mind and pleaſure, as well to forbear any further purſuits of the Degrees committed unto your Charge, except only the expedition of a new Commiſſion and Pollicitation mentioned in the ſame. As alſo that you Mr. *Stevins*, and Sir *Francis Brian*, ſhould return home, like as my ſaid Letters purported. And foraſmuch as now it appeareth, that there is no hope for you to attain the ſaid Commiſſion and Pollicitation, the King's Highneſs ſuppoſing that ye the ſaid Mr. *Stevins* and Sir *Francis* be on your way homeward; and perceiving that it ſhould be neceſſary for his Grace to have there a ſubſtantial Counſellor of his, well learned in the Laws, as well to defend all ſuch things as ſhall be procured or ſet forth by the *Cæſareans*, to the hindrance of the King's Cauſe, as to let and impeach any Advocations, Inhibitions, or other thing that may be dammageable thereunto, hath diſpatched thither this Bearer and Mr. *Bennet*, who hath commandment

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to ſhew unto you, and every of you, whereſoever he ſhall meet with or find you, his whole Inſtructions, by tenour whereof ye ſhall be advertiſed of the King's further mind and pleaſure in that behalf; wherefore this ſhall be only to ſignifie unto you, how his Highneſs will that ye now forbear any further purſuit, either for Commiſſion, Pollicitation or Reſcript to be ſent to the Emperor, for exhibition of the Brief, either here or at *Rome*, but that following in every part the tenor of the ſaid Inſtructions, ye Mr. *Stevins* and Sir *Francis Brian* uſe all the diligence poſſible in your Voyage homeward, and the reſidue of you to intend to ſuch things as be mentioned in the ſaid Inſtructions; aſcertaining you, that whereas ye were in doubt what is meant by the Proteſtation ſpoken of in my former Letters and your Inſtructions, it was none other thing than in the ſame Inſtructions was plainly ſpecified and declared; That is to ſay, Failing of all your Requeſts and Purſuits touching the King's great Matter, to have ſhewed unto his Holineſs the danger that might enſue, by loſing the entire favour of this Prince, by mean of his ſo ſtrange and unkind dealing with his Grace; howbeit, conſidering in what ſtate the things now be, and how much the Pope's Holineſs ſeemeth to be inclined to the Emperors part. And yet as appeareth both by your Letters, and by ſuch other knowledg as the King hath, his Holineſs would gladly conſerve the King's Love and Favour, and is loth to do any thing to the prejudice of his Cauſe: It is no time to come to any rigorous or extream words with his Holineſs, but in gentle and modeſt manner to ſhew himſelf in ſuch words as be mentioned in my ſaid laſt Letters ſent by *Thadeus*; and ſo without irritation of him, but with conſervation of his favour to entertain his Holineſs in the beſt manner that may be, without medling in any other Proteſtation, but only to look what may be done touching ſuch Proteſtations apart, as is mentioned in the ſaid Inſtructions given to Mr. *Benet*, which with theſe Letters ſhall be a ſufficient information of you all what to do in the Cauſes to you committed, not doubting but in all other particular ſuits of Bulls, and other things committed unto you, ye Mr. *Stevins* and Sir *Francis Brian*, have or will do your beſt to bring the ſame with you; the expedition whereof, if they be not ſped already, the King's Highneſs committeth to the Wiſdoms of ſuch of you as ſhall fortune to be in the Court of *Rome* at the receipt hereof; wherein, and in all other things, his Highneſs truſteth, and I do the ſemblable, that ye will order your ſelves with all effectual diligence, as the ſpecial confidence that is put in you doth appertain.

And foraſmuch as the greateſt thing that is to be looked unto is the importune Suit of the *Cæſareans*, not only to ſtop any further things to be granted to the King's Highneſs, but alſo to revoke the Commiſſion given to the Lord Legate *Campegius* and to me, which ſhould be a clear diſappointment and fruſtration of the King's Cauſe; ye ſhall therefore look ſubſtantially by all politick means to withſtand, that no ſuch thing be granted; aſſuring the Pope and all the Cardinals, and ſuch other as have reſpect to the well of the See Apoſtolick, that if he ſhould do ſuch an high injury to the King and his Realm, and an Act ſo contumelious to us his Legates, and ſo contrarious to his Faith and Promiſe, he ſhould thereby not fail ſo highly to irritate the King and all the Nobles of this Realm, that undoubtedly they ſhould decline from the obedience of

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the See Apoſtolick, and conſequently all other Realms ſhould do the ſemblable, foraſmuch as they ſhould find in the *Head* of the ſame, neither juſtneſs, uprightneſs, nor truth; and this ſhall be neceſſary, as the caſe ſhall require, well to be inculked and put in his head, to the intent his Holineſs by the ſame may be preſerved from granting, paſſing, or condeſcending to any ſuch thing.

After theſe Letters perfected hither, and read unto the King's Highneſs, albeit that mention is made in ſundry places heretofore, that as well ye Mr. *Stevins*, and Sir *Francis Brian*, if ye be not returned from the Court of *Rome*, as alſo the reſt of the King's Ambaſſadors, which at the arrival of Mr. Doctor *Bennet* ſhall fortune to be there, ſhall forbear to make any further means or purſuit for the New Commiſſion and Pollicitation, but clearly to uſe ſilence therein; yet nevertheleſs regarding, and more profoundly conſidering the effect of your Letters laſt ſent, it doth plainly appear, that tho after the overture made to the Pope's Holineſs of the ſaid New Commiſſion, the Buſineſs chanced to be made by the Emperor's Ambaſſador, upon preferring a Supplication for advocation of the Cauſe; which thing by your writing, Mr. *Stevins*, to *Capiſuke* was well avoided; yet was there none expreſs refuſal made by the Pope's Holineſs to condeſcend unto the ſaid New Commiſſion, but order given that you ſhould conſult and confer with the Cardinal *Anconitane* and *Symonette* upon the ſame; which Conference, by mean of the ſaid Buſineſs, was deferred and diſappointed, without any final concluſion or reſolution taken thereupon. Wherefore inaſmuch as yet there appeareth none utter deſpair of obtaining the ſaid New Commiſſion and Pollicitation, with ſome more fat, pregnant, and effectual Clauſes than the other hath; The King's pleaſure is, That notwithſtanding any words before mentioned, both ye the ſaid Mr. *Stevins*, and Sir *Francis Brian*, if ye be not departed from the Court of *Rome*, do for the time of your demur there, which the King's pleaſure is, ſhall not be long, but only for taking of your leave; and alſo the reſt of the King's ſaid Orators, after your departure, ſhall, as ye ſhall ſee the caſe require, endeavour your ſelves as much as may be, to obtain the ſaid New Commiſſion and Pollicitation, foreſeeing always that you handle the matter after ſuch manner, as thereby the Pope be not the rather induced to hearken and incline to any perſuites of the Imperials for advocation of the Cauſe, which were a total fruſtration of all the King's intent, but ſo to uſe your ſelves, as ye ſhall ſee to be to the benefit, and not to the hindrance thereof: Which done, the King's Grace doth refer the good handling of this thing to your wiſdoms and diſcretions, neither to leave the perſuit for the ſaid Commiſſion and Pollicitation, if it may without dammage be followed; nor to follow it, if thereby you ſhall ſee apparent danger of any ſuch Advocation, or advantage to enſue to the purpoſe of the *Imperialiſts*, like as his Highneſs doubteth not, knowing now the King's mind and pleaſure, you will with wiſdom and dexterity, order your ſelves herein accordingly.

And furthermore, you ſhall in any wiſe diſſuade the Pope for ſending either by his Nuntio, to be ſent unto *Spain*, or otherwiſe, for the Original Brief: And if the Nuntio be already paſſed, having charge to ſpeak for ſending the ſame to the Court of *Rome*, then to find the means that a Commandment be by the Pope's Holineſs ſent after him, not to make any mention

thereof: Which done to you, the King's ſaid Ambaſſador ſhall have a good colour to induce the Pope's Holineſs, ſaying, as of your ſelf, That you have well conſidered your own purſuits for producing the Brief at *Rome*; and becauſe the Emperor might per-caſe think that the Pope were about to areſt unto him the falſity of the ſaid Brief, therefore you can be contented that that matter be put off, and no mention to be made thereof by his Nuntio, or otherwiſe; whereunto it is not to be doubted but the Pope's Holineſs will have ſpecial regard, and facilly condeſcend to your deſires in that behalf.

Finally; It appeareth alſo by certain your Letters ſent, as well to the King's Highneſs as to me, that the Pope's Holineſs is much deſirous to ſtudy and find a mean and way to ſatisfy the King's Highneſs in this behalf: Amongſt which one clauſe in his Letters to me is this; *Tametſi enim juriſperitorum conſilium quæſiverimus, ſed nihil reperimus, quod bonis oratoribus ſimul & juſtitiæ ac honori noſtro ſatisfaceret; ſed tamen agimus omnia, & tentamus omnes modos Regiæ ſuæ Serenitati, ac circumſpectioni tuæ ſatisfaciendi.* (And it is added in the Margin, with *Wolſey*'s hand;

Mi Petre, referas tuis literis pervelim quid tibi & mihi Pontifex dixerit de modis excogitandis, & quomodo ſubridens dicebat, In nomine Patris, &c.)

Wherefore ſince his Holineſs ſo plainly declared, that he ſeeketh the ways and means to ſatisfie the King's Highneſs, it ſhall be in any wiſe expedient, that you the ſaid Orators perceiving any towardneſs of Advocation, lay this to the Pope's Holineſs, ſaying, That that is not the way to ſatisfy his Grace; and yet beſides that, by your Wiſdoms to find the means to underſtand and know of his Holineſs what be the ways and means, which his Holineſs hath ſtudied or can ſtudy to ſatisfie the King according to his writing in this behalf, whereof they ſhall ſay his Grace is glad, and is very deſirous to know and underſtand the ſame; and as you ſhall perceive any towardneſs or untowardneſs in the Pope in that behalf, ſo to ſet forth your purſuits to the beſt purpoſe accordingly. And thus heartily fare you well. From *Richmond*, the 21 day of *May*.

Your loving Friend,

T. Cardinalis Eborac.

May 31. Romæ 1529.

XXVI. A Letter of the Popes to the Cardinal. An Original.

Dilecto Filio noſtro Thomæ *tituli Sanctæ Ceciliæ Presbytero Cardinali Eboracenſi, noſtro & ſedis Apoſtolicæ Legato de latere.*

Clemens *manu propria.*

DIlecte Fili noſter, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam benedictionem. Cum Angliæ Rex ac Circumſpectio veſtra, vetera veſtra erga nos & Sedem Apoſtolicam merita novis officiis augeretis, optabamus occaſionem, in qua & vos noſtrum amorem cognoſcere poſſetis; ſed moleſtiſſime tulimus eam primum eſſe oblatam, in qua circumſepti anguſtis terminis Juſtitiæ, non poſſemus progredi quantum vellemus, ſtudio vobis gratificandi, multis ac rationabilibus Cauſis deſiderium veſtrum impedientibus, quod quidem Regiis Oratoribus iſtuc redeuntibus demonſtrare conati ſumus. Sed ſuper his & publicis negotiis copioſius vobiſcum loquetur Dilectus Filius noſter Cardinalis Campegius. Datum Romæ die ultima Maii, 1529. *Cotton* Libr. *Vitell.* B. 11.

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April 6. 1529.

XXVII. *The King's Letter to his Ambaſſadours, to hinder an Avocation of the Suit. An Original.*

By the King.

Henry Rex,

TRuſty and right well-beloved we greet you well. Since your departure from hence, we have received ſundry your Letters to us directed, whereof the laſt beareth date at *Rome*, the 4*th* day of the laſt month; and have alſo ſeen ſuch other as from time to time ye have ſent to the moſt Reverend Father in God, our moſt entirely well-beloved Counſellor the Lord Legate, Cardinal, Archbiſhop of *York*, Primate of *England*, and our Chancellour: By continue whereof, we have been advertiſed of the Succeſſes, as well of your Journey thitherwards, as of ſuch things as ye to that time had done in our Cauſes to you committed; for the which your diligent advertiſement, and good acquittal, we give unto you condign thanks: aſcertaining you, We do not a little marvel, that in your ſaid laſt Letters you ſhew ſo much deſperation of any great favour to be had at the Pope's hand in our ſaid Cauſes; conſidering that neither ye then had ſpoken with his Holineſs in the ſame, nor by *Cotton* Libr. *Vitell.* B. 11.

ſuch Conferences as ye had had with Mr. *Jacobo Salviati*, or other on his behalf, we can perceive but all good favour and towardneſs; tho per-caſe the ſuperiority of the Imperials, and the common fame, led you to think the contrary: Howbeit as you know no credence is to be given unto ſuch common report, nor we truſt the ſame ſhall prove more true, than hath done the Opinion that was of the Lord Legate *Campegius* now here Reſident, whom we find and certainly know to be of a far other ſort in his love and inclination towards us, than was ſpoken, not having ſuch affection towards the Emperor, as in him was ſuſpected. And to be plain with you, if ever he had been of other mind, we have ſaid ſomewhat to him after ſuch manner as might ſoon change that intention. So that little Faith is to be given to the outward Sayings and Opinions of ſuch People as meaſure every thing at their pleaſure; which we doubt not but ye right wiſely do conſider, and that ye have before this time, by your diligent ſollicitation made to ſpeak with the Pope's Holineſs for declaration of your Charge, proved the contrary. Whereof we ſhall be glad and joyous to hear; willing and deſiring you therefore, according to the great and ſpecial confidence that we have in you, to pretermit no time in the diligent handling and execution of your ſaid Charge, but by one good way or other to find the mean, if you have not already done it, to declare the ſame unto the Pope, wherein the good advice and addreſs of the Biſhop of *Verone* ſhall, We truſt, do you great furtherance; and by whoſe means, if ye for the Pope's extreme debility or ſickneſs might in no wiſe be often admitted unto his preſence, ye may ſignify unto him at great length, our whole Mind, Deſire, and Intent, after ſuch form as your Inſtructions and Letters given and ſent unto you in that behalf do purport: For ſure ye may be, it ſhall highly confer unto the benefit of our Cauſes, that ye have there preſent one ſo faſt and aſſured friend unto us, as we truſt the Biſhop of *Verone* is, who ſhall be able right largely to countervail, and meet with the malicious practices of the Archbiſhop of *Capua*, who is thought to be one of the chief Authors and Contrivers of the Falſities, Crafts, and Abuſes, ſet forth to the hindrance of our ſaid Cauſes; which no Man ſhall more politickly and facilly deprehend, than the ſaid Biſhop of *Verone* may do: And therefore he is by you, with all good means and ways poſſible, to be entertained; as we doubt not but you will have ſpecial eye and regard to the making, winning, and conſervation of as many Friends to our purpoſe as ye can poſſibly obtain; ſo handling your ſelf, as now may appear your dexterity and perfect endeavour to conduce, with your diligent labour and policy, our Matters to the ſpeedy, indelayed, and deſired end and effect, which ye may be ſure we ſhall not put in oblivion, but will have the ſame in remembrance accordingly. Marvelling nevertheleſs, that though ye Mr. *Stevins* could not bring hitherto our great Cauſes to perfection, ye had not in the mean ſeaſon advertiſed us what is done touching ſuch Bulls as were to be ſped for our other particular Matters, whereof no mention is made in your ſaid Letters; willing and deſiring you therefore, by your next Letters, to adverniſe us in what ſtate and train the ſame be; knowing right well that ye being not only by the former Letters and Writings, but alſo by ſuch as be ſent unto you, at this time ſufficiently and amply inſtructed of our Mind and Pleaſure, will now

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ſo acquit your ſelf, as ſhall correſpond to the perfect expectation, and firm opinion that we have of you, which we ſhall not fail to have in our tender conſideration to your well, as is aforeſaid. Ye ſhall alſo, in your Conferences with the ſaid Biſhop of *Verone*, underſtand and know of him, by what ways and means ye may beſt further his advancement to the Cardinality; exhorting him, for the manifold good effects that thereof may enſue, to conform himſelf to the acceptation thereof, if it may be obtained; for doubtleſs his Vertue, Wiſdom, Experience, Fidelity, and other great and commendable merits well conſidered, we think no Man more meet at this time to be preferred thereunto than him: And therefore our expreſs Mind and Pleaſure is, that ye do it by all the ways and means to you poſſible. And finally we will that ye ſhow unto him how effectually we have written unto you in that behalf, to the intent, being advanced thereunto, he may give us the better thanks, and in every way bear to us the more perfect affection. And by your next Letters, We will that ye advertiſe us what Advocates ye have on our part, with their Names and Qualities; finding the means alſo, if it be poſſible, to retain ſome notable and excellent Divine, a Frier, or other that may, can, or will firmly ſtick to our Cauſes, in leaning to that, *Quod Pontifex ex Jure Divino non poteſt diſpenſare, &c.* And of all the Succeſſes to advertiſe us, as our ſpecial truſt is in you. Given under our Signet, at our Mannor of *Greenwich*, the *6th* of this *April*.

XXVIII. The King's Letter to his Ambaſſadours, about his appearance before the Legates. An Original.

June 23. 1529.

To our truſty and right well-beloved Counſellors, Mr. William Bennet, *Doctor of both Laws; Sir* Gregory de Caſſalis, *Knight; and Mr.* Peter Vannes *our Secretary for the Latin Tongue, our Ambaſſadours, reſident in the Court of* Rome, *and to every of them.*

By the KING.

Henry R.

TRuſty and right well-beloved, we greet you well. By former Letters and Writings ſent to you Sir *Gregory* and Mr. *Peter*, with other of your Collegues then being at *Rome*, and by ſuch conference as was had with you Mr. *Benet* before your departure, you were advertiſed in what ſtate then ſtood our Cauſe and Matter of Matrimony, and how it was intended that the Proceſs of the ſame ſhould with diligence be commenced before the Pope's Legates here, being authorized for that purpoſe. Since that time, enſuing the deliberation taken in that behalf, the ſaid Legates, all due Ceremonies firſt obſerved, have directed Citations

Cotton libr. *Vitel.* B. 11.

Citations both to us and to the Queen, for our and for her appearing before them the 18*th* of this month; which appearance was duly on either Party kept, performed, and all requiſite Solemnities accompliſhed: At which time the Queen truſting more in the power of the Imperialiſts, than in any juſtneſs of her Cauſe, and thinking of likelyhood, by fruſtratory allegations and delays, to tract and put over the Matter to her advantage, did proteſt at the ſaid day, putting in Libels, Recuſatories of the Judges; and alſo made a provocation, alledging the Cauſe to be avoked by the Pope's Holineſs, *& litis pendentiam coram eodem*; deſiring to be admitted for probation thereof, and to have a term competent for the ſame: Whereupon day was given by the Judges till the 21 of the ſame month, for declaration of their minds and intentions thereunto; The Queen in Perſon, and we by our Proctor enjoined to appear the ſame day, to hear what the ſaid Judges ſhould determine in and upon the ſame. At which time both we and the Queen appeared in Perſon; and notwithſtanding that the ſaid Judges amply and ſufficiently declared, as well the ſincerity of their minds directly, juſtly to proceed without favour, dread, affection, or partiality; as alſo that no ſuch Recuſation, Appellation, or term for proving of *Litis pendentiam*, could or might be by them admitted: yet ſhe nevertheleſs perſiſting in her former wilfulneſs, and in her Appeal, which alſo by the ſaid Judges was likewiſe recuſed: And they minding to proceed further in the Cauſe, the Queen would no longer make her abode to hear what the ſaid Judges would fully diſcern, but incontinently departed out of the Court; wherefore ſhe was thrice preconniſate, and called eft-ſoons to return and appear; which ſhe refuſing to do, was denounced by the Judges *Contumax*, and a Citation decerned for her appearance on *Friday* next, to make anſwer to ſuch Articles and Poſitions as ſhould be objected unto her: So as now it is not to be doubted, but that ſhe will uſe all the ways and means to her poſſible, to impetrate and attain ſuch things, as well by her own purſute, as by her Friends, as may be to the impeachment of the rightful Proceſs of this Cauſe, either by Advocation, Inhibition, or otherwiſe: Wherefore ſeeing now in what ſtate this our Matter ſtandeth and dependeth, neceſſary and requiſite for the great Conſequences hanging upon the ſame, not only for the exoneration of our Conſcience, but alſo for the ſurety of our Succeſſion, and the well of this our Realm and People, to be with all celerity perfected and obſerved. It was thought convenient to advertiſe you of the Premiſſes, to the intent ye being well and ſufficiently inſtructed in all things concerning the ſame, ſhall by your wiſdoms and diligences have ſpecial regard that nothing paſs or be granted there by the Pope's Holineſs, which may either give delay or diſappointment to the direct and ſpeedy proceſs to be uſed in this Cauſe, neither by Advocation of the Cauſe, Inhibition, or otherwiſe; but that if any ſuch thing ſhall, by the *Cæſareans*, or by her Agents, or other, be attempted, or deſired, the like Men of Wiſdom, good Zeal, Learning, and Experience, diligently procure the ſtopping thereof, as well upon ſuch Reaſons and Conſiderations as before have been ſignified unto you, as by inferring the high and extream diſhonour, and intolerable prejudice that the Pope's Holineſs thereof ſhould do to his ſaid Legates; and alſo the contrariety both of his Bull and Commiſſion, and alſo of his Promiſe and Pollicitation paſſed upon the

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ſame; beſide the notable and excellent diſpleaſure thereby to be done by his Holineſs to us, and our Realm, clear contrary to our merits and deſerts; extending alſo the other dangers mentioned in the ſaid former Writings, apparent to enſue thereby to his Holineſs, and the See Apoſtolick, with the manifold, and in manner, infinite inconveniences like to follow of the ſame to all Chriſtendom, and all other ſuch reaſons, introductions and perſwaſions ye can make and deviſe for that purpoſe: putting him alſo in remembrance of the great Commodity coming unto his Holineſs herein, by reaſon that this Cauſe being here decided, the Pope not only is delivered from the pains that he ſhould in this time of Diſeaſe and Sickneſs, to the extream peril of his Life ſuſtain with the ſame, ſeeing that it is of ſuch moment and importance, as ſuffereth no tract or delay; but alſo his Holineſs ſhall by ſuch deciſion here eſchew and avoid all diſpleaſure that he ſhould not fail to have, if it were or ſhould be paſſed elſewhere: which matter is no little wiſdom well to foreſee and conſider, and not only to forbear to do or paſs any thing derogatory or prejudicial to his ſaid Commiſſion, but alſo by all means poſſible to corroborate and fortify the ſame, and all ſuch Acts judicial as ſhall paſs by his ſaid Legates by virtue thereof. Like-as we doubt not but that the Pope's Holineſs, of his Uprightneſs, Vertue, and perfect Wiſdom will do; and rather like a moſt loving Father and Friend, tender and favour our good, juſt and reaſonable Cauſes and Deſires, putting thereunto all the furtherance he may do, than to do or conſent to be done any thing hurtful, prejudicial, dammageable, or diſpleaſant unto us, or this our ſaid Cauſe. And finally; If need ſhall be, we will ye alſo infer, as the caſe ſhall require, how inconvenient it were this our Matter ſhould be decided in the Court of *Rome*; which now dependeth totally in the Emperor's Arbitre, having ſuch puiſſance near thereunto, that, as hath been written by the Pope's own Letters, their State and Life there is all in the Emperor's hands, whoſe Armies may famiſh or relieve them at their pleaſure. And ſemblably ye ſhall not forget the prerogative of our Crown and Juriſdiction Royal, by the ancient Laws of our Realm, which admitteth nothing to be done by the Pope to the prejudice thereof, and alſo what danger they ſhould incur that would preſume to bring or preſent any ſuch thing unto the ſame, as in our laſt Letters ſent by *Alexander* was touched at good length. Wherein ſince ye be already ſo well and amply inſtructed, knowing alſo how much the Matter imports and toucheth us, and what profit and agreeable ſervice ye may do unto us herein, with the high thanks that ye may deſerve for the ſame; We ſhall not be more prolix, but refer the ſubſtantial, perfect, and aſſured handling hereof to your circumſpections, fidelities, and diligences, not doubting but that ye will now above all other things, look vigilantly hereunto, and ſo acquit your ſelves in the ſame, as it may well appear that your Acts ſhall be correſpondent to our firm truſt and expectation, and no leſs tender this thing than ye know it to be imprinted in the bottom of our Heart, nor then as ye know both the importance and high moment, and alſo the very neceſſity of the Matter doth require. In which doing, beſide the laud and praiſe that ye ſhall conſecute thereby of all good Men, we ſhall ſo have your acquittals in our remembrance, as ye ſhall have cauſe

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to think your travels, pains, and ſtudies herein, in the beſt wiſe collocate and emploied. Given under our Signet, at our Palace of *Bridewel*, the 23*d* day of *June*.

Rome 9 *July* 1529.

XXIX. *Doctor* Bennet's *Letter to the Cardinal, ſhewing how little they might expect from the Pope. An Original.*

Cotton libr. *Vitel.* B. 11.

PLeaſe it your Grace to underſtand, that the *6th* day of this month the Pope's Holineſs ſend for us: Albeit we had made great ſute for audience before to his Holineſs, ſoon after that we had underſtanding that his Holineſs was recovered of this his laſt Sickneſs, into the which he fell the ſecond day, after I had my firſt audience of his Holineſs, which was the 21 day of the laſt month: And after our long communication and reaſoning in the King's Highneſs Cauſe, which, at length, we have written to your Grace in our common Letter, for a confirmation of many inconveniences and dangers which we perſwaded to his Holineſs, to follow both to himſelf and to the See Apoſtolick, in caſe his Holineſs ſhould avoke the cauſe; I thought much convenient at that ſame time to deliver the King's familiar, and likewiſe your Grace's Letter, and ſo to ſhew your Grace's Credence to his Holineſs. After the foreſaid Letters delivered, and by his Holineſs read, his Holineſs ſhewed me, that he perceived by your Grace's Letters, that I had certain Credence to ſhew unto him of great moment and importance, concerning him and the See Apoſtolick. I ſhewed to his Holineſs your Grace's Faith and obſervance, his Holineſs doth beſt know; moſt humbly beſought his Holineſs to believe theſe undoubtedly to follow, That if his Holineſs ſhould, at the labours of the *Cæſareans*, avoke the Cauſe, he ſhould not alonely offend the King's Highneſs, which hitherto hath been a ſtay, a help, and a defence of the See Apoſtolick; but alſo by reaſon of this injury, without remedy, ſhall alienate his Majeſty and Realms, with others, from the devotion and obedience of the See Apoſtolick. This I ſhewed his Holineſs, that your Grace doth evidently perceive to follow, in caſe his Holineſs ſhould incline to the *Cæſareans* deſire on this behalf: Yea further, I ſaid, that your Grace moſt clearly perceiveth alſo by that Act, the Church of *England* utterly to be deſtroyed, and likewiſe your Perſon; and that theſe your Grace, with weeping tears, moſt lamentably committed unto me to ſhew to his Holineſs. Furthermore I ſhewed to his Holineſs, that your Grace, howſoever you ſhould proceed in this Cauſe, did intend to proceed ſo ſincerely, indifferently, and juſtly, that you would rather ſuffer to be jointed, Joint by Joint, than either for affection or fear, do any act either againſt your Conſcience or Juſtice. Furthermore I ſaid, that ſeeing his Holineſs may be ſo well aſſured, that your Grace will do nothing but according to Juſtice in this Cauſe, he may the more boldly deny Avocations to the *Cæſareans*, ſeeing that the Queen and the Emperor can deſire but Juſtice, which they may have at your Grace's hand, and my Lord *Campegius*, as well there

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as here; and by this means his Holineſs ſhould deliver himſelf from great pains and unquietneſs of mind, which he ſhould ſuſtain in caſe the Cauſe ſhould be known here, where he ſhould have the King's Highneſs on one part, and the Emperor on the other ſide, daily calling upon his Holineſs. To this his Holineſs moſt heavily, and with tears, anſwered and ſaid, That now he ſaw the deſtruction of Chriſtendom, and lamented that his fortune was ſuch to live to this day, and not to be able to remedy it, (ſaying theſe words) For God is my Judg, I would do as gladly for the King, as I would for my ſelf; and to that I knowledg my ſelf moſt bounden, but in this caſe I cannot ſatisfy his deſire, but that I ſhould do manifeſtly againſt Juſtice to the charge of my Conſcience, to my rebuke, and to the diſhonour of the See Apoſtolick; affirming, that his Counſel ſhews him, that ſeeing the *Cæſareans* have a Mandate or Proxie of the Queen, to ask the Avocations in her Name, he cannot of Juſtice deny it, and the whole Signature be in that ſame opinion; ſo that though he would moſt gladly do that thing that might be to the King's pleaſure, yet he cannot do it, ſeeing that Signature would be againſt him whenſoever the Supplication ſhould be up there: And ſo being late, we took our leave of his Holineſs, and departed, ſeeing that we could obtain nothing of the Pope for ſtopping the Avocation, we conſulted and deviſed for the deferring of it, till ſuch time as your Grace might make an end in the Cauſe there. And ſo concluded upon a new Device, which at length we have written in our common Letter, wherein I promiſe your Grace, Mr. *Gregory* has uſed great diligence, and taken great labours at this time, we can do no more for our lives: And if your Grace ſaw the importune labour of the Ambaſſadors of the Emperor's and *Ferdinandoes*, you would marvel, I promiſe your Grace they never ceaſe; wherefore in ſtaying hitherto, as we have done, it is marvel, as God knoweth, whom I pray to preſerve your Grace in health and proſperity *ad multos annos*. I beſeech your Grace moſt humbly to commend me to the King's Highneſs; and likewiſe I beſeech your Grace to pardon my ill writing. At *Rome*, the 9*th* day of *July*.

Your daily Beadman

and Servant,

W. Benet.

XXX. *A Letter of the Pope's to the Cardinal concerning the Avocation. An Original.*

19 *Julii*, 1529.

Dilecte Fili noſter, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Difficile eſt nobis explicare literis, qua noſtra moleſtia ſeu potius dolore fuerimus coacti, ad Avocationem Cauſæ iſtic commiſſæ concedendam; nam etſi res ita fuit juſta ut tanto tempore differri non debuerit, tamen *Cotton* Libr. *Vitell.* B. 11.

nos qui iſti Sereniſſimo Regi pro ejus ſingularibus erga nos & Apoſtolicam ſedem meritis placere in omnibus cupimus, ſicut conſuevimus, ægre nunc adducti ſumus, ut quamquam juſtitia cogente, quicquid contra ejus voluntatem concederemus. Nec vero minus, Fili, doluimus tua cauſa, cui rem hanc tantæ curæ eſſe perſpeximus quantum tua erga dictum Regem fides & amor poſtulat; ſed tamen quod datur juſtitiæ minus eſſe moleſtum debet, cum præſertim id fuerit tam dilatum a nobis, omniaq; antea pertentata ne ad hoc deſcenderemus. Itaq; optamus in hoc adhiberi a te illam tuam ſingularem prudentiam & æquitatem, perſuadereq; te tibi id quod eſt, nos qui ſemper vobis placere quantum nobis licuit ſtuduimus, id quod veſtro maximo merito fecimus, & ſemper facturi ſumus, nunc non niſi invitos & juſtitia coactos quod fecimus feciſſe: Teque omni ſtudio & amore hortamur, ut dictum regem in ſolita erga nos benevolentia retinere velis, eiq; perſuadere, nihil ex hoc apud nos de benevolentia erga ſe veteri imminutum unquam fore, quod recipiemus a Circumſpectione tua longe gratiſſimum. Quemadmodum plenius dilectus Filius noſter Cardinalis *Campegius* hæc circumſpectioni tuæ explicabit. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum ſub annulo Piſcatoris die 19 Julii 1529. Pont. noſtri anno ſexto.

Bloſius.

Act 26. Anno Regni 21. Henr. 8.

XXXI *An Act for the releaſing unto the King his Highneſs of ſuch Sums of Mony as was to be required of him, by any his Subjects, for any Manner of Loan, by his Letters Miſſives, or other ways or manner whatſoever.*

ITem *quædam alia billa formam cujuſdam actus in ſe continens, exhibita eſt præfato Domino Regi in Parliamento prædicto, cujus quidem billæ tenor ſequiturin hæc verba.* The King's humble, faithful, and loving Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, conſidering and calling to their remembrances, the ineſtimable Coſts, Charges, and Expences, which the King's Highneſs neceſſarily hath been compelled to ſupport and ſuſtain, ſince his aſſumption to his Crown, Eſtate, and Dignity Royal; as well firſt for the extinction of a right dangerous and damnable Schiſm ſprung and riſen in the Church; which by the providence of the Almighty God, and the high prudence, and proviſion, and aſſiſtance of the King's Highneſs, was, to the great honour, laud, and glory of his Majeſty, repreſſed; the Enemies then being of the Church reformed, returned, and reſtored to the unity of the ſame, and peace over all componed and concluded, as alſo for the modifying of the inſatiable and inordinate ambition of thoſe which do aſpire unto the Monarchy of Chriſtendom, did put univerſal trouble, diviſions in the ſame, intending, if they might, not only to have ſubdued this Realm, but alſo all the reſt unto their Power and

Subjection.

Subjection: For the reſiſtance whereof, the King's Highneſs was compelled, after the Univerſal Peace, by the great ſtudy, labour, and travel of his Grace conduced, and the ſame by ſome of the Contrahents newly violate and infringed; in ſhewing the form of the Treaties thereupon made again, and take Armour. And over and beſides the notable and exceſſive treaſure and ſubſtance which his Highneſs in his firſt Wars had emploied for the defence of the Church, the Faith Catholick, and this his Realm, and of the People and Subjects of the ſame, was eft-ſoons brought of neceſſity to new, excellent, and marvellous Charges, both for the ſupportation of ſundry Armies by Sea and by Land; and alſo for divers and manifold Contributions outward, to ſerve, keep, and contain his own Subjects at home in reſt and repoſe; which hath been ſo politickly handled and conduced, that when the moſt part of all religious Chriſtians have been infeſted with cruel Wars, Diſcords, Diviſions, and Diſſenſions, the great Heads and Princes of the World brought unto Captivity; Cities, Towns, and Places, by force and ſedition, taken, ſpoiled, burnt, and ſacked; Men, Women, and Children found in the ſame ſlain and deſtroyed; Virgins, Wives, Widows, and Religious Women, raviſhed and defloured; Holy Churches and Temples polluted, and turned unto prophane uſe; the Reliques of the Holy Saints irreverently treated; Hunger, Dearth, and Famine, by mean thereof in the ſaid outward Regions, inſuing and gently over all, was depopulation, deſtruction and confuſion; the King's ſaid Subjects in all this time, were by the high providence and politick means of his Grace nevertheleſs preſerved, defended, and maintained, from all theſe inconveniences and dangers; and ſuch proviſions taken, by one way or other, ſo as reaſonable commodity was always given unto them to exerciſe their Traffiques of Merchandiſe, and other their Crafts, Myſteries, and Occupations for their living; which could not poſſibly have been brought about, unleſs then the King's Highneſs, with continual ſtudies, travels, and pains, and with his infinite Charges and Expences, had converted the peril and danger of the Enterpriſes and Exploits, ſet forth for the reduction of the Enemies unto Peace, from his own Subjects unto Strangers: Whereof finally ſuch Fruit and Effect is enſued, as by the King's policy, puiſſance, and means, general and univerſal Peace is eſtabliſhed amongſt all Chriſtian Princes; and this Realm now, thanked be God, conſtitute in free, better, and more aſſured and profitable Amity with all outward Parties, than hath been at any time whereof is memory or remembrance. Conſidering furthermore, That his Highneſs, in and about the Premiſſes, hath been fain to employ, not only ſuch ſums of Mony as hath riſen and grown by any manner of contribution made unto his Grace by his ſaid loving Subjects, but alſo over and above the ſame, ſundry other notable and excellent Sums of his own Treaſure, and yearly Revenues, which elſe his Grace might have kept and reſerved to his own uſe; amongſt which manifold great Sums ſo employed, his Highneſs alſo, as is notoriouſly known, and as doth evidently appear by the accompts of the ſame, hath to that uſe and none other, converted all ſuch Mony, as by any his Subjects and People, Spiritual and Temporal, hath been advanced unto his Grace by way of Preſt and Loan, either particularly, or by any Taxation made of the ſame, being a thing ſo well allocate and beſtowed, ſeeing the ſaid high

and great Fruits and Effects thereof enſued, to the honour, ſurety, well, perfect commodity, and perpetual tranquillity of this ſaid Realm, as nothing could better nor more to the comfort of his ſaid Subjects be deſired, ſtudied, or imagined; Of one mind, conſent and aſſent, and by Authority of this preſent Parliament, do for themſelves, and all the whole Body of the Realm whom they do repreſent, freely, liberally, and abſolutely, give and grant unto the King's Highneſs, by Authority of this preſent Parliament, all and every Sum and Sums of Mony, which to them, and every of them, is, ought, or might be due, by reaſon of any Mony, or any other thing, to his Grace at any time heretofore advanced, or payed, by way of Preſt or Loan, either upon any Letter or Letters under the King's Privy Seal, general or particular, Letter, Miſſive, Promiſe, Bond, or Obligation of payment, or by any Taxation, or other Aſſeſſing, by virtue of any Commiſſion or Commiſſions, or by any other mean or means whatſoever it be heretofore paſſed for that purpoſe, and utterly, frankly, liberally, and moſt willingly and benevolently, for them, their Heirs, Executors, and Succeſſors, do remit, releaſe, and quit claim, unto his Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors for ever, all and every the ſame Sums of Mony, and every parcel thereof, and all and ſingular Suits, Petitions, and Demands, which they, or any of them, their Heirs, Succeſſors, or Executors, or the Heirs, Executors, or Succeſſors of any of them, have, had, or may have for the ſame, or any parcel thereof; moſt humbly and lovingly, beſeeching his Highneſs, for the more clear diſcharge for the ſame, that it may be ordained and enacted by the King, our ſaid Sovereign Lord, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by authority of the ſame, that all Promiſes, Bonds, Writings, Obligatory Letters, under the King's Privy Seal, Signet, Sign Manual, or Great Seal paſſed, and other Bonds or Promiſes, whatſoever they be, had, or made, to any Perſon or Perſons, Spiritual or Temporal, Shire, City, Burrough, Waxentale, Tranſhip, Hamlet, Village, Monaſtry, Church, Cathedral, or Collegiat, or to any Guild, Fraternity, or Body Corporate, Fellowſhip, or Company, or other whatſoever, having capacity to take any Bond, eſpecially and generally, jointly or ſeverally, touching or concerning the ſame Preſt or Loan, or every of them, or the repaiment of any Sum or Sums of Mony for the ſame, be from henceforth void and of none effect. *Cui quidem billæ probe & ad plenum intellectæ per dictum Dominum Regem ex aſſenſu & Authoritate Parliamenti prædicti taliter eſt reſponſum. Le Roy remercie Les Seigneurs & ſes communes de leur bonne cueurs en faiſant ceſt graunt, & icelle ſe Mjeſte accepte & tout le contem, & ceſt eſcriture a graunt & aprove avecques tous les articles en ceſte eſcripture ſpecifies.*

XXXII.

XXXII. *A Letter from* Gardiner *and* Fox, *about their Proceedings at* Cambridg. *An Original.*

Feb. 1530. *from* Cambridg *by* Stephen Gardiner.

To the King's Highneſs.

PLeaſeth it your Highneſs to be advertiſed, That arriving here at *Cambridg* upon *Saturday* laſt paſt at noon, that ſame night, and *Sunday* in the Morning, we deviſed with the Vice-chancellour, and ſuch other as favoureth your Grace's Cauſe, how and in what ſort to compaſs and attain your Grace's Purpoſe and Intent; wherein we aſſure your Grace, we found much towardneſs, good will, and diligence, in the Vice-Chancellour and Dr. *Edmunds*, being as ſtudious to ſerve your Grace as we could wiſh or deſire: Nevertheleſs there was not ſo much care, labour, ſtudy, and diligence employed on our Party, by them, our ſelf, and other, for attaining your Grace's Purpoſe, but there was as much done by others for the lett and empeachment of the ſame; and as we aſſembled they aſſembled, as we made Friends they made Friends, to lett that nothing ſhould paſs as in the Univerſities Name; wherein the firſt day they were Superiors, for they had put in the ears of them, by whoſe Voices ſuch things do paſs, *multas fabulas*; too tedious to write unto your Grace. Upon *Sunday* at afternoon were aſſembled, after the manner of the Univerſity, all the Doctors, Batchellors of Divinity, and Maſters of Art, being in number almoſt two hundred: In that Congregation we deliyered your Grace's Letters, which were read openly by the Vice-Chancellor. And for anſwer to be made unto them, firſt the Vice-Chancellor calling apart the Doctors, asked their Advice and Opinion; whereunto they anſwered ſeverally, as their Affections led them, *& res erat in multa confuſione. Tandem* they were content Anſwer ſhould be made to the Queſtions by indifferent Men: But then they came to Exceptions againſt the Abbot of St. *Benets*, who ſeemed to come for that purpoſe; and likewiſe againſt Dr. *Reppes*, and Dr. *Crome*; and alſo generally againſt all ſuch as had allowed Dr. *Crannmer's* Book, inaſmuch as they had already declared their Opinion. We ſaid thereunto, That by that reaſon they might except againſt all; for it was lightly, that in a Queſtion ſo notable as this is, every Man Learned hath ſaid to his Friend as he thinketh in it for the time; but we ought not to judg of any Man, that he ſetteth more to defend that which he hath once ſaid, than Truth afterward known. Finally; The Vice-Chancellor, becauſe the day was much ſpent in thoſe altercations, commanding every Man to reſort to his Seat apart, as the manner is in thoſe Aſſemblies, willed every Man's mind to be known ſecretly, whether they would be content with ſuch an Order as he had conceived for anſwer to be made by the Univerſity to your Grace's Letters; whereunto that night they would in no wiſe agree. And foraſmuch as it was then dark night, the Vice-Chancellor continued the Congregation till the next day at one of the Clock; at which time the Vice-Chancellor propon[illegible] Grace after the form herein incloſed; and

Cotton Libr. *Vitell. B.* 13.

it

it was firſt denied: When it was asked again, it was even on both Parties, to be denied or granted; and at the laſt, by labour of Friends to cauſe ſome to depart the Houſe which were againſt it, it was obtained in ſuch form as the Schedule herein encloſed purporteth; wherein be two Points which we would have left out, but conſidering by putting in of them, we allured many, and that indeed they ſhall not hurt the Determination for your Grace's part, we were finally content therewith. The one Point is that where it was firſt, that *quicquid major pars* of them that be named *decreverit*, ſhould be taken for the Determination of the Univerſity. Now it referred *ad duas partes*, wherein we ſuppoſe ſhall be no difficulty. The other Point is, That your Grace's Queſtion ſhall be openly diſputed, which we think to be very honourable; and it is agreed amongſt us, That in that Diſputation, ſhall anſwer, the Abbot of St. *Benets*, Dr. *Reppes*, and I Mr. *Fox*, to all ſuch as will object any thing or reaſon againſt the concluſion to be ſuſtained for your Grace's part. And becauſe Mr. Doctor *Clyſs* hath ſaid, That he hath ſomewhat to ſay concerning the Canon-Law; I your Secretary ſhall be adjoined unto them for anſwer to be made therein. In the Schedule which we ſend unto your Grace herewith, containing the names of thoſe who ſhall determine your Grace's Queſtion, all marked with the Letter A. be already of your Grace's Opinion; by which we truſt, and with other good means, to induce and obtain a great part of the reſt. Thus we beſeech Almighty God to preſerve your moſt Noble and Royal Eſtate. From *Cambridg* the day of *February*.

Your Highneſs's moſt humble

Subjects and Servants,

Stephen Gardiner,

Edward Foxe.

The

The Grace purpoſed and obtained, *Feb.* 1530.

Placet vobis ut

A. Vicecancellarius.

Doctores.

A. Salcot. *The Abbot of St.* Benets.
Watſon.
A. Repps.
Tomſon.
Venetus, *de iſto bene ſperatur.*
A. Edmunds.
Downes.
A. Crome.
A. Wygan.
A. Boſton.

Magiſtri in Theologia.

Middelton.
A. Heynes.
Mylſent. *de iſto bene ſperatur.*
A. Shaxton.
A. Latimer.
A. Simon.
Longford. *De iſto bene ſperatur.*
Thyxtel.
Nicols.
Hutton.
A. Skip.
A. Goodrich.
A. Heth.
Hadway, *de iſto bene ſperatur.*
Dey.
Bayne.
A. A. Duo Procuratores.

HAbeant plenam facultatem & Authoritatem, nomine totius Univerſitatis, reſpondendi Literis Regiæ Majeſtatis in hac Congregatione lectis, ac nomine totius Univerſitatis definiendi & determinandi quæſtionem in dictis literis propoſitam: Ita quod quicquid duæ partes eorum præſentium inter ſe decreverint, reſpondendi dictis literis, & definierint ac determinaverint ſuper quæſtione propoſita, in iiſdem habeatur, & reputetur pro Reſponſione, Definitione & determinatione totius Univerſitatis, & quod liceat Vicecancellario, Procuratoribus & Scrutatoribus, literis ſuper dictarum duarum partium definitione & determinatione concipienda ſigillum commune Univerſitatis apponere; ſic quod diſputetur Quæſtio publice & antea legatur coram Univerſitate abſq; ulteriori gratia deſuper petenda aut obtinenda.

Your Highneſs may perceive by the Notes, that we be already ſure of as many as be requiſite, wanting only three; and we have good hope of four; of which four if we get two, and obtain of another to be abſent, it is ſufficient for our purpoſe.

July 1. 1530.

XXXIII. *A Letter from* Crook *out of* Venice, *concerning the Opinions of Divines about the Divorce. An Original.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 13.

PLeaſe it your Highneſs to be advertiſed, That as this day I obtained the Common Seal of the Univerſity of *Padua*, in ſubſtantial and good form; for all the Doctors were aſſembled upon *Sunday*, and the Caſe was amongſt them ſolemnly and earneſtly diſputed all *Monday*, *Tueſday*, *Wedneſday*, and *Thurſday*, and this preſent *Friday* in the morning again; and thereupon they concluded with your Highneſs, and deſired a Notary to ſet his Sign and Hand unto an Inſtrument, by *Leonicus* and *Simonetus* deviſed, in corroboration of your Cauſe, and thereby to teſtify that this Inſtrument was their Deed, Device, Act, and Concluſion; and for the more credence to be given to the ſaid Inſtrument, they cauſed the Chancellor of the *Poteſtate* here to ſet his Hand and Seal for the approbation of the Authority of the Notary: A Copy of all the which things I ſend unto your Highneſs by this Bearer, in moſt humble wiſe beſeeching the ſame to be advertiſed, that the General of the Black-Friers hath given a Commandment, That no Black-Frier diſpute the Pope's Power: Notwithſtanding Prior *Thomas Omnibonus* procureth daily new Subſcriptions, and will do till the Brief of contrary Commandment ſhall come unto his hands.

My fidelity bindeth me to advertiſe your Highneſs, that all *Lutherans* be utterly againſt your Highneſs in this Cauſe, and have letted as much with their wretched Power, Malice, without Reaſon or Authority, as they could and might, as well here, as in *Padua* and *Ferrara*, where be no ſmall Companies of them. I doubt not but all Chriſtian Univerſities, if they be well handled, will earneſtly conclude with your Highneſs. And to obtain their aſſent, as well through *Italy*, *France*, *Almagne*, *Auſtrich*, *Hungary*, and *Scotland*, I think it marvellous expedient, for the preferment of this your moſt honourable and high Cauſe; As from the Seigniory and Dominion of *Venice* towards *Rome*, and beyond *Rome*, I think there can be no more done than is done already, albeit, gracious Lord, if that I had in time been ſufficiently furniſhed with Mony. Albeit I have beſide this Seal procured unto your Highneſs an hundred and ten Subſcriptions, yet it had been nothing in compariſon of that that I might eaſily and would have done; and at this hour I aſſure your Highneſs, that I have neither Proviſion nor Mony, and have borrowed an hundred Crowns, the which alſo are ſpent about the getting of this Seal; of the which my need, and divers impediments in your Highneſs's Cauſe here, I have advertiſed your Highneſs by many and ſundry Letters, and with the ſame ſent divers Books and Writings, part to *Hierom Molins* a *Venetian*, and factor to *Mappheus Bernardus*, by the hands of your Subject *Edmund Herwell*, part directed to Mr. *Tuke*, whereof I am nothing aſcertained whether they be exhibited unto your Highneſs or not, to no little diſcomfort unto me; notwithſtanding I have reſerved a Copy of all things, Letters, and other, and herein encloſed a Bill, ſpecifying by whom and to whom I directed my ſaid Letters,

Letters, in moſt humble wiſe, beſeeching your moſt Royal Clemency, to ponder my true, ſure, and good endeavours, and not to ſuffer me to be deſtitute of Mony, to my undoing, and utter loſs of your moſt high Cauſes here; for of my ſelf I have nothing whereby to help my ſelf. And thus the moſt Bleſſed Trinity keep and preſerve your Highneſs in his moſt Royal Eſtate. At *Venice*, the firſt day of *July* at night, *Anno*—30. *R. Crook.*

XXXIV. The Judgment of the Univerſities concerning the King's Marriage; taken from the Printed Edition of them. *London*, 1532.

Cenſura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ almæ Univerſitatis Pariſienſis.

DEcanus & Facultas Sacræ Theologiæ almæ Univerſitatis Pariſienſis, omnibus, ad quos præſens ſcriptum pervenerit, ſalutem in eo, qui eſt vera Salus. Cum nuper ſuborta magnæ difficultatis controverſia ſuper invaliditate Matrimonii, inter Sereniſſimum Henricum Octavum Angliæ Regem, Fidei Defenſorem, & Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Illuſtriſſimam Dominam Catharinam Angliæ Reginam, claræ memoriæ Ferdinandi Regis Catholici Filiam contracti, & carnali copula conſummati, illa etiam nobis Quæſtio in juſtitia & veritate diſcutienda & examinanda propoſita fuerat, videlicet, Anducere relictam fratris mortui ſine liberis ſic eſſet jure divino & naturali prohibitum, ut interveniente ſummi Pontificis Diſpenſatione, non poſſet fieri licitum, ut quis Chriſtianus relictam fratris ducat, & habeat in Uxorem; Nos Decanus & Facultas antedicta, cogitantes, quam eſſet pium & ſanctum, nec-non debito charitatis, & noſtræ Profeſſioni conſentaneum, ut his, qui in lege Domini ſecura, tranquillaq; conſcientia vitam hanc ducere, & tranſigere cupiant, viam juſtitiæ oſtenderemus, noluimus tam juſtis & piis votis deeſſe. Hinc more ſolito, apud ædem S. Mathurini per juramentum convenientes, & ſolemni Miſſa cum Invocatione Spiritus Sancti ob hoc celebrata, nec-non præſtito juramento de deliberando ſuper præfata quæſtione, ſecundum Deum & Conſcientiam; Poſt varias & multiplices Seſſiones, tam apud ædem S. Mathurini, quam apud Collegium Sorbonæ, ab octava Junii uſq; ad ſecundum Julii habitas, & continuatas, perſcrutatis prius excuſſiſq; quam diligentiſſime, ac ea qua decuit, reverentia & Religione, Sacræ Scripturæ Libris eorumq; probatiſſimis interpretibus, nec-non Sacroſanctæ Eccleſiæ generalibus ac Synodalibus Concilii Decretis & Conſtitutionibus longo uſu receptis & approbatis: Nos prædicti Decanus & Facultas de prædicta Quæſtione diſſerentes, & ad eam reſpondentes, ſequentes unanime judicium & conſenſum Majoris partis totius Facultatis, Aſſeruimus & Determinavimus, prout & in his Scriptis per præſentes Aſſerimus & Determinamus, quod prædictæ nuptiæ cum Relictis fratrum decedentium ſine liberis, ſic naturali jure pariter & divino ſunt prohibitæ, ut ſuper talibus Matrimoniis contractis, ſive contrahendis, Summus Pontifex diſpenſare non poſſit. In cujus noſtræ Aſſertionis & Determinationis fidem & teſtimonium, ſigillum noſtræ Facultatis cum ſigno noſtri Notarii, ſeu Bedelli præſentibus apponi curavimus. Datum in

generali nostra Congregatione per juramentum celebrata apud S. Mathurinum. Anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo, Mensis vero Julii die secundo.

Censura Facultatis Decretorum almæ Universitatis Parisiensis.

IN Nomine Domini Amen. Cum proposita fuisset coram nobis Decano & Collegio Consultissimæ Facultatis Decretorum Parisiensis Universitatis Quæstio; An Papa possit Dispensare, quod Frater possit in Uxorem ducere, sive accipere relictam Fratris sui, Matrimonio consummato per Fratrem præmortuum? Nos Decanus & Collegium præfatæ Facultatis, post multas Disputationes & Argumenta hinc inde super hac materia facta ac habita, cum magna & longa librorum, tam divini, quam Pontificii & Civilis, jurium revolutione consulimus, & dicimus, Papam non posse in facto proposito dispensare. In cujus rei testimonium, has præsentes Sigillo nostræ Facultatis, & signo nostri scribæ primi Bedelli muniri fecimus. Datum in Congregatione nostra apud Sanctum Joannem Lateranensem, Parisiis die vicesima tertia mensis Maii, Anno Dom. millesimo quingentesimo trigesimo.

Censura almæ Universitatis Aurelianensis.

CUm ab hinc aliquod tempus nobis Collegio Doctorum Regentium almæ Universitatis Aurelianensis propositæ fuerint, quæ sequuntur Quæstiones, videlicet; Si jure divino liceat fratri Relictam fratris (quam Fratriam vocant) accipere Uxorem? Item & si hoc sit eo jure vetitum, utrum divinæ Legis prohibitio Pontificali Dispensatione remitti possit? Nos prædictum Collegium, post multas ad prædictorum dubiorum Disputationem (de more nostro) factas Sessiones & Congregationes, postque Juris tum Divini tum Canonici locos (quod facere potuimus) examinatos, & omnibus mature atque exacte pensatis & consideratis: Definivimus, prædictas nuptias citra divinæ legis injuriam attentari non posse, etiamsi summi Pontificis accedat indulgentia, vel permissus. In cujus rei testimonium præsens publicum Instrumentum a Scriba præfatæ almæ Universitatis subsignari fecimus, ejusdemq; Sigillo communiri. Actum in Sacello Beatæ Mariæ Boninuncii Aurelianensis. Anno Dom. Millesimo quingentesimo vigesimo nono, die quinto Mensis Aprilis.

Censura Facultatum Juris Pontificii & legum Almæ Universitatis Andegavensis.

CUm certo ab hinc tempore nobis Rectori & Doctoribus Regentibus in Pontificia & legum disciplina almæ Universitatis Andegavensis sequentes Quæstiones propositæ fuerint, scilicet, Utrum Jure Divino pariter & naturali illicitum sit homini Christiano Relictam fratris sui, etiam absq; liberis, sed Matrimonio jam consummato defuncti, ducere Uxorem? Et an Summo Pontifici liceat super hujusmodi nuptiis dispensare? Nos præfati Rector & Doctores, post plures ad Disputationem hujusmodi quæstionum, & veritatem comperiendam factas, ex more, Congregationes & Sessiones, postq; varios Juris tam Divini, quam humani

humani locos, qui ad eam rem pertinere videbantur, diſcuſſos, multas quoq; rationes in utramq; partem adductas & examinatas, omnibus fideliter conſideratis, & matura deliberatione præhabita, Definimus neque Divino neque Naturali Jure permitti homini Chriſtiano, etiam cum Sedis Apoſtolicæ Authoritate ſeu Diſpenſatione ſuper hoc adhibita, Relictam fratris, qui etiam ſine liberis poſt conſummatum Matrimonium deceſſerit, Uxorem accipere vel habere. In quorum omnium ſupradictorum fidem, præſens publicum Inſtrumentum a Scriba ſeu Notario præfatæ Almæ Univerſitatis ſubſignari juſſimus, ejuſdemq; Univerſitatis Magno Sigillo muniri. Actum in æde ſacra Divi Petri Andegavenſi, in Collegio noſtro. Anno Domini Milleſimo quingenteſimo triceſimo, die ſeptimo Maii.

Cenſura almæ Univerſitatis Bituricenſis.

NOs cum Decano Theologiæ, Facultas in Univerſitate Bituricenſi (ut Doctoris Gentium Pauli exemplo pleriſq; locis auſpicemur ſcriptum noſtrum a precatione) omnibus dilectis Dei in quibus vocati eſtis, Lectores Chariſſimi, quiq; ad quos ſcribimus, Gratia vobis & pax a Deo Patre & Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto. Dum complerentur dies inter Octavas Pentecoſtes, & eſſemus omnes pariter in eodem loco, corpore & animo congregati, ſedenteſq; in domo dicti Decani; facta eſt nobis rurſus Quæſtio eadem, quæ ſæpius antea, non quidem parva, hunc in modum: An rem faciat illicitam necne, frater accipiens Uxorem a præmortuo fratre relictam, conſummato etiam Matrimonio? Tandem rei ipſius veritate diſquiſita & perſpecta, multo ſingulorum labore, & Sacrorum iterata atq; iterata revolutione codicum, unuſquiſq; noſtrum non faſcinatus, quo minus veritati obediret, cæpit, prout Spiritus Sanctus dedit, ſuum hoc unum arbitrium eloqui, abſq; perſonarum acceptione, in veritate comperi, perſonas memoratas in Capite Levitici octavo ſupra decimum prohibitas eſſe jure ipſo naturali, authoritate humana minime relaxabili, & vetitas, ne invicem Matrimonium contrahant, quo fit fraternæ turpitudinis abominabilis Revelatio. Et hoc nobis ſignum noſtri Bedelli Notarii publici, cum Sigillo dictæ ſupra noſtræ Facultatis præſentibus appenſo. Die decimo Junii, Anno vero a Chriſti Nativitate, Milleſimo quingenteſimo triceſimo. Ut autem noſtræ ſcriptionis pes & caput uni reddantur formæ, quemadmodum ſumus auſpicati a precatione, ita claudamus illius quo utimur exemplo. Gratia Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti, charitas Dei, & communicatio Sancti Spiritus ſit cum omnibus vobis. Amen.

Cenſura Almæ Univerſitatis Tholoſanæ.

TRactabatur in noſtra Tholoſana Academia perquam difficilis Quæſtio, Liceatne fratri eam, quæ jam olim defuncto fratri Uxor fuerat (nullis tamen relictis liberis) in Matrimonio ſibi conjungere? Accedebat & alius ſcrupulus, qui nos potiſſimum torquebat, Si Romanus Pontifex, cui eſt commiſſa gregis Chriſtiani cura, id ſua, quam vocamus, Diſpenſatione permittat, tunc ſaltem liceat? Ad utramq; Quæſtionem agitandam Doctores omnes Regentes, qui tunc Tholoſæ aderant, coegit Rector in Concilium, neque id ſemel tantum ſed etiam iterum:

Quippe exiſtimavit præcipitari non oportere Conſilia, indigereq; nos tempore, ut aliquid maturius agamus. Demum, cum in unum locum conveniſſent omnes, tum Sacrarum Literarum diſertiſſimi Interpretes, tum utriuſq; Cenſuræ Conſultiſſimi, deniq; qui quavis in re & judicio & oratione viri fœlicibus ingeniis non mediocriter exercitati eſſent, ac ſeſe Sacroſanctis Conciliis parere velle, Sanctorumq; Patrum haud quaquam piis animis violanda Decreta imitari juraſſent, & unuſquiſq; ſuam ſententiam protuliſſet, atq; in utramq; partem diffuſe decertatum eſſet; tandem in eam Sententiam ſic frequentius itum eſt, ut uno omnium ore Alma noſtra Univerſitas, animis ſinceriſſimis nulloq; fermento vitiatis cenſuerit, Jure Divino pariter & Naturali Uxorem relictam fratris ſui nemini licere accipere. At poſtquam id lege eadem non licet, reſponſum eſt, non poſſe Pontificem aliquem ea lege ſolvere. Nec hujc ſententiæ refragari poteſt, quod cogeretur olim frater Uxorem demortui fratris accipere. Nam hoc figura erat, atque umbra futurorum, quæ omnia adveniente luce & veritate Evangelii evanuerunt. Hæc quoniam ita ſe habent, in hanc formam redegimus, & per Notarium, qui nobis eſt a Secretis, ſignari, ſigilliq; autentici ejuſdem noſtræ Almæ Univerſitatis juſſimus Appenſione Communiri. Tholoſæ. Kal. Octob. An. a Chriſto nato M. D. XXX.

Cenſura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Univerſitatis Bononienſis.

CUm Deus Optimus Maximus veterem Legem ad morum vitæque informationem ac inſtitutionem ore ſuo tradiderit, idemque humanitate ſumpta, mortalium Redemptor Deus novum condiderit Teſtamentum, ſed ad dubia, quæ in multis emergebant, tollenda declarandaque contulerit, quæ ad hominum perfectionem elucidata nonnihil conferunt; noſtras partes ſemper fore duximus hujuſmodi ſanctiſſima Patris æterni documenta ſectari, & in rebus arduis ac dubitabilibus, ſuperno illuſtratos lumine, noſtram ferre ſententiam, ubi cauſa mature conſulta, multiſq; hinc inde rationibus, ſcriptiſq; Patrum dilucidata fuerit, nihil quod poſſumus, in aliquo temere ferentes. Cum itaq; nos, præſtantes quidam & clariſſimi viri, obnixe rogarint, ut ſubſequentem caſum maxima diligentia perſcrutaremur, noſtrumq; ſubinde in eum judicium ferremus æquiſſime, ſoli veritati innitentes, in unum omnes Almæ Univerſitatis hujus Doctores Theologi convenimus, caſu prius per unumquemq; noſtrum ſigillatim domibus propriis examinato, ſummaq; ſolertia per dies plurimos contracto: Illud una mox vidimus, examinavimus, contulimus, ad amuſſimq; ſingula quæq; pertractantes ponderavimus, rationes quaſcunq; contrarias, quas fieri poſſe cenſuimus, in medium afferentes atq; ſolventes, etiam ipſius Reverendiſſimi D. D. Card. Cajetani, necnon Deuteronomicam Diſpenſationem de fratris ſuſcitando ſemine, & reliquas tandem omnes ſententias oppoſitas, quæ ad id negotii facere viderentur. Quæſitum eſt igitur a nobis, An ex ſola Eccleſiæ inſtitutione vel etiam Jure Divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam a a fratre ſine liberis in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod ſi utraq; lege ne fieri poſſit, cautum eſt; An quenquam poſſit Beatiſſimus Pontifex ſuper ejuſmodi contrahendo Matrimonio diſpenſare? Qua diligentiſſime (ut diximus) ac exactiſſime ſeorſim palamq; examinata, ac pro viribus noſtris, optime diſcuſſa Quæſtione, Cenſemus, Judicamus, dicimus, conſtantiſſime

ſtantiſſime Teſtamur & indubie affirmamus, hujuſmodi Matrimonium, tales nuptias, tale conjugium horrendum fore, execrabile, deteſtandum, viroq; Chriſtiano, immo etiam cuilibet infideli prorſus abominabile, eſſeque a Jure naturæ divino & humano diris pœnis prohibitum. Nec poſſe Sanctiſſimum Papam (qui tamen fere omnia poteſt) cui collatæ ſunt à Chriſto claves Regni Cœlorum: Non inquam poſſe aliqua ex cauſa ſuper hujuſmodi contrahendo Matrimonio, quenquam diſpenſare. Ad hujus Concluſionis veritatem tutandam, omnes in omnia loca & tempora parati ſumus. In quorum fidem has ſcripſimus, almæq; noſtræ Univerſitatis ac Sacri Venerabilium Theologorum Collegii Sigillo munivimus, ſolita noſtra generali ſubſcriptione Signantes. Bononiæ in Eccleſia Cathedrali, decima Junii, Anno Dom. M. D. XXX. ſub Divi Clementis 7. Pontificatu.

Cenſura Facultatis Sacræ Theologiæ Almæ Univerſitatis Patavienſis.

TEſtantur, qui Catholicam fidem aſtruunt, Deum Optimum Maximum legis veteris præcepta filiis Iſrael ad exemplar vitæ ac morum noſtrorum inſtitutionem ore proprio tradidiſſe, eundemq; trabea humanitatis indutum, Redemptorem omnium factum, Novum Teſtamentum condidiſſe, & nedum propter hoc, ſed ad dubia quæcunq; emergentia removenda, dilucidandaq; nobis miſericorditer condonaſſe, quæ ad noſtri perfectionem enucleata fructus uberes conferunt & ſalutares. Noſtrum ſemper fuit eritq; per ſæcula (uti Chriſticolas decet) hujuſmodi celebratiſſima Summi Pontificis inſtituta ſectari, & in quibuſq; dubitationibus, ac arduis Quæſtionibus ſupernaturali lumine freti, noſtrum proferre Judicium, ubi res ipſa optime conſiderata, multiſq; hinc inde demonſtrationibus, atq; Patrum Authoritatibus mature declarata fuerit, temere quoad poſſumus nihil omnino judicantes. Cum igitur nos, quidam oratores clariſſimi, ſuppliciter exorarint, ut ſubſequentem caſum diligentiſſime perſcrutari dignaremur, atq; noſtram ferremus exinde ſententiam, ſoli veritati ſimpliciter attendentes: Qua ex re omnes hujus Almæ Univerſitatis Doctores Theologi in ſimul convenimus, re ipſa prius per noſtrum quemlibet particulariter propriis domibus examinata, ſummaq; cum ſolertia enucleata, mox in unum redacti cuncta conſideravimus, examinavimus, omniaq; ſigillatim ponderavimns, Argumenta quæcunq; contraria, quæ fieri quoquomodo poſſe putavimus, adducentes, atq; integerrime diſſolventes, necnon Deuteronomicam Diſpenſationem de Fratris ſuſcitando ſemine, & reliquas omnes rationes atq; ſententias oppoſitas, quæ ad id facere videbantur: Quæſtio igitur talis fuit expoſita, An ex ſola Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ inſtitutione, vel etiam de Jure Divino prohibitum fuerit, ne quis Relictam fratris abſq; liberis in Uxorem ducere valeat? Quod ſi utrobiq; fieri nequeat cautum eſt, An Beatiſſimus Pontifex ſuper hujuſmodi contrahendo Matrimonio quenquam diſpenſare legitime poſſit? Quo exactiſſime (ut dictum eſt) ſeorſim publiceq; diſcuſſo, ac pro viribus dilucidato quæſito, Dicimus, Judicamus, Decernimus, Atteſtamur, atque veridice Affirmamus, Matrimonium hujuſmodi, tale conjugium & tales nuptias nullas eſſe, immo deteſtabiles, atque execrandas Chriſtiano cuilibet eſſe, prophanas, &, ut

ſcelus

ſcelus abominandas, crudeliſſimis pœnis, jure naturæ, divino & humano, clariſſime eſſe prohibitas. Nec Beatiſſimum Pontificem, cui claves Regni cœleſtis a Chriſto Dei Filio ſunt collatæ, ulla ex cauſa poſſe ſuper tali Matrimonio contrahendo quenquam juridice diſpenſare. Cum illa, quæ ſunt a Jure Divino prohibita, non ſubſint ejus poteſtati, nec in illa gerit vicem Dei, ſed ſolum ſuper ea, quæ ſunt commiſſa juriſdictioni hominum. Ad cujus Sententiæ ac Concluſionis veritatem tutandam & ejuſdem certiſſimam defenſionem, Nos omnes unanimes ſemper & ubique parati ſumus. In quorum fidem has noſtras fecimus, Almæ Univerſitatis noſtræ, ac Sacri Reverendorum Theologorum Collegii Sigillo ſolito communivimus. Datum Paduæ in Eccleſia Hermitarum S. Auguſtini, die primo Julii, M. D. XXX.

XXXV. *The Judgment of the* Lutheran *Divines about the King's Marriage*, ex MSS. R. Smith, *London.*

EX hac Collatione in qua audivimus Argumenta de Controverſia Divortii Sereniſſimi & Illuſtriſſimi Regis Angliæ, Franciæ, &c. propoſita & diligenter agitata a Reverendo D. D. Edwardo Hereford. Epiſcopo, D. Nicolao Archdiacono & D. D. Barnes, intelleximus Sereniſſimum Regem maximis & graviſſimis Cauſis adductum, ſuperatum & concluſum eſſe, ut in hoc negotio Matrimonii ſui faceret quod fecit: Nam hoc manifeſtum eſt & negare nemo poteſt, quod Lex Levit. tradita Lev. 18. v. 20. prohibet ducere fratris Uxorem, &c. ſed Divina, naturalis, & moralis Lex eſt intelligenda tam de vivi quam de mortui fratris Uxore, & quod contra hanc legem nulla contraria lex fieri aut conſtitui poſſit, ſicut & tota Eccleſia ſemper hanc Legem retinuit, & judicavit hujuſmodi nuptias inceſtas eſſe, ſicut teſtantur Synodorum Decreta & Sanctiſſimorum Patrum Clariſſimæ Sententiæ, & has nuptias prohibent & vocant inceſtas etiam jura Civilia. Proinde & nos ſentimus, & hanc Legem de non ducenda Uxore fratris in omnibus Eccleſiis ſervandam eſſe veluti divinam, naturalem, & moralem Legem; Nec in noſtris Eccleſiis vellemus diſpenſare aut permittere, præſertim ante factum, ut ejuſmodi nuptiæ contraherentur, & hanc Doctrinam poſſumus & volumus Deo volente facile defendere. Cæterum quantum ad Divortium pertinet, nondum ſumus plene perſuaſi ut ſententiam noſtram ferre poſſimus, An poſt Contractum Matrimonium in hoc caſu Sereniſſimi Regis debuerit fieri Divortium. Rogamus igitur Seren. Regem ut æquo animo ferat, differri noſtram Sententiam in hac re donec erimus certiores.

XXXVI. An Abſtract of the Grounds of the Divorce.

Written in the beginning, Thomas Cantuarien, *with his own hand.*

Articuli ex quibus plane admodum demonſtratur Divortium inter Henr. 8. Angliæ Regem Invictiſſ. & Sereniſſimam Catharinam neceſſario eſſe faciendum.

1. AFfinitas quæ Divino & Naturali Jure impedit ne Matrimonium contrahatur, & contractum dirimit, ſolo nuptiali fœdere inducitur. *Cotton Libr. Veſp. B. 5.*

2. Subſtantia Matrimonii, verum perfectumq; conjugium, ſola conjugali pactione, & non carnali copula efficitur.

3. Vir & Uxor ſolo fœdere conjugali, Deo inprimis operante, una mens & una caro fiunt.

4. Carnalis Copula affinitatem ſolo Jure Eccleſiaſtico repertam inducit.

5. Affinitas ſola Carnis concubitu orta Sanctione humana ſolum impedit, ne Matrimonium contrahatur, & contractum diſſolvit.

6. Carnalis Copula Matrimonium neceſſario reddit conſummatum.

7. Poteſt Matrimonium Carnali Copula conſummari, etiam Uxoris Virginitate irrecuperabili non amiſſa.

8. Sereniſſimam Catharinam ab Illuſtriſſimo Principe Arthuro relictam Virginem non fuiſſe affirmamus.

9. Sereniſſ. Catharinam ex Judiciis quam plurimis atteſtantibus, & violentam præſumptionem inducentibus, ab eodem Illuſtriſſimo Principe Arthuro corruptam, atque Matrimonium inter eos conſummatum fuiſſe non dubitamus.

10. Sereniſſima Catharina, præſumptione violenta hujuſmodi conſtante, Virginitatem ſuam Juramento præſertim publico probare nequit.

11. Judex eandem Sereniſſimam Catharinam, ſuper ea cauſa jurare volentem, ad juramentum jure quidem admittere non poteſt.

12. Henrici octavi Angliæ Regis Invictiſſimi & Sereniſſimæ Catharinæ prætenſum Matrimonium, lege Divina & naturali prohibente, nullum omnino fuiſſe neq; eſſe poſſe Cenſemus.

XXXVII. *A Bull ſent to the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *againſt the Statutes of Proviſors.*

Ex M. S. D. Petyt.

MArtinus Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabili Fratri Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Si quam diſtricto Dei Judicio de commiſſis tibi ovibus rationem redditurus es, aliquando cogitares, ſi meminiſſes & tu quæ paſtoralis officii cura eſſe debet, quantumq; Eccleſiæ Romanæ, a qua dignitatem & auctoritatem vendicas, jus atque honorem tueri obligatus es, in conſideratio-

nem

tionem duceres; profecto non uſque adeo dormitares neque negligeres: Surrexiſſes jamdudum, & poſt oves jam longe aberrantes inclamares, ac pro viribus reſiſteres iis, qui jura ac privilegia a ſummo Eccleſiarum capite omnium Chriſto, Eccleſiæ Romanæ tradita, ſacrilego vel auſu violant atque contemnunt. Numquid ideo Pontificalis Dignitas tibi commiſſa eſt ut hominibus præſis, opes cumules, & quæ tua ſunt non quæ Jeſu Chriſti quærere debeas? Si id exiſtimas vehementer erras, & a Chriſti intentione longe abes, qui cum Beato Petro oves ſuas committeret, nil ei aliud niſi ut illas paſceret indixit, priuſque non ſemel, ſed bis ac tertio, an ab eo diligeretur expoſtulans. Eſtne hæc in Chriſtum dilectio quam habes? Eſtne hoc amare ac paſcere oves? Itane debitum quo Eccleſiæ Romanæ aſtringeris, recte exſolvis? En ante oculos tuos ab ovili errantes in præcipitium labuntur oves, nec illas revocas neque reducis. In conſpectu tuo herbas pergunt peſtiferas paſcere, nec illas prohibes, immo (quod abominabile eſt) tuis quaſi manibus hujuſmodi præbes mortiferum cibum. Te vidente, lupus illas diſpergit, & taces tanquam canis mutus non valens latrare. Aſpicis ſimul & Chriſti & Eccleſiæ & ſedis Apoſtolicæ mandata, auctoritatem, reverentiamque contemptui haberi, nec ſemel unum murmuras verbum, clauculum ſaltem, ſi nolles palam. An ignoras ante æterni tribunal judicis hujuſmodi reatus & culpæ uſque ad minimum quadrantem redditurum te rationem? num credis, ſi qua tuo neglectu perierit ovium (pereunt autem multæ) de tuis manibus ſanguis earum exigetur? Quid per os Ezechielis Dominus comminatur, memorare & extimeſce. Ipſe, inquit, Speculatorem Domini poſuit te Deus, ſi videris gladium venientem, & non inſonueris buccina, & aliquis perierit, ſanguinem ejus de manibus tuis requiram; hæc dicit Dominus. Qualis autem & qualis iniquitatis & abominationis gladius in Angliæ Regnum, atque oves tuas deſcenderit, tuo judicio (ſi ratione uteris) relinquimus. Perlege illud Statutum Regium, ſi tamen Statutum, ſi tamen Regium dici fas eſt. Nam quomodo Statutum, quod Statuta Dei & Eccleſiæ deſtruit? Quomodo Regium? quod Inſtituta peremit? contra illud quod ſcriptum eſt, Honor Regis Judicium diligit. Et judica, venerabilis Frater & Chriſtiane Epiſcope, ac Catholice Præſul, ſi juſtum, ſi æquum, ſi a Populo Chriſtiano ſervari eſt. Imprimis per illud execrabile Statutum ita Rex Angliæ de Eccleſia cum Proviſionibus & Adminiſtrationibus diſponit, quaſi Vicarium ſuum Chriſtus eum inſtituiſſet. Legem condit ſuper Eccleſias, beneficia, Clericos & Eccleſiaſticum ſtatum, ad ſe ſuamq; laicalem Curiam nonnullas cauſas Spirituales & Eccleſiaſticas jubet introduci; & ut uno verbo concludamus, ita de Clericis ſtatuit, de Eccleſiis & Eccleſiaſtico Statu, quaſi Eccleſiæ claves in manibus haberet, & non Petro, ſed ſibi hujuſmodi cura commiſſa foret. Præter hanc nefandam Diſpoſitionem, vipereas quaſdam contra Clericos adjecit pœnas, quæ ne quidem contra Judæos vel Saracenos, per ullum de Statutis ſuis, promulgatæ inveniuntur. Poſſunt ad Angliæ Regnum cujuſlibet generis homines libere proficiſci; ſoli acceptantes beneficia Auctoritate Summi Pontificis, Vicarii Jeſu Chriſti, jubentur exulari, capi, incarcerari, omnibuſq; bonis exui, executoreſq; literarum Apoſtolicarum, Procuratores, Notarii, ac quicunq; alii Cenſuram ſeu Proceſſum ab Apoſtolica ſede in Regnum mittentes aut deferentes, ultimo ſupplicio deputantur, projectiq; extra protectionem Regis exponuntur ab omnibus captivandi. Vide ſi audita eſt unquam ſimilis

Statuti

Statuti iniquitas: Conſideret prudentia tua, ſi Regem aut Regnum hujuſmodi Statuta decent: Cogita ſi te talia inſpicientem ſilere oporteat,& non magis clamare, contradicere, & pro viribus reſiſtere. Eſtne iſta filialis Reverentia? Eſtne iſta Chriſtiana devotio quam Regnum Angliæ ſuæ Matri Eccleſiæ ac Sedi Apoſtolicæ exhibet? Poteſtne Catholicum Regnum dici, ubi hujuſmodi ſtatuuntur profanæ leges & obſervantur, ubi prohibetur adiri Vicarius Chriſti, ubi oves ſuas Succeſſor Apoſtoli Petri paſcere juxta mandatum Domini non permittitur? Chriſtus dixit Petro ſuiſq; Succeſſoribus, Paſce oves meas; Statutum autem Regni paſcere ipſas non ſinit, ſed vult ut Rex ipſe paſcat, devolvendo ad eum in certis caſibus Apoſtolicam Auctoritatem. Chriſtus ædificavit ſupra Petrum Eccleſiam; ſed Regni Statutum, id prohibet: Nam non patitur Petri Cathedram de Eccleſia prout judicaverit,expedire, ordinare vel diſſponere. Chriſtus voluit quod quicquid ſummus Pontifex in terris ſolverit aut ligaverit, ſolutum ligatumve eſſet in cœlis; Statutum huic divinæ voluntati non aſſentit: Nam ſi quos Sacerdotes ad ligandum ſolvendumq; animas Chriſti Vicarius in Regnum contra Statuti tenorem deſtinaret, non modo ipſos non admittit Statutum ſed exulare jubet, Bonis privari, aliiſq; pœnis affligi, & cenſuram ſeu Proceſſum Apoſtolicum in Regnum deferens, tanquam Sacrilegus capite punitur. Quid ad hoc tua Diſcretio reſpondebit? Eſtne hoc Catholicum Statutum? Poteſtne ſine Chriſti iniuria, ſine Evangelii tranſgreſſione, ſine animæ interitu tolerari aut obſervari? Cur igitur non clamas, & quaſi tuba exaltas vocem tuam; annuncians populo tuo peccata ſua, Domui Iſrael ſcelera eorum, ne ſanguis eorum de manibus tuis requiratur. Quod & ſi omnes quibus populorum cura commiſſa eſt, facere teneantur, quanto magis id tibi erit neceſſarium exequi, cui populos & populorum miniſtros, oves & ovium paſtores, tuæ ſolicitudini Romana deputavit Eccleſia, a qua & Primatum & Sedis Apoſtolicæ legationem ſuper Anglicanas Eccleſias ſuſcepiſti, & ipſius glorioſiſſimi Martyris Beati Thomæ olim Cantuariæ Archiepiſcopi Succeſſor effectus es, qui adverſus ſimilia decertans Statuta, holocauſtum ſe Deo offerens pro libertate Eccleſiaſtica occubuit. Tu certe ob hæc, omnium primus qui vexillo aſſumpto in aciem prodire deberes, & fratres Co-epiſcopos tuos tuo exemplo in certamine ſiſtere, primus omnium terga vertis, & aliquos qui forte reſiſtendi impetum caperent, tua ſive puſillanimitate, ſive diſſimulatione, ſive (ut omnes atteſtantur) evidenti prævaricatione a bono propoſito dejicis. Itaq; ſi de te queritur Eccleſiâ, ſi in te omnis culpa transfertur, non mirari ſed dolere, immo potius teipſum corrigere debes, & debitum quo ovium jure aſtrictus es audacter exolvere: pro qua re efficienda, ſi velis quam potes operam adhibere, non magnum certamen ſubeundum eſt. Perſuade tuo pro officio & Auctoritate tua, ſecularibus, & eos veritatem inſtrue. Oſtende eis peccatum quo obſervantes prædictum Statutum illaqueantur: Et erunt (ut omnes aſſerunt) prava in directa, & aſpera in vias planas. Ne ergo, ſi tacueramus & nos, tuam aliorumq; deſidiam diſſimulantes ſimilis apud omnipotentem Deum culpæ reos efficiat, neve ovium noſtrarum ſanguis (ſi neglexerimus) de manibus noſtris exigatur, tuam fraternitatem qua poſſumus inſtantia, toto corde, totoq; affectu hortamur, monemus, requirimus, & in virtute Sanctæ obedientiæ, & ſub Excommunicationis pœna cui (ſi neglexeris) ipſo facto te ſubjicimus, diſtricte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus quamprimum ad

locum ubi Conſiliarii Chariſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri Henrici Angliæ Regis Illuſtris conveniunt, perſonaliter accedas, eoſq; tam Eccleſiaſticos quam Seculares pro ſapientia tua, quam tibi Dominus inſpiraverit, rationibus ac monitionibus reddas inſtructos, ut prædictum Statutum in proximo Parliamento tollant penitus & aboleant: Cum enim Divinæ & Humanæ rationi, veteris ac Novi Teſtamenti, Conciliorum, Sanctorum Patrum, Summorum Pontificum Decretis, ipſius denique Univerſalis Eccleſiæ obſervantiæ evidentiſſime contradicat, nec ſine interitu ſalutis æternæ quovis modo ſervari poſſit. Illudq; inter alia dicere non omittas, qualiter Eccleſiaſticæ libertatis violatores, facienteſq; Statuta aut conſuetudines contra libertatem ſervari, Officiales, Rectores & Conſiliarii, locorum ubi hujuſmodi Statuta vel conſuetudines editæ fuerunt vel ſervatæ, Ac etiam qui ſecundum prædicta judicaverint, ipſo jure Excommunicationem incurrunt, quæ quantum ſit Chriſti fidelibus metuenda, ipſis plene poteris declarare. Idem ſub pœna eadem te facere volumus cum Parliamentum inchoabitur, tam erga prædictos Conſiliarios quam Communitates, & alios qui vocem in ipſo habuerint Parliamento. Inſuper ut pluribus viis honori Dei & Sanctæ Matris Eccleſiæ, & animarum ſaluti provideatur, ſub ſimili pœna mandes ac præcipias omnibus tam Rectoribus Eccleſiarum, quam aliis officium prædicationis obtinentibus, Secularibus & Religioſis, ut frequenter in ſermonibus ſuis populos de prædicta materia inſtruere non omittant. Volumus autem ut quicquid ſuper prædictis feceris per tuas literas (quibus ſaltem duæ graves perſonæ, quæ ipſis requiſitionibus per te faciendis interfuerint, ſe ſubſcribant) nos certiores efficias. Dat. Rom. apud Sanctos Apoſtolos quinto die Decembris, Pontificatus noſtri Anno decimo.

XXXVIII. *A Letter to King* Henry *the Sixth for Repealing that Statute.*

MArtinus Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, Chariſſimo in Chriſto Filio Henrico Regi Angliæ Illuſtri, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Quum poſt multos nuncios ad tuam Serenitatem pro abolitione illius deteſtabilis Statuti contra libertatem Eccleſiaſticam editi olim tranſmiſſos, poſtremo dilectum filium Magiſtrum Julianum cauſarum curiæ Cameræ Apoſtolicæ Auditorem, pro eadem cauſa deſtinaſſemus; per ipſum tua Celſitudo tunc nobis reſpondit; quod quamprimum commode poſſit, Parliamentum, ſine quo idem nequit aboleri Statutum, convocaret, & in eo quod ſibi poſſibile foret pro noſtræ requiſitionis implemento faceret, Proteſtans quod Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ fediſq; Apoſtolicæ Juribus ac Privilegiis nullo modo detrahere aut derogare intendebat: Nos ob hoc, ſicut deinde aliis literis tibi ſignificavimus, uſq; ad id tempus cum patientia expectare decrevimus, ſperantes quod in Verbo Regio nobis pollicitus fueris, id tempore ſuo exequi non differres; itaq; quicquid ex parte noſtra hactenus faciendum fuit, omnem manſuetudinis & patientiæ modum experientes jam fecimus. Et licet gravibus interim per aliquos de Regno tuo laceſſiti ſumus injuriis, volumus tamen (ne quid contra promiſſum fieri videretur) uſq; ad id tempus (non ſine rubore

Sedis

Sedis Apoſtolicæ) expectare, ut merito illud verbum Evangelicum jam dici poſſit, Quid debui huic vineæ facere & non feci? Tu vero, Fili Chariſſime, cum ipſius Parliamenti jam tempus inſtet, quod ex tua parte agendum reſtat, juxta promiſſionem tuam ac verbum Regium implere non omittas, ad quod & Jure Divino & Humano tanquam Chriſtianiſſimus Princeps obligatus, ſine cujuſvis requiſitione pro tua & tuorum ſubditorum ſalute & honore facere teneris: præſertim quum talia obtuleramus, ob quæ nec tibi nec dicto Regno ex prædicti Statuti abolitione præjudicium ullum redundare poſſit; providere enim iis omnibus quæ cauſam Statuto dediſſe dicuntur, jam ſæpe noſtro nomine oblatum eſt, & nunc de novo offerimus. Jam igitur cum nulla quævis contradicendi occaſio prætendi poſſit, ſperamus in dicto Parliamento tuam Serenitatem ita facturam, ut prædictum tam execrabile Statutum penitus de eodem Regno tollatur. Quod ſi feceris, ſalvabis primum tuam, tum vero multorum animas, quæ ob dictum Statutum gravi crimine illaqueatæ tenentur: Providebis deinde tuo & ipſius Regni honori, quod utiq; propterea non modicum eſt notatum: Demum nos ac ſedem ipſam ſemper tuis juſtis deſideriis obligabis. Super iis autem omnibus & de noſtra intentione plene per literas noſtras inſtructo, dilecto Filio magiſtro Joanni de Obizis in dicto Regno Nuncio & Collectori noſtro, dabis credentiæ fidem plenam. Dat. Rom. die decimo tertio Octobris, Pontificatus noſtri Anno decimo.

XXXIX. *A Letter to the Parliament upon the ſame occaſion.*

MArtinus Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, venerabilibus Fratribus & dilectis Filiis, Nobilibus viris Parliamenti Regni Angliæ, ſalutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Multis nunciis ac frequentibus exhortationibus, pro debito paſtoralis officii, vos ac Regnum veſtrum hactenus admonuimus, ut pro ſalute animarum veſtrarum, & ipſius Regni honore, quoddam deteſtabile Statutum contra Divinum & Humanum Jus editum, quod ſine interitu ſalutis æternæ nullatenus ſervari poteſt, aboleretur. Et quoniam id ſine Parliamento tolli non poſſe, ex parte Chariſſimi in Chriſto Filii noſtri Henrici Regis Angliæ illuſtris, Dilecto Filio Magiſtro Juliano Cauſarum curiæ Cameræ Apoſtolicæ Auditori, tunc Nuncio noſtro, reſponſum extitit, in quo (quam primum poſſet) convocato, quod ſibi poſſibile foret pro noſtræ Requiſitionis executione ſe facturum, idem Rex pollicitus eſt, proteſtans Juribus ac Privilegiis Sanctæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ & Sedis Apoſtolicæ in nullo velle detrahere aut derogare. Nos volentes ſolita erga vos manſuetudine uti, decrevimus uſq; ad ipſius Parliamenti tempus expectare, ſperantes quod tam Rex juxta ſuam Regiam Promiſſionem, quam vos pro ſalute animarum veſtrarum, Sancte ac Catholice ſecundum noſtram Requiſitionem concludetis. Itaq; cum Parliamentum (ut fertur) jam inſtet, vos omnes, quorum animas noſtræ curæ Dominus noſter Jeſus Chriſtus commiſit, hortamur, monemus, obſecramus, ut unanimes veſtrarum animarum ſalutem, ac conſcientiarum puritatem præ cæteris rebus amantes, prædictum abominabile Statutum (quod qui obſervat vel obſervari faciat ſalvari non poteſt) penitus tollatur, & de Regno in perpetuum aboleatis. Quod ſi quis forſitan vobis contrarium perſuadere audeat, quicunq;

ille ſit, Sæcularis vel Eccleſiaſtici Status, tanquam hoſtem animarum veſtrarum & honorum, nullatenus audite; nec eum virum Catholicum reputetis, qui adverſus Romanæ Eccleſiæ Auctoritatem, Juraque & Privilegia Sedi Apoſtolicæ Divinitus conceſſa, aliquid machinari præſumpſerit, quibus ipſe Rex veſter Illuſtris nolle ullatenus derogare publice proteſtatus eſt. Nos quidem ipſi ſumus ab omnipotenti Deo Jeſu Chriſto ſuper vos & Univerſalem Eccleſiam conſtituti, cujus Doctrinæ ac perſuaſioni ſine ulla contradictione omnimodam fidem vos & quilibet Chriſtianus habere debetis: Nos tamen, etſi indignos, oves ſuas paſcere Chriſtus voluit, claveſq; aperiendi ac ſolvendi Cœlos tradidit. Et ſi quis nos audit, ſervi Chriſti teſtimonium Chriſtianum audit; & ſi quis nos ſpernit, Chriſtum ſpernere convincitur. Et quoniam de vobis ac ſingulis Chriſtianis in diſtricto Dei Judicio rationem reddituri ſumus, ideo vos pro ſalute veſtra tam ſæpe tamq; efficaciter admonemus; & ne quiſquam ſub alicujus damni temporalis prætextu vos ab hac noſtra Catholica Doctrina ſubmoveat, ecce nos promptos paratoſq; offerimus, omnibus cauſis, propter quas dictum Statutum conditum eſſe prætenditur, ſalubriter providere, ita ut nec Regno nec cuiquam privatæ perſonæ præjudicium aliquod ex ipſius Statuti abolitione poſſit accidere. Super his omnibus & noſtra intentione plene inſtructo dilecto Filio Magiſtro Joanni de Obizis, in dicto Regno Nuntio & Collectori noſtro, dabitis Credentiæ plenam fidem. Dat. Romæ apud Sanctos Apoſtolos tertio die Octobris, Pontificatus noſtri Anno decimo.

XL. *An Inſtrument of the Speech the Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury *made to the Houſe of Commons about it.*

Die Veneris, penultimo menſis Januarii, Anno Domini ſecundum curſum & computationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ milleſimo quadringenteſimo decimo ſeptimo, indictione ſexta, Pontificatus Sanctiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini noſtri Domini Martini Divina Providentia Papæ quinti Anno undecimo, Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patres & Domini, Domini, Henricus Dei Gratia Cantuarienſis & Johannes Eboracenſis Archiepiſcopi, necnon Reverendiſſ. Patres W. Londinenſis, Benedictus Menevenſis, Philippus Elienſis, Jochen & W. Norvicenſis, Epiſcopi, & cum eis venerabiles Patres & viri religioſi Weſtmonaſterii & Radingiæ Abbates de palatio regio Weſtmonaſterienſi de Camera, viz. Ubi tam Domini Spirituales quam Temporales in Parliamento adtunc tento negotia Regni tractaverint & tractare ſolebant, recedentes, & dimiſſis ibi Dominis Temporalibus, in ſimul tranſierunt ad viros illos qui pro communitate Regni ad Parliamentum hujuſmodi venerant in loco ſolito, viz. in Refectorio Abbatiæ Weſtmonaſterienſis prædictæ perſonaliter exiſtentes, & incontinenter eiſdem Dominis Spiritualibus cum reverentia debita, prout decuit a viris hujuſmodi communitatem Regni facientibus & repræſentantibus, receptis: Præfatus Reverendiſſimus Pater Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis cauſam adventus ſui & con-fratrum ſuorum ad tunc exponere cœpit in vulgari; Proteſtando primitus, & proteſtabatur idem Dominus Cantuarienſis vice ſua & confratrum ſuorum prædictorum,

dictorum, quod pro dicendo tunc ibidem non intendebat ipſe Reverendiſſimus Pater, aut aliquis confratrum ſuorum, Domino Regi Angliæ aut Coronæ ſuæ vel communitati Regni in aliquo derogare, & ſic adhærendo Proteſtationi ſuæ hujuſmodi, idem Reverendiſſimus Pater proſequebatur & expoſuit ſolemniter cauſam adventus ſui & con-fratrum ſuorum, ſumpto quaſi pro themate, Reddite quæ ſunt Cæſaris, Cæſari, & quæ ſunt Dei Deo. Super quo procedendo, ea quæ ad Juriſdictionem Eccleſiaſticam, & ea quæ ad Cæſaream pertinebant, notabiliter & ad longum declaravit, materiam Proviſionis & pro Statuti illius contra Proviſores editi abolitione, cum bona & matura deliberatione proſequendo, & in proceſſu declarationis hujuſmodi jura nonnulla & Sacræ Scripturæ Auctoritates convenientes allegavit, pro jure Domini noſtri Papæ in Proviſionibus habendis, ſicut Sancti Prædeceſſores ſui ſummi Pontifices in Regno Angliæ & alibi per Univerſalem Chriſtianitatem habuerunt, ipſeq; Dominus Papa modernus in cæteris Regnis habet & poſſidet in præſenti: Unde præmiſſis, Bulliſq; & literis Apoſtolicis, quas pro hac re idem Dominus Papa jam tarde ad Regnum tranſmiſerat, diligenter conſideratis, & quod dictus Dominus noſter Papa tot Ambaſſiatas & nuncios ſolemnes ad proſequendum jus ſuum & Eccleſiæ libertatem in præmiſſis, non abſq; laboribus magnis, periculis & expenſis, de Curia Romana ad Regnum Angliæ deſtinavit, idem Reverendiſſimus Pater Cantuar. Archiepiſcopus, nomine ſuo & confratrum ſuorum ad tunc ibidem præſentium, & abſentium in dicto Parliamento per Procuratores comparentium, ad quos ut aſſeruit diviſim ſaltem principalis cura animarum totius Communitatis Regni pertinere dignoſcitur, dictos viros omnes & ſingulos tunc præſentes, Communitatem (ut præmittitur) repræſentantes, requiſivit & in Domino exhortabatur, quatenus ob ſalutem animarum ſuarum totiuſq; Regni proſperitatem & pacem, materiam prædictam ſic ponderarent, & taliter in eodem Parliamento ſuper eadem deliberarent, ut Sanctiſſimus Dominus noſter Papa placari, ac Regis zelum ad Sedem Apoſtolicam totiuſq; Regni devotionem in hac parte habere poſſet materiam commendandi. Et addidit ultra hujuſmodi Requiſitionem & Exhortationem præfatus Reverendiſſimus Pater Archiepiſcopus Cantuarienſis; & ex corde, ut apparuit, expoſuit lacrymando, pericula per cenſurarum, viz. Eccleſiaſticarum & etiam Interdicti fulminationem, & alias tam Regi quam Regno (quod abſit) veriſimiliter eventura alia, in caſu quo reſponſio Parliamenti illius, in materia tunc declarata, grata non foret Domino Papæ & accepta, ſic dicendo; Forte videtur quibuſdam veſtrum, quod hæc quæ Regni Prælatos potiſſime concernunt ex corde non profero, Sciatis pro certo, & in fide, qua Deo teneor & Eccleſiæ, affirmo coram vobis, quod magis mihi foret acceptum nunquam conferre aut etiam habere aliquod beneficium Eccleſiaſticum, quam aliqua talia pericula ſeu proceſſus meo tempore in Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ Scandalum venirent. Ulterius idem Reverendiſſimus Pater expreſſe declaravit, qualiter dictus Dominus noſter Papa in diverſis Bullis ſuis obtulit & promiſit, ſe & Sedem Apoſtolicam, ad quaſcunq; cauſas & occaſiones editionis Statuti prædicti rationabile, remedium apponere, & materias cauſarum & occaſionum hujuſmodi Statuti in toto tollere & abolere; & ſic Requiſitione, Exhortatione & periculorum hujuſmodi expoſitione finitis, Reverendiſſimi Patres Cantuar. & Eborac. Archiepiſcopi, cum confratribus ſuis Epiſcopis & Prælatis prædictis, receſſerunt,

Regni

Regni Communitate, ſeu ſaltem dictis viris Communitatem Regni repræſentantibus remanentibus, & circa materiam eis expoſitam tractantibus, præſentibus, & Declarationem, Requiſitionem, & Exhortationem, hujuſmodiq; periculorum expoſitionem per dictum Dominum Archiepiſcopum Cantuarienſem (ut præmittitur) factas audientibus, venerabilibus viris Richardo Coudray Archidiacono Norwici in Eccleſia Norwicenſi, Magiſtro Joanne Forſter Canonico Lincolnenſi, &c. & Johanne Boold Notario Publico & multis aliis.

Act. 33. Anno Regni viceſimo tertio.

XLI. *An Act concerning Reſtraint of payment of* Annates *to the See of* Rome.

FOraſmuch as it is well perceived, by long approved experience, that great and ineſtimable Sums of Mony have been daily conveyed out of this Realm, to the impoveriſhment of the ſame; and ſpecially ſuch ſums of Mony as the Pope's Holineſs, his Predeceſſors, and the Court of *Rome*, by long time have heretofore taken of all and ſingular thoſe Spiritual Perſons which have been named, elected, preſented, or poſtulated to be Arch-Biſhops or Biſhops within this Realm of *England*, under the Title of *Annates*, otherwiſe called Firſt-Fruits. Which *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, have been taken of every Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, within this Realm, by reſtraint of the Pope's Bulls, for Confirmations, Elections, Admiſſions, Poſtulations, Proviſions, Collations, Diſpoſitions, Inſtitutions, Inſtallations, Inveſtitures, Orders, Holy Benedictions, Palles, or other things requiſite and neceſſary to the attaining of thoſe their Promotions; and have been compelled to pay, before they could attain the ſame, great Sums of Mony, before they might receive any part of the Fruits of the ſaid Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, whereunto they were named, elected, preſented, or poſtulated; by occaſion whereof, not only the Treaſure of this Realm hath been greatly conveighed out of the ſame, but alſo it hath hapned many times, by occaſion of death, unto ſuch Arch-Biſhops, and Biſhops, ſo newly promoted, within two or three years after his or their Conſecration, that his or their Friends, by whom he or they have been holpen to advance and make paiment of the ſaid *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, have been thereby utterly undone and impoveriſhed. And for becauſe the ſaid *Annates* have riſen, grown, and encreaſed, by an uncharitable Cuſtom, grounded upon no juſt or good title, and the paiments thereof obtained by reſtraint of Bulls, until the ſame *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, have been paied, or Surety made for the ſame; which declareth the ſaid Paiments to be exacted, and taken by conſtraint, againſt all equity and juſtice. The Noble Men therefore of the Realm, and the Wiſe, Sage, Politick Commons of the ſame, aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, conſidering that the Court of *Rome* ceaſeth not to tax, take, and exact the ſaid great Sums of Mony, under the Title of *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, as is aforeſaid, to the great damage of the ſaid Prelates, and this Realm; Which

Which *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, were firſt ſuffered to be taken within the ſame Realm, for the only defence of Chriſtian People againſt the Infidels, and now they be claimed and demanded as mere duty, only for lucre, againſt all right and conſcience. Inſomuch that it is evidently known, that there hath paſſed out of this Realm unto the Court of *Rome*, ſithen the ſecond year of the Reign of the moſt Noble Prince, of famous memory, King *Henry* the Seventh, unto this preſent time, under the name of *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, payed for the expedition of Bulls of Arch-Biſhopricks and Biſhopricks, the ſum of eight hundred thouſand Ducats, amounting in *Sterling* Mony, at the leaſt, to eightſcore thouſand pounds, beſides other great and intolerable Sums which have yearly been conveighed to the ſaid Court of *Rome*, by many other ways and means, to the great impoveriſhment of this Realm. And albeit, that our ſaid Sovereign the King, and all his natural Subjects, as well Spiritual as Temporal, been as obedient, devout, Catholick and humble Children of God, and Holy Church, as any People be within any Realm chriſtned; yet the ſaid exactions of *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, be ſo intolerable and importable to this Realm, that it is conſidered and declared, by the whole Body of this Realm now repreſented, by all the Eſtates of the ſame aſſembled in this preſent Parliament, that the King's Highneſs before Almighty God, is bound, as by the duty of a good Chriſtian Prince, for the conſervation and preſervation of the good Eſtate and Common-Wealth of this his Realm, to do all that in him is to obviate, repreſs, and redreſs the ſaid abuſions and exactions of *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits. And becauſe that divers Prelates of this Realm being now in extream Age, and in other debilities of their Bodies, ſo that of likelyhood, bodily death in ſhort time ſhall or may ſucceed unto them; by reaſon whereof great ſums of Mony ſhall ſhortly after their deaths be conveighed unto the Court of *Rome*, for the unreaſonable and uncharitable Cauſes aboveſaid, to the univerſal damage, prejudice, and impoveriſhment of this Realm, if ſpeedy remedy be not in due time provided: It is therefore ordained, eſtabliſhed, and enacted, by Authority of this preſent Parliament, That the unlawful paiment of *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, and all manner Contributions for the ſame, for any Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, or for any Bulls hereafter to be obtained from the Court of *Rome*, to or for the foreſaid purpoſe and intent, ſhall from henceforth utterly ceaſe, and no ſuch hereafter to be payed for any Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, within this Realm, other or otherwiſe than hereafter in this preſent Act is declared; And that no manner Perſon, nor Perſons hereafter to be named, elected, preſented, or poſtulated to any Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, within this Realm, ſhall pay the ſaid *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, for the ſaid Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, nor any other manner of Sum or Sums of Mony, Penſions or *Annates* for the ſame, or for any other like exaction, or cauſe, upon pain to forfeit to our ſaid Sovereign Lord the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors, all manner his Goods and Chattels for ever, and all the Temporal Lands and Poſſeſſions of the ſame Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, during the time that he or they which ſhall offend, contrary to this preſent Act, ſhall have, poſſeſs, or enjoy, the Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick; wherefore he ſhall ſo offend contrary to the form aforeſaid. And furthermore it is enacted, by Authority of this preſent Parliament, That

any

if any Perſon hereafter named and preſented to the Court of *Rome* by the King, or any of his Heirs or Succeſſors, to be Biſhop of any See or Dioceſs within this Realm hereafter, ſhall be letted, deferred, or delayed at the Court of *Rome* from any ſuch Biſhoprick, whereunto he ſhall be ſo repreſented, by means of reſtraint of Bulls Apoſtolick, and other things requiſite to the ſame; or ſhall be denied, at the Court of *Rome*, upon convenient ſuit made, any manner Bulls requiſite for any of the Cauſes aforeſaid, any ſuch Perſon or Perſons ſo preſented, may be, and ſhall be, conſecrated here in *England* by the Arch-Biſhop, in whoſe Province the ſaid Biſhoprick ſhall be, ſo alway that the ſame Perſon ſhall be named and preſented by the King for the time being to the ſame Arch-Biſhoprick: And if any Perſons being named and preſented, as aforeſaid, to any Arch-Biſhoprick of this Realm, making convenient ſuit, as is aforeſaid, ſhall happen to be letted, deferred, delayed, or otherwiſe diſturbed from the ſame Arch-Biſhoprick, for lack of Pall, Bulls, or other to him requiſite, to be obtained in the Court of *Rome* in that behalf, that then every ſuch Perſon named and preſented to be Arch-Biſhop, may be, and ſhall be, conſecrated and inveſted, after preſentation made, as is aforeſaid, by any other two Biſhops within this Realm, whom the King's Highneſs, or any of his Heirs or Succeſſors, Kings of *England* for the time being, will aſſign and appoint for the ſame, according and in like manner as divers other Arch-Biſhops & Biſhops have been heretofore, in ancient time by ſundry the King's moſt noble Progenitors, made, conſecrated, and inveſted within this Realm: And that every Arch-Biſhop and Biſhop hereafter, being named and preſented by the King's Highneſs, his Heirs or Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, and being conſecrated and inveſted, as is aforeſaid, ſhall be inſtalled accordingly, and ſhall be accepted, taken, reputed, uſed, and obeyed, as an Arch-Biſhop or Biſhop of the Dignity, See, or Place whereunto he ſo ſhall be named, preſented, and conſecrated requireth; and as other like Prelates of that Province, See, or Dioceſs, have been uſed, accepted, taken, and obeyed, which have had, and obtained compleatly, their Bulls, and other things requiſite in that behalf from the Court of *Rome*. And alſo ſhall fully and entirely have and enjoy all the Spiritualities and Temporalities of the ſaid Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, in as large, ample, and beneficial manner, as any of his or their Predeceſſors had, or enjoyed in the ſaid Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, ſatisfying and yielding unto the King our Sovereign Lord, and to his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, all ſuch Duties, Rights, and Intereſts, as before this time had been accuſtomed to be paid for any ſuch Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, according to the Ancient Laws and Cuſtoms of this Realm, and the King's Prerogative Royal. And to the intent our ſaid Holy Father the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*, ſhall not think that the pains and labours taken, and hereafter to be taken, about the writing, ſealing, obtaining, and other buſineſſes ſuſtained, and hereafter to be ſuſtained, by the Offices of the ſaid Court of *Rome*, for and about the Expedition of any Bulls hereafter to be obtained or had for any ſuch Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, ſhall be irremunerated, or ſhall not be ſufficiently and condignly recompenſed in that behalf. And for their more ready expedition to be had therein, it is therefore enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That every Spiritual Perſon of this Realm, hereafter

hereafter to be named, preſented, or poſtulated, to any Arch-Biſhoprick or Biſhoprick of this Realm, ſhall and may lawfully pay for the writing and obtaining of his or their ſaid Bulls, at the Court of *Rome*, and enſealing the ſame with Lead, to be had without payment of any *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits, or other charge or exaction by him or them to be made, yielden, or paied for the ſame, five pounds *Sterling*, for and after the rate of the clear and whole yearly value of every hundreth pounds *Sterling*, above all charges of any ſuch Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, or other mony, to the value of the ſaid five pounds, for the clear yearly value of every hundreth pounds of every ſuch Arch-Biſhoprick, or Biſhoprick, and not above, nor in any other wiſe, any things in this preſent Act before written notwithſtanding. And foraſmuch as the King's Highneſs, and this his High Court of Parliament, neither have, nor do intend to uſe in this, or any other like cauſe, any manner of extremity or violence, before gentle courteſie or friendſhip, ways and means firſt approved and attempted, and without a very great urgent cauſe and occaſion given to the contrary, but principally coveting to disburden this Realm of the ſaid great exactions, and intolerable charges of *Annates*, and Firſt-Fruits, have therefore thought convenient to commit the final order and determination of the Premiſſes, in all things, unto the King's Highneſs. So that if it may ſeem to his high wiſdom, and moſt prudent diſcretion, meet to move the Pope's Holineſs, and the Court of *Rome*, amicably, charitably, and reaſonably, to compound, other to extinct and make fruſtrate the payments of the ſaid *Annates*, or Firſt-Fruits; or elſe by ſome friendly, loving, and tolerable compoſition to moderate the ſame in ſuch wiſe as may be by this Realm eaſily born and ſuſtained; That then thoſe ways and compoſitions once taken, concluded, and agreed, between the Pope's Holineſs and the King's Highneſs, ſhall ſtand in ſtrength, force, and effect of Law, inviolably to be obſerved. And it is alſo further ordained, and enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, That the King's Highneſs at any time, or times, on this ſide the Feaſt of *Eaſter*, which ſhall be in the Year of our Lord God, a thouſand five hundred and three and thirty, or at any time on this ſide the beginning of the next Parliament, by his Letters Pattents under his Great Seal, to be made, and to be entred of Record in the Roll of this preſent Parliament, may and ſhall have full power and liberty to declare, by the ſaid Letters Patents, whether that the Premiſſes, or any part, clauſe, or matter thereof, ſhall be obſerved, obeyed, executed, and take place and effect, as an Act and Statute of this preſent Parliament, or not. So that if his Highneſs, by his ſaid Letters Patents, before the expiration of the times above limited, thereby do declare his pleaſure to be, That the Premiſſes, or any part, clauſe, or matter thereof, ſhall not be put in execution, obſerved, continued, nor obeyed, in that caſe all the ſaid Premiſſes, or ſuch part, clauſe, or matter, as the King's Highneſs ſo ſhall refuſe, diſaffirm, or not ratifie, ſhall ſtand and be from henceforth utterly void and of none effect. And in caſe that the King's Highneſs, before the expiration of the times afore-prefixed, do declare by his ſaid Letters Patents, his pleaſure and determination to be, that the ſaid Premiſſes, or every clauſe, ſentence, and part thereof, that is to ſay, the whole, or ſuch part thereof as the King's Highneſs ſo ſhall affirm, accept, and ratifie, ſhall in all points ſtand,

remain, abide, and be put in due and effectual execution, according to the purport, tenour, effect, and true meaning of the ſame; and to ſtand and be from henceforth for ever after, as firm, ſtedfaſt, and available in the Law, as the ſame had been fully and perfectly eſtabliſhed, enacted, and confirmed, to be in every part thereof, immediately, wholly, and entirely executed, in like manner, form, and effect, as other Acts and Laws; The which being fully and determinately made, ordained, and enacted in this preſent Parliament: And if that upon the foreſaid reaſonable, amicable and charitable ways and means, by the King's Highneſs to be experimented, moved, or compounded, or otherwiſe approved, it ſhall and may appear, or be ſeen unto his Grace, that this Realm ſhall be continually burdened and charged with this, and ſuch other intolerable Exactions and Demands, as heretofore it hath been. And that thereupon, for continuance of the ſame, our ſaid Holy Father the Pope, or any of his Succeſſors, or the Court of *Rome*, will, or do, or cauſe to be done at any time hereafter, ſo as is above rehearſed, unjuſtly, uncharitably, and unreaſonably vex, inquiet, moleſt, trouble, or grieve our ſaid Sovereign Lord, his Heirs or Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, or any of his or their Spiritual or Lay-Subjects, or this his Realm, by Excommunication, Excomengement, Interdiction; or by any other Proceſs, Cenſures, Compulſories, Ways, or Means; Be it Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That the King's Highneſs, his Heirs and Succeſſors, Kings of *England*, and all his Spiritual and Lay-Subjects of the ſame, without any ſcruples of Conſcience, ſhall and may lawfully, to the honour of Almighty God, the encreaſe and continuance of vertue and good example within this Realm, the ſaid Cenſures, Excommunications, Interdictions, Compulſories, or any of them notwithſtanding, miniſter, or cauſe to be miniſtred, throughout this ſaid Realm, and all other the Dominions or Territories belonging or appertaining thereunto; All and all manner Sacraments, Sacramentals, Ceremonies, or other Divine Services of the Holy Church, or any other thing or things neceſſary for the health of the Soul of Mankind, as they heretofore at any time or times have been vertuouſly uſed or accuſtomed to do within the ſame; and that no manner ſuch Cenſures, Excommunications, Interdictions, or any other Proceſs or Compulſories, ſhall be by any of the Prelates, or other Spiritual Fathers of this Region, nor by any of their Miniſters or Subſtitutes, be at any time or times hereafter publiſhed, executed, nor divulged, nor ſuffered to be publiſhed, executed, or divulged in any manner of ways. *Cui quidem Billæ prædictæ & ad plenum intellectæ per dictum Dominum Regem ex aſſenſu & Autoritate Parliamenti prædicti taliter eſt Reſponſum.*

Le Roy le Volt — *Soit Baille aux comunes*

A ceſt Bille Les comunes ſont aſſentes.

Memorand.

MEmorand. quod nono die Julii, Anno Regni Regis Henrici viceſimo quinto, idem Dominus Rex per Literas ſuas Patentes ſub magno ſigillo ſuo ſigillat. Actum prædictum ratificavit & confirmavit, & actui illo aſſenſum ſuum regium dedit, prout per eaſdem Literas Patentes, cujus tenor ſequitur in hæc verba, magis apte conſtat.

Here follows the King's Ratification, in which the Act is again recited and ratified.

XLII. The King's laſt Letter to the Pope. A Duplicate.

To the Pope's Holineſs, 1532.

AFter moſt humble commendations, and moſt devout kiſſing of your bleſſed Feet. Albeit that we have hitherto differred to make anſwer to thoſe Letters dated at *Bonony*, the 7*th* day of *October*; which Letters of late were delivered unto us by *Paul* of *Caſſali*: Yet when they appear to be written for this Cauſe, that we deeply conſidering the Contents of the ſame, ſhould provide for the tranquillity of our own Conſcience, and ſhould purge ſuch Scruples and Doubts conceived of our Cauſe of Matrimony; We could neither neglect thoſe Letters ſent for ſuch a purpoſe, nor after that we had diligently examined and perpended the effects of the ſame, which we did very diligently, noting, conferring, and revolving every thing in them contained, with deep ſtudy of mind, pretermit ne leave to anſwer unto them. For ſith that your Holineſs ſeemeth to go about that thing chiefly, which is to vanquiſh thoſe Doubts, and to take away inquietations which daily do prick our Conſcience; inſomuch as it doth appear at the firſt ſight to be done of Zeal, Love, and Piety, we therefore do thank you of your good will. Howbeit ſith it is not performed in Deed, that ye pretend, we have thought it expedient to require your Holineſs to provide us other Remedies; wherefore foraſmuch as your Holineſs would vouchſafe to write unto us concerning this Matter, we heartily thank you, greatly lamenting alſo both the chance of your Holineſs, and alſo ours, unto whom both twain it hath chanced in ſo high a matter of ſo great moment to be fruſtrated and deceived; that is to ſay, That your Holineſs not being inſtructed, nor having knowledg of the Matter, of your ſelf, ſhould be compelled to hang upon the Judgment of others, and ſo put forth and make anſwers, gathered of other Men, being variable and repugnant among themſelves. And that we being ſo long ſick, and exagitate with this ſame Sore, ſhould ſo long time in vain look for Remedy; which when we have augmented our ægritude and diſtreſs, by delay and protracting of time, ye do ſo cruciate the Patient and Afflicted, as who ſeeth it ſhould much avail to protract the Cauſe, and thorough vain hope of the end of our deſire to lead us whither ye will. But to ſpeak plainly to your Holineſs; Foraſmuch as we have ſuffered many Injuries, which with great difficulty we do ſuſtain and digeſt; albeit

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that among all things paſſed by your Holineſs, ſome cannot be laid, alledged, nor objected againſt your Holineſs, yet in many of them ſome default appeareth to be in you, which I would to God we could ſo diminiſh, as it might appear no default; but it cannot be hid, which is ſo manifeſt, and tho we could ſay nothing, the thing it ſelf ſpeaketh. But as to that that is affirmed in your Letters, both of God's Law, and Man's, otherwiſe than is neceſſary and truth, let that be aſcribed to the temerity and ignorance of your Counſellors, and your Holineſs to be without all default, ſave only for that ye do not admit more diſcreet and learned Men to be your Counſellors, and ſtop the mouths of them which liberally would ſpeak the Truth. This truly is your default, and verily a great fault, worthy to be alienate and abhorred of Chriſt's Vicar, in that ye have dealt ſo variably, yea rather ſo inconſtantly and deceivably. Be ye not angry with my words, and let it be lawful for me to ſpeak the Truth without diſpleaſure; if your Holineſs ſhall be diſpleaſed with that we do rehearſe, impute no default in us, but in your own Deeds; which Deeds have ſo moleſted and troubled us wrongfully, that we ſpeak now unwillingly, and as enforced thereunto. Never was there any Prince ſo handled by a Pope, as your Holineſs hath intreated us. Firſt; When our Cauſe was proponed to your Holineſs, when it was explicated and declared afore the ſame; when certain Doubts in it were reſolved by your Counſellors, and all things diſcuſſed, it was required that anſwer might be made thereunto by the order of the Law. There was offered a Commiſſion, with a promiſe alſo that the ſame Commiſſion ſhould not be revoked; and whatſoever Sentence ſhould be given, ſhould ſtreight without delay be confirmed. The Judges were ſent unto us, the Promiſe was delivered to us, ſubſcribed with your Holineſs's hand; which avouched to confirm the Sentence, and not to revoke the Commiſſion, nor to grant any thing elſe that might lett the ſame; and finally to bring us in a greater hope, a certain Commiſſion Decretal, defining the Cauſe, was delivered to the Judges hands. If your Holineſs did grant us all theſe things juſtly, ye did injuſtly revoke them; and if by good and truth the ſame was granted, they were not made fruſtrate nor annihilate without fraud; ſo as if there were no deceit nor fraud in the Revocation, then how wrongfully and ſubtilly have been done thoſe things that have been done! Whether will your Holineſs ſay, That ye might do thoſe things that ye have done, or that ye might not do them? If ye will ſay that ye might do them, where then is the Faith which becometh a Friend, yea, and much more a Pope to have, thoſe things not being performed, which lawfully were promiſed? And if ye will ſay that ye might not do them; have we not then very juſt cauſe to miſtruſt thoſe Medicines and Remedies with which in your Letters ye go about to heal our Conſcience, eſpecially in that we may perceive and ſee thoſe Remedies to be prepared for us, not to relieve the Sickneſs and Diſeaſe of our Mind, but for other means, pleaſures, and worldly reſpects? And as it ſhould ſeem profitable, that we ſhould ever continue in hope or deſpair, ſo always the Remedy is attempted; ſo that we being always a-healing, and never healed, ſhould be ſick ſtill. And this truly was the chief cauſe why we did conſult and take the advice of every Learned Man, being free, without all affection, that the Truth (which now with our labour and

ſtudy

ſtudy we ſeem partly to have attained) by their judgments more manifeſtly divulged, we might more at large perceive; whoſe Judgments and Opinions it is eaſy to ſee how much they differ from that, that thoſe few Men of yours do ſhew unto you, and by thoſe your Letters is ſignified. Thoſe few Men of yours do affirm the prohibition of our Marriage to be inducted only by the Law poſitive, as your Holineſs hath alſo written in your Letters; but all others ſay the prohibition to be inducted, both by the Law of God and Nature: Thoſe Men of yours do ſuggeſt, that it may be diſpenſed for avoiding of ſlanders; The others utterly do contend, that by no means it is lawful to diſpence with that, that God and Nature hath forbidden. We do ſeparate from our Cauſe the Authority of the See Apoſtolick, which we do perceive to be deſtitute of that Learning whereby it ſhould be directed; and becauſe your Holineſs doth ever profeſs your ignorance, and is wont to ſpeak of other Mens mouths, we do confer the ſayings of thoſe, with the ſayings of them that be of the contrary Opinion; for to confer the Reaſons it were too long. But now the Univerſities of *Cambridg*, *Oxford*, in our Realms; *Paris*, *Orleance*, *Bituriſen*, *Andegavon*, in *France*; and *Bonony* in *Italy*, by one conſent; and alſo divers other of the moſt famous and Learned Men, being freed from all affection, and only moved in reſpect of verity, partly in *Italy*, and partly in *France*, do affirm the Marriage of the Brother with the Brother's Wife, to be contrary both to the Law of God and Nature; and alſo do pronounce that no Diſpenſation can be lawful or available to any Chriſtian Man in that behalf: But others think the contrary, by whoſe Counſels your Holineſs hath done that, that ſithence ye have confeſſed ye could not do, in promiſing to us as we have above rehearſed, and giving that Commiſſion to the Cardinal *Campege* to be ſhewed unto us; and after, if it ſo ſhould ſeem profitable to burn it, as afterwards it was done indeed as we have perceived. Furthermore, thoſe which ſo do moderate the Power of your Holineſs, that they do affirm, That the ſame cannot take away the Appellation which is uſed by Man's Law, and yet is available to Divine Matters every-where without diſtinction. No Princes heretofore have more highly eſteemed, nor honoured the See Apoſtolick than we have; wherefore we be the more ſorry to be provoked to this contention, which to our uſage and nature is moſt alienate and abhorred. Thoſe things ſo cruel we write very heavily, and more glad would have been, to have been ſilent if we might, and would have left your Authority untouched with a good will, and conſtrained to ſeek the verity, we fell, againſt our Will, into this contention; but the ſincerity of the Truth prohibited us to keep ſilence, and what ſhould we do in ſo great and many perplexities? For truly if we ſhould obey the Letters of your Holineſs, in that they do affirm that we know to be otherwiſe, we ſhould offend God and our Conſcience, and we ſhould be a great ſlander to them that do the contrary, which be a great number, as we have before rehearſed: Alſo, if we ſhould diſſent from thoſe things which your Holineſs doth pronounce, we would account it not lawful, if there were not a Cauſe to defend the Fact, as we now do, being compelled by neceſſity, leſt we ſhould ſeem to contemn the Authority of the See Apoſtolick. Therefore your Holineſs ought to take it in good part, tho we do ſomewhat at large and more liberally ſpeak in this Cauſe,

which

which doth ſo oppreſs us, ſpecially foraſmuch as we pretend none atrocity, nor uſe no rethorick in the exaggerating and encreaſing the indignity of the Matter; but if I ſpeak of any thing that toucheth the quick, it proceedeth of the meer verity, which we cannot nor ought not to hide in this Cauſe, for it toucheth not Worldly Things but Divine, not frail but eternal; in which things no feigned, falſe, nor painted Reaſons, but only the Truth, ſhall obtain and take place: and God is the Truth to whom we are bound to obey rather than to Men; and nevertheleſs we cannot but obey unto Men alſo, as we were wont to do, unleſs there be an expreſs cauſe why we ſhould not; which by thoſe our Letters we now do to your Holineſs: and we do it with charity, not intending to ſpread it abroad, nor yet further to impugn your Authority, unleſs ye do compel us; albeit alſo, that that we do, doth not impugne your Authority, but confirmeth the ſame, which we revocate to its firſt foundations; and better it is in the middle way to return, than always to run forth head-long and do ill. Wherefore if your Holineſs do regard or eſteem the tranquillity of our Mind, let the ſame be eſtabliſhed with verity, which hath been brought to light by the conſent of ſo many Learned Men; So ſhall your Holineſs reduce and bring us to a certainty and quietneſs, and ſhall deliver us from all anxiety, and ſhall provide both for us and our Realm, and finally ſhall do your Office and Duty. The reſidue of our Affairs we have committed to our Ambaſſadours to be propounded unto you, to whom we beſeech your Holineſs to give credence, &c.

XLIII. *A Promiſe made for engaging the Cardinal of* Ravenna. *An Original.*

Rome, Februar. 7. 1532.

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 13. EGo Willielmus Benet Sereniſſimi Domini mei D. Henrici Octavi Angliæ, &c. Regis, in Romana Curia Orator, habens ad inſcripta ab ipſo Rege poteſtatem & facultatem, prout conſtat per ipſius Majeſtatis Literas Patentes datas in Regia ſua Greenewici die penultima Decemb. M.D.XXXI. manu ſua propria ſupraſcriptas, & ſecreto ſigillo ſuo ſigillatas; Quoniam in ipſius Regis arduis negotiis expertus ſum ſingularem & præclaram operam Reverendiſſimi in Chriſto Patris & Domini D. Henrici Sancti Euſebii S.R.E. Preſbyteri Cardinalis Ravennæ, quibus & deinceps uti cupio, ut eandem ſemper voluntatem & operam ſua Dominatio Reverendiſſima erga ipſum regem præſtet, libere promitto eidem Cardinali nomine dicti mei Regis, quod ſua Majeſtas provideri faciet eidem Cardinali, de aliquo Monaſterio ſeu Monaſteriis aut aliis beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis in Regno Galliæ primo vacaturis, uſq; ad valorem annuum ſex millium ducatorum: Et inſuper promitto quod Rex Angliæ prædictus præſentabit, ſeu nominabit eundem Cardinalem ad Eccleſiam Cathedralem primo quovis modo vacaturam, ſeu & ad præſens vacantem, in Regno Angliæ, & de illa ei provideri faciet; & caſu quo Eccleſia primo vacatura hujuſmodi, ceu ad præſens vacans, non ſit Eccleſia Elienſis

Elienſis, promitto etiam quod ſuccedente poſtea vacatione Eccleſiæ Elienſis, Rex Angliæ transferri faciet eundem Cardinalem, ſi ipſi Cardinali magis placuerit, ab illa alia Eccleſia de qua proviſus erit, ad Eccleſiam Elienſem: & dictorum Monaſteriorum & Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum in Regno Galliæ, & Eccleſiæ Cathedralis in Regno Angliæ poſſeſſionem pacificam, cum fructuum perceptione, ipſum Cardinalem aſſequi faciet: Et hæc omnia libere promitto, quod Rex meus ſupradictus pleniſſime & ſine ulla prorſus exceptione ratificabit & obſervabit & exequetur; in quorum fidem præſentes manu mea propria ſcripſi & ſubſcripſi, ſigilloq; munivi. Dat. Rom. die ſeptimo Februarii, M. D. XXXII.

XLIV. *Bonner's Letter about the proceedings at* Rome. *An Original.*

This is all written with his own hand, and was ſent over by him to the King.

Rome, April 29. 1532.

PLeaſeth it your Highneſs; This is to advertiſe the ſame, That ſithen we *William Benet*, *Edward Karne*, and *Edmond-Bonner*, ſent our Letters of the *7th* of this preſent to your Highneſs; There hath been two Diſputations publick, the one the *13th* of this, the other the *20th* day of the ſame, according to the order given and aſſigned, which was three Concluſions to be diſputed every Conſiſtory; and what was ſpoken, as well by your Highneſs's Counſel, for the juſtification of the Concluſion purpoſed the ſaid *13th*; as alſo for the impugnation thereof by the Party adverſe, with Anſwers made thereunto by your Highneſs's ſaid Counſel as fully as were any wiſe deduced, your ſaid Highneſs ſhall perceive by the Books ſent herewithal containing the ſame; and alſo the Juſtifications, Objections, and Anſwers, made in the *6th* of this preſent, according as I *Edward Karne* in my ſaid Letters promiſed. The Copies of all the which Juſtifications, Objections, and Anſwers, after that they were fully noted and deduced in writing, and maturely conſidered by your Highneſs's Learned Counſel, I *Edward Karne* did bring to the Pope's Holineſs, and to the Cardinals, for their better information; and likewiſe did of the firſt, alwiſe afore the Conſiſtory, according to the order aſſigned at the beginning; looking in likewiſe that the Queen's Counſel ſhould do this ſame, but as yet they have done nothing therein, tho your Ambaſſadors and I have called upon the Pope many times for the ſame. And as concerning ſuch things as were ſpoken and done for either part in the Diſputation of the *20th* day, it is not poſſible for us, by reaſon of the ſhortneſs of time, to reduce all in good order, and to ſend the ſame to your Highneſs at this time; nevertheleſs with all ſpeed it ſhall be made ready, and ſent to your Highneſs by the next Courier. After the Diſputation done, the ſaid *13th* day of this preſent, the Advocate of the Party adverſe did alledg, That we did ſeek this Diſputation but only to defer the Proceſs; proteſting therefore, That the Queen's Counſel would diſpute no more; and deſiring therefore the Pope's Holineſs, and the whole Conſiſtory, to make Proceſs in the principal Cauſe. Whereunto I *Edward Karne* ſaid, That the Pope's Holineſs, with the whole Senate, had granted the Diſputations upon the Matters, and given an order that the Concluſions publiſhed ſhould be diſputed according to the ſame. Whereupon I deſired that foraſmuch as there

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remained

remained ſixteen Concluſions not diſputed, (which to propoſe and juſtify, with your Highneſs's Counſel, I would be ready at all times) that if the Party adverſe knowing the Concluſions to be Canonical, would not confeſs them, and thereby avoid Diſputations, that then the ſaid Party ſhould diſpute them, and upon the refuſal of both the ſame, the Matters excuſatories to be admitted by his Holineſs, eſpecially becauſe the ſaid Party adverſe hath nothing material that could be perceived to lett the ſame. The Pope's Holineſs anſwered, That he would deliberate upon the demand of both Parties. The 16*th* of this preſent, the Datary on the Pope's behalf ſent unto me *Edward Karne* an Intimation for diſputation of the Conſiſtory to be kept the 20 of this preſent, and that I ſhould ſend the Concluſions not diſputed, that they might be in the ſaid Conſiſtory diſputed; adding withal, that the ſaid Conſiſtory ſhould be, *ultimus & peremptorius terminus quoad alias Diſputationes.* Of the which Intimation your Highneſs ſhall receive a Copy herewith. Upon this, with the advice of your Ambaſſadors and Counſel here, I repaired unto the ſaid Datary, and brought unto him three Concluſions to be diſputed, with a Proteſtation, *De non recedendo ab ordine hactenus obſervato*, according to the Proem of the ſaid Concluſions, the Copy whereof your Highneſs ſhall receive herewith. Afterwards, with the ſame Concluſions and Proteſtation, I went to Cardinal *de Monte*, who ſaid, at the beginning, That all the Conſiſtory crieth out upon the Diſputations, and that we had been heard ſufficiently, and that it was enough that we ſhould have the fourth Diſputation; adding withal, That it was a thing never ſeen before after ſuch ſort; and that it ſtood not with the honour of the See to have ſuch Diſputations in the Conſiſtory, to the great diſquieting of the Pope and the Cardinals, eſpecially conſidering the manner that is uſed, and that all the Concluſions be touched which ſhould content us. To this I anſwered, and deſired his moſt Reverend Lordſhip to call to his remembrance, what he had promiſed to your Highneſs's Ambaſſadors and me, in the *Caſtel-Angel* upon *Shrove-Sunday*, the Pope being preſent, and allowing the ſame, contented that all the Concluſions ſhould be diſputed *ſingulariter*; and that I ſhould at my pleaſure, from time to time, chuſe the Concluſions to be diſputed. And how alſo afterward, *viz.* 17 *Febr.* the Pope's Holineſs, Cardinal *Ancona*, and his Lordſhip, not going from that promiſe, gave direction for three Concluſions to be diſputed every Conſiſtory; the choice whereof to be at my liberty (according to the Copy of the ſaid Order which I ſent to your Highneſs with my Letters, of the date of the 22 of the laſt): And furthermore, that what time the order to diſpute three Concluſions in a Conſiſtory was ſent unto me, and I required to ſend the Concluſions firſt to be diſputed according to the ſaid order; I did, to avoid all manner of doubts, proteſt afore I would accept it, and in the deliverance of the ſaid Concluſions, that I would not otherwiſe accept it, but that all the Concluſions, according to the order promiſed in *Caſtel-Angel*, ſhould be diſputed and examined *ſingulariter*, and that ſtanding, and not otherwiſe, I delivered my ſaid Concluſions according to the Order of the 17*th* of *February*; which Order the Pope's Holineſs hitherto had approved and obſerved, and from that I neither could nor would go from: And where he ſaid that we had been heard ſufficiently; I ſaid, that Audience and Information

mation of leſs than the one half of a Matter could not be ſufficient; and if they intended to ſee the truth of the whole, every point muſt be diſcuſſed. And as for the crying out of the Cardinals, I ſaid, They had no cauſe ſo to do, for it was more for the honour of the See Apoſtolick, to ſee ſuch a Cauſe as this is, well and ſurely tried, ſo that the Truth may appear, and the Matters be well known, than to proceed *præcipitanter*, as they did at the beginning of this Matter, afore they well knew what the Matter was. And as touching the diſquieting the Pope's Holineſs, and the ſaid Cardinals, I ſaid, your Highneſs for their pains was much beholden unto them; nevertheleſs, I ſaid, that they might on the other ſide ponder ſuch pains as your Highneſs hath taken for them, in part declared by me; which was much more than for them to ſit in their Chairs two or three hours in a week, to hear the juſtice of your defence in this cauſe. And as touching the manner uſed in the ſaid Diſputation, I ſaid, his Lordſhip knew well that it was by the Party adverſe, which all manner of ways goeth about to fatigate and make weary the Conſiſtory of the Diſputations, ſpecially in chiding, ſcolding, and alledging Laws and Deciſions that never were, nor ſpoken of by any Doctor, and vainly continuing the time, to the intent that the Pope's Holineſs, and the Cardinals, diſſolving the Conſiſtory, and not giving audience, the ſaid Party, without Law, Reaſon, or any good ground, might attain their deſire, and keep under the Truth, that it ſhould not appear; and if any thing was ſharply ſpoken of our Party, I ſaid it was done only for our defence, and to ſhew the errors and falſity of the Queen's Advocates in their Allegations, wherein, I ſaid, they ſhould not be ſpared. And foraſmuch as on the behalf of your Highneſs there was nothing ſpoken but that which was grounded upon Law, and declared in what place, ſo that it cannot be denied; I deſired his Lordſhip that he would continue his goodneſs in this Matter, as your Highneſs's eſpeciall truſt was he would do; and that we might always, as we were accuſtomed, have recourſe unto the ſame in all our Buſineſs for his good help and counſel. His Lordſhip not yet ſatisfied, ſaid, That as concerning the Order, the Pope's Holineſs might interpretate and declare what he meaned by it; and as touching the Concluſions, they were ſuperfluous, impertinent, and calumnious, only propoſed to defer the Matter. I anſwered, and ſaid, That to interpretate the ſaid Order, where it is clear out of doubt, the Pope's Holineſs conſidering the promiſe made on *Shrove-Sunday*, with my Proteſtation foreſaid, and the execution of the ſaid Order to that time, in divers Conſiſtories obſerved, could not by right interpretate the ſaid Order, admitting diſputation upon all the Concluſions; and of this I ſaid, That if ſuch alterations were made, without any cauſe given of your Highneſs's Party, there was little certainty to be reckoned upon amongſt them. And as touching the ſuperfluity and impertinency of the ſaid Concluſions, I ſaid, That that was the ſaying of the Party adverſe, that did not underſtand the ſame Concluſions. And further, that ſuch Concluſions as were clamorouſly, by the Advocates of the Party adverſe, alledged to be ſuperfluous, his Lordſhip in the Diſputation and trial thereof in the Conſiſtory, did manifeſtly perceive that it was not ſo. And where it was alledged the ſaid Concluſions to be calumnious, and laid in to defer the Proceſs. I anſwered, That we might well alledg again the

Counſel of the Party adverſe, the thing againſt us alledged, and ſay truly, that we were calumniouſly dealed withal, ſeeing the matters were ſo juſt and clear, and yet not admitted. Then his Lordſhip went further, and ſaid, that *Impedimentum allegatum erat perpetuum*, becauſe your Highneſs, *ex cauſa reipublicæ*, could not come out your Realm, and *quia dignitas veſtra eſt perpetua*; and alſo *quod Cauſa requirit celeritatem.* To this, I ſaid, that his Lordſhip miſtook the Matter, for we ſaid not in the Matters that your Highneſs could not go out of your Realm to no place, but we ſaid, that the ſame could not go, *ad loca tam remota*, as *Rome* is; ſo that it was not *perpetuum impedimentum.* And to the other I ſhewed him a Text, and the common opinion of Doctors in a Cauſe of Matrimony, being *inter Regem & Reginam*, which took away the thing that he had ſaid. Then his Lordſhip ſaid, That it was enough that the place were ſure to the Procurator by the Chapter, *Cum olim de teſtibus.* I ſaid, That that Chapter did not prove that Allegation, and that they miſtook the Text that ſo did underſtand it, for the Alternative that is in that Text is not referred *ad locum tutum*, but *ad ordinem Citationis inchoandæ in perſona principali, aut ejus procuratore*; and ſo *Petrus de Anchorano* underſtandeth that Text; and otherwiſe underſtanding the ſame it ſhould be againſt the Chapter, *Ex parte de appellatione*, and the common opinion there. Then he ſaid that *Aretine* ſaith, *Quod ſufficit quum locus ſit tutus procuratori.* I ſaid, that under his favour, *Aretine* ſaith the contrary, for he ſaith, *Quod partibus debet locus tutus aſſignari ſi poterit, & ſi non poterit partibus, detur procuratoribus.* Then his Lordſhip ſaid to me, That I knew well he began to ſet forward theſe Diſputations, and that he would do the beſt he could for the furtherance thereof.

The 19*th* of this preſent I went with your Highneſs's Ambaſſadors to the Pope, and delivered his Holineſs in writing thoſe things that were done in the Diſputation of the 13*th* of this: And then your Ambaſſadors were in hand with the Pope to alter the Intimation, and to put out the term *peremptory*, and other that were excluſory of further Diſputations to be had upon the ſame Concluſions. The Pope's Holineſs ſaid, That Diſputations was no act Judicial requiring to be in the Conſiſtory; and therefore he ſaid, he would call certain Congregations of Cardinals, on *Friday* and *Monday* following, to hear the Diſputations. Then I *William Benet* ſaid, That that could not ſtand very well with the Decree of the Intimation, which was peremptory for any further Diſputations after the 20*th* of this preſent; and therefore I ſpake that the ſame term *peremptory* might be put out of the Intimation, alledging withal, that upon the ſaid *Friday* or *Monday* it was no time to hear the Diſputation, being ſo nigh after; and that his Holineſs hitherto hath obſerved the Conſiſtory for the Diſputations, which Conſiſtory cannot be unto after *Eaſter*, if the manner of the Court be obſerved. Then the Pope ſaid, he might call a Conſiſtory when he would, as he hath done in making of Cardinals, an Act much more ſolemn than a Diſputation. To that, I ſaid, his Holineſs might ſo do if he would; howbeit, it ſhould be *præter ſolitum morem*: and therefore deſired his Holineſs to conſider therein the order before aſſigned, and that this term *peremptory* would not ſtand with the order. His Holineſs then willed we ſhould inform the Cardinals, *Anchona*, and *de Monte*, and ſo we did; *Anchona* ſhewed himſelf ſomewhat reaſonable, and was contented the term *peremptory* ſhould

ſhould be put out. *De Monte* ſaid that the Pope would promiſe to hear the Concluſions diſputed in Congregations, calling thereto certain Cardinals, ſo that the term *peremptory* ſhould not be prejudicial. Then I *Edward Karne* deſired him, that if the ſaid term ſhould not be prejudicial, that it might be ſtricken out, for I told him plainly that I would not ſtand to words, the writing ſhewing the contrary; adding withal, that I would not diſpute in this term, *tanquam peremptorio*, but would manifeſtly ſhew and proteſt, That I, with other your Highneſs's Counſel, were ready to defend the Concluſions publiſhed, according to the order given, and hitherto obſerved; alledging alſo, that the Concluſions being juſtified, the Matters ought to be admitted; and that if the Pope's Holineſs and the Cardinals would not give audience to me and your Highneſs's ſaid Counſel, for the manifeſt trial and ſhowing of the truth, they ſhould give us cauſe to complain upon them, and to cry out, *uſque ad Sidera*, your Highneſs's Ambaſſadors all affirming the ſame. Then the ſaid Cardinal *de Monte* ſaid, that the Pope's Holineſs would provide for the Diſputations, notwithſtanding the term *peremptory* aſſigned, and ſaid alſo, that in the Morning he would ſpeak with the Pope, and give your Ambaſſadors and me an anſwer.

In the morning, which was the 20*th* of this preſent, the ſaid Cardinal would, that nothing of the Decree of Intimation ſhould be manifeſted, becauſe the other part had a Copy thereof, but would the Pope's Holineſs to give an order that the word *peremptory* ſhould be only for Diſputations to be had in the Conſiſtory, and not in Congregations, in which Congregations, the Concluſions remaining might be diſputed; and tho they had drawn out this Order, yet becauſe it was nothing plain, neither certain to be conformable to the former Order, I would have had the ſaid Cardinal to ſpeak to the ſaid Datary for to make it as afore: and he was then contented, howbeit the Pope's Holineſs commanded all the Cardinals to their places, ſo that I could not have the ſaid Order, and was driven thereby either to diſpute and accept the term, *tanquam peremptorium*, or elſe to fly the Diſputations, giving occaſion to the adverſe Party to ſay, that I diffided in the juſtneſs of the Matters, and defence of the Concluſions. Whereupon your Highneſs's Ambaſſadors and we, with other your Learned Counſel, concluded, that I *Edward Karne* ſhould proteſt, *De non conſentiendo in termino, tanquam peremptorio*, and afterward to proceed to the propoſing of the Concluſions, and ſo I did by mouth according to the tenour of a Copy, which here withal your Highneſs ſhall receive. When I had proteſted, and the Pope had ſpoken this word *Acceptamus*, the Queen's Advocate began to proteſt that they would diſpute no more, and deſired his Holineſs to proceed in the principal Cauſe. Then I *Edward Karne* ſaid, That the Pope's Holineſs did well perceive, that the Concluſions were publiſhed and propoſed, not only for them to diſpute, but alſo for all other, come who would, for the information of his Holineſs, and the whole Conſiſtory. And therefore I ſaid, that tho they would not diſpute, yet I was there, with other your Highneſs's Learned Counſel, to propoſe the Concluſions, according to the Order given, juſtifying them to be Canonical, and ready to defend them againſt all thoſe that would gainſay them; and thereupon deſired the Pope's Holineſs, that tho the Counſel of the Party Adverſe would not diſpute, yet I with your

Highneſs's Learned Counſel might be heard again; againſt which my deſire the Queen's Advocate made great exclamations, till at the laſt the Pope commanded him to ſilence, and willed us to go to the Concluſions, which we did.

And here now it is determined, That we ſhall have no more Diſputations in the Conſiſtory, but the reſt of the Concluſions to be diſputed in Congregations before the Pope, purpoſely made for the ſame; and what therein ſhall be determined or done, your Highneſs from time to time ſhall thereof by us be advertiſed, and of all other our doings in that behalf.

And as concerning the Letters which your Highneſs ſent by *Francis* the Courier, of the laſt of *February*, as well to the Pope, as to me *Edward Karne*, for the admiſſion of me and the Matter excuſatory, we ſhall, according to your Highneſs's pleaſure and order aſſigned, in the common Letter ſent unto us by your ſaid Highneſs, proceed and do therein as may be moſt beneficial and profitable for the ſame.

And thus moſt humbly we commend us to your Highneſs, beſeeching Almighty God to preſerve the ſame in felicity and health many years. At *Rome* the 28*th* of *March* 1532.

Your Highneſs's moſt humble Subjects,

Servants, and Chaplains,

William Benet,

Edward Karne,

Edmond Bonner.

XLV. *Another Letter concerning the Proceſs at* Rome. *An Original.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 13.

PLeaſeth it your Highneſs, ſithen our Letters of the 23 of *March*, here hath been great labour, and ſolliciting, to bring the Diſputation publick out of the Conſiſtory kept once in the week, into the Congregations, to be obſerved and kept before the Pope's Holineſs and the Cardinals, in ſuch place, and as oft as ſhould pleaſe them; to the intent, as we perceived, that the ſaid Diſputation might be the ſooner ended, and not take ſuch effect as it was deviſed for. And upon this great importune labour, I, *Edward Karne*, was moniſhed oftentimes to ſend Concluſions to be propoſed in the ſaid Congregations, as well in *Palm-Sunday* week, as in *Eaſter*-week, as appeareth by the Copies of the Intimations ſent herewithal to your Highneſs: Upon which Intimations I delivered certain Concluſions, according to the order taken at the beginning, with a Proteſtation deviſed by your Grace's Counſel here, *De non recedendo ab eodem ordine, & de proponendo eaſdem Concluſiones*

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in Conſiſtorio, juxta eundem ordinem & non aliter. That notwithſtanding the Pope's Holineſs cauſed me to be moniſhed again, *cum Comminatione*, that if I would not come in, *cum Advocatis*, the third day of *April*, *procederet ad ulteriora proteſtatione me a prævia non obſtante.* Whereupon, with the advice of your ſaid Learned Counſel, I conceived a Proteſtation, and the ſame delivered to the Pope's Holineſs the ſaid third day in the morning, proteſting as it was therein contained, and cauſing it to be regiſtred by the Datary; of the which Proteſtation your Highneſs ſhall alſo receive a Copy herewithal. This notwithſtanding, the Pope's Holineſs, the ſaid third day in the afternoon made a Congregation, where the ſaid Proteſtation was examined; and after the Treaty had upon the ſame, we were in concluſion remitted again to the Conſiſtory, there to be heard, as much as the Conſiſtory intendeth to hear; upon the Concluſions that are publiſhed; which was much more beneficial to us, than to have had all propoſed in Congregations to have been kept, as is afore. And by this means the Matter was ſhifted off, and deferred unto the 10*th* of this month; at which time the Pope's Holineſs kept the Conſiſtory. And one Mr. *Providal*, a ſingular good Clerk, which came from *Bonony* for the furtherance of your Highneſs's Cauſe, very compendiouſly, and after good faſhion and handling, to the great contentation, as appeared, of the Audience there, purpoſed three Concluſions, of the which two concerned the habilitation of me *Edward Karne*, to lay in the Matters Excuſatory: And the third was, that the Cauſe ought to be committed, *extra curiam, ad locum tutum utrique parti:* Of the which Concluſions, and alſo his Sayings, the ſaid 10*th* day, your Highneſs ſhall receive a Copy here-withal. And foraſmuch as at the ſaid Conſiſtory, neither the *Imperials*, neither yet the Queens Counſel did appear; I, *Edward Karne*, with the advice of your Highneſs's Counſel, ſaid to the Pope's Holineſs, after the Propoſition made by Mr. *Providel*, that his Holineſs might perceive well, that if the Party adverſe had any good matter to alledg, againſt ſuch things as were deduced for the juſtification of the Concluſions, and matter Excuſatory, and did not diffide of their part, they would not have abſented themſelves, or ſhrunken from the Diſputations, which they afore had accepted and taken; wherefore I accuſed their contumacy and abſence, deſiring that it might be enacted, and thereupon departed from the Conſiſtory, for that day diſſolved.

The 14*th* of this preſent, the Pope's Holineſs cauſed Intimation to be made unto me, of the Conſiſtory to be kept the 17*th* of the ſame; willing me to be there, *cum Advocatis*, to diſpute all the Concluſions not propoſed and diſputed: Upon the which Intimation, I delivered to the Datary three Concluſions, the 19, the 20, and the 21 in order, with a Proteſtation deviſed by your Learned Counſel, ſent here-withal to your Highneſs: And in the ſaid Conſiſtory, Mr. *Providel* did alſo alledg for the juſtification of the Matters and Concluſions; and over that anſwered to ſuch Objections as he thought the Party adverſe to make foundation upon, and that very compendiouſly, being ſorry that the *Imperials*, and Queen's Counſel, did not come in to diſpute the ſaid Concluſions, and the ſayings of the ſaid Mr. *Providel* in the ſaid Conſiſtory, with my Proteſtation alſo, in not agreeing to the term, as *peremptory*, your Highneſs ſhall perceive in writing ſent here-withal.

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As concerning the ſeven Concluſions yet remaining undiſputed, we think the Pope's Holineſs will hear us no further in the Conſiſtory; ſaying, that the Part adverſe will not abide the Diſputations, nor come in to the ſame: Nevertheleſs to take otherwiſe out of the Conſiſtory, with the Cardinals Information, his Holineſs is well contented.

And verily, Sir, to ſtudy, labour, ſet forward, and call upon ſuch things as may confer to the advancement of the Matter, and your Highneſs's Purpoſe, there ſhall not want, neither good will, neither diligence to the uttermoſt, that we can excogitate or deſire, as hitherto ſurely neither Party hath failed; truſting in God that thereby, if Juſtice be not oppreſſed, ſome good effect ſhall follow, to the good contentation of your Highneſs. With theſe Preſents, your Highneſs ſhall alſo receive a Copy of all things that were ſpoken, as well for your Highneſs's behalf, as by the Party adverſe, in the Conſiſtory, the 20*th* day of *March*.

And thus moſt humbly we commend us to your Highneſs, beſeeching Almighty God long to continue the ſame in his moſt Royal Eſtate. At *Rome*, the 29*th* of *April*.

Your Highneſs's moſt humble Subjects,

and poor Servants,

Edward Karne.

Edmond Bonner.

XLVI. *A Letter from* Benet *and* Caſſali *about the Proceſs.* *An Original.*

Cotton Libr. *Vitel.* B. 13.

SEreniſſime & Invictiſſime Domine noſter Supreme, ſalutem. Tribus Superioribus Conſiſtoriis ante vacationes habitis, de Cauſa Excuſatoria actum fuit; ſed quid illud fuerit quod in primo egerunt reſcire non potuimus, quia Cardinales pœna Excommunicationis prohibiti fuerant quicquam revelare. Secundo etiam aliquid ſuper eadem cauſa tractarunt, quod itidem nos celaverunt. Sed ultimo illo, quod die octavo Julii Congregatum fuit, ita ut inferius patebit, conſtituerunt. Quum ergo poſtero die Pontificem adiviſſemus, ut quod decretum foret cognoſceremus, ab eo ſic accepimus; nolle ſe ore ſuo, propterea quod Juriſperitus non ſit, Conſiſtorii deliberationem pronunciare; quocirca die ſequenti ad ipſum rediremus, quoniam vellet Cardinales Montem & Anconitanum id ipſum nobis proferre: Et nihilominus idem quod deinde ex ipſis Cardinalibus audivimus tunc explicavit, noluit tamen nobis eſſe Reſponſi loco. Igitur ſicut dixerat, redivimus, & nobis duo illi Cardinales ſic retulerunt ſummum Dominum & Cardinales decreviſſe, literas Exhortatorias cum a Pontifice, tum a Collegio Cardinalium, Majeſtati veſtræ ſcribendas

bendas eſſe, quibus veſtram Majeſtatem adhortarentur, ut velit hic ad Cauſam Procuratorem conſtituere, idq; per totum Octobrem proximum facere. Pontifex præterea ſuadebat ut ad idem nos Majeſtatem Veſtram cohortaremur, iidemq; fecerunt Cardinales, volentes omnes ambiguitates & dubitationes tollere. Reſpondimus,velle quod nobis injungebatur Majeſtati Veſtræ ſcribere ; verum illud non poſſe reticere quod erga Majeſtatem Veſtram inique actum videbatur ; quum neq; Excuſator admiſſus, neq; ipſius allegationes forent probatæ ac receptæ, id quod tam ſæpe inſtantiſſime petitum fuerat. Præterea non poſſe nos non valde mirari, ac etiam ſummopere conqueri, quod quum pro comperto haberemus juris eſſe id fieri, eſſet nihilominus denegatum ; quum præſertim petendo Mandatum procuratorium, tacite viderentur rejicere Excuſatorem, & per ipſum allegata. Sic autem illi nobis Reſponderunt, neque Excuſatorem fuiſſe rejectum, neq; per ipſum allegata, ſed in eodem, quo prius, ſtatu permanere ; hoc autem excuſatorium negotium minime, ut nobis judicibus clarum, ſed dubium videri. Ibiq; Anconitanus quædam noſtris contraria adduxit, quæ D. Karne ſuis literis recenſet. Dicebant quoq; in hac re favorabilius nos, quam adverſarios fuiſſe tractatos ; illud etiam addentes, quod ſi procuratorium mandatum mittatur, juſtitia optime miniſtrabitur,ac etiam quatenus fieri poſſit, favorabiliter ; idque & Pontifex & Cardinales ambo conſtanter aſſeverabant. Quum vero nos ſæpius diceremus, excuſatorem admitti debuiſſe, dixerunt, ſi recte conſiderare velimus, nos idem ipſum re habuiſſe ; ſi enim (aibant), Procurator hic conſtituatur, literæ Remiſſoriæ & Compulſoriæ decernentur, ad teſtes in partibus examinandos. Itemq; vir aliquis probus ad id delegabitur ad utramq; partem, teſteſque ſcil. examinandos, ita ut proceſſus in partibus fiat ; Atque hoc pacto nos id conſequi quod deſideramus,quoniam quod ad totius cauſæ deciſionem pertinet,ex eo quod de Pontificis poteſtate cognoſcendum, & de jure Divino diſceptandum ſit, ac aliis etiam de cauſis, ipſam Deciſionem Pontifici integram ſemper reſervari nihilominus oporteret, quamvis cauſam alibi quam Romæ cognoſci permiſſum fuiſſet. Nobis certe viſum eſt, haud parum eſſe quod obtinuimus, longe enim pejora timebamus, quum nemo in urbe eſſet, qui non crederet Excuſatorem una cum ſuis allegationibus rejectum iri. Hunc quidem eventum rei Cæſariani ægerrime tulerunt. Optime valeat Majeſtas Veſtra. Romæ die 13 Julii 1532.

Veſtræ Regiæ Majeſtatis

Hier. Epiſcopus Wigornien.

W. Benet.

Gregorio Caſſali.

XLVII. The Sentence of Divorce.

Anno Incarnationis milleſimo quingenteſimo triceſimo tertio, Indictione ſexta, Clementis Papæ decimo, menſis Maii viceſimo tertio, in Eccleſia Conventuali Monaſterii Sancti Petri Dunſtabliæ, Ordinis Sancti Auguſtini Lincoln. Dioceſ. noſtri Cantuarien. Provinciæ.

In an Inſpeximus Rot. Pat. 25. Reg. 2d. Part.

IN Dei Nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas Permiſſione Divina Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopus, totius Angliæ Primas, & Apoſtolicæ Sedis Legatus, in quadam cauſa inquiſitionis de & ſuper viribus Matrimonii inter Illuſtriſſimum & Potentiſſimum Principem & Dominum noſtrum Henricum Octavum Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Regem, Fidei Defenſorem & Dominum Hiberniæ, ac Sereniſſimam Dominam Catharinam nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandi Hiſpaniarum Regis Filiam contracti & conſummati, quæ coram nobis in judicio ex officio noſtro mero aliquandiu vertebatur,& adhuc vertitur,& pendet indeciſa,rite & legitime procedentes, viſis primitus per nos & diligenter inſpectis,articulis ſive capitulis in dicta cauſa objectis & miniſtratis, una cum reſponſis eis ex parte dicti Illuſtriſſimi & Potentiſſimi Principis Henrici Octavi factis & redditis, viſiſque & ſimiliter per nos inſpectis plurimorum Nobilium & aliorum teſtium fide dignorum dictis & diſpoſitionibus in eadem cauſa habitis & factis, viſiſq; præterea & ſimiliter per nos inſpectis, quamplurium fere totius Chriſtiani orbis Principalium Academiarum Cenſuris ceu Concluſionibus Magiſtralibus, etiam tam Theologorum quam Juriſperitorum reſponſis & opinionibus, utriuſq; deniq; Provinciæ Anglicanæ Conſiliorum Provincialium aſſertionibus & affirmationibus, aliiſque ſalutaribus monitis & doctrinis ſuper dicto matrimonio deſuper reſpective habitis & factis; viſiſq; ulterius, & pari modo per nos inſpectis, pactis ſeu fœderibus pacis & amicitiæ inter perennis famæ Henricum ſeptimum nuper Regem Angliæ, & dictum nobilis memoriæ Ferdinandum nuper Regem Hiſpaniæ deſuper initis & factis; viſis quoque peramplius, & diligenter per nos inſpectis, omnibus & ſingulis actis, actitatis, literis, proceſſibus, inſtrumentis, ſcripturis, monumentis, rebuſq; aliis univerſis in dicta cauſa quomodolibet geſtis & factis, ac aliis omnibus & ſingulis per nos viſis & inſpectis,atq; a nobis cum diligentia & maturitate ponderatis & recenſitis, ſervatiſq; ulterius per nos in hac parte de jure ſervandis, necnon partibus prædictis, videlicet præfato illuſtriſſimo & potentiſſimo Principe Henrico Octavo per ejus Procuratorem idoneum coram nobis in dicta cauſa legitime comparente, dicta vero Sereniſſima Domina Catharina per contumaciam abſente, cujus abſentia Divina repleatur præſentia, de Conſilio Juriſperitorum & Theologorum, cum quibus in hac parte communicavimus, ad ſententiam noſtram definitivam ſive finale Decretum noſtrum in dicta cauſa ferendam ſive ferendum ſic duximus procedendum, & procedimus in hunc modum. Quia per acta actitata, deducta, propoſita, exhibita, & allegata, probata pariter & confeſſata, articulataque,capitulata, partis reſponſa, teſtium depoſitiones, & dicta inſtrumenta, monumenta, literas, ſcripturas, cenſuras, concluſiones Magiſtrales, opiniones, conſilia, aſſertiones, affirmationes, tractatus & fœdera pacis, proceſſus, res alias, & cætera promiſſa coram nobis in dicta

dicta cauſa reſpective habita, geſta, facta, exhibita & producta; Necnon ex eiſdem, & diverſis aliis ex cauſis & conſiderationibus, argumentiſq; & probationum generibus variis, & multiplicibus, validis quidem & efficacibus, quibus animum noſtrum hac in parte ad plenum informavimus, plene & evidenter invenimus & comperimus dictum Matrimonium inter præfatos Illuſtriſſimum & Potentiſſimum Principem & Dominum noſtrum Henricum Octavum, ac Sereniſſimam Dominam Catharinam, ut præmittitur, contractum & conſummatum, nullum & omnino invalidum fuiſſe & eſſe, & Divino Jure prohibente contractum & conſummatum extitiſſe: Idcirco nos Thomas Archiepiſcopus Primas & Legatus antedictus, Chriſti nomine primitus invocato, ac ſolum Deum præ oculis noſtris habentes, pro nullitate & invaliditate dicti Matrimonii pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, ipſumq; prætenſum Matrimonium fuiſſe & eſſe nullum & invalidum, ac Divino Jure prohibente contractum & conſummatum, nulliuſq; valoris aut momenti eſſe, ſed viribus & firmitate juris caruiſſe & carere, præfatoq; Illuſtriſſimo & Potentiſſimo Principi Henrico Octavo & Sereniſſimæ Dominæ Catharinæ non licere in eodem prætenſo Matrimonio remanere, & pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus; ipſoſq; Illuſtriſſimũ & Potentiſſimum Principem Henricum Octavum ac Sereniſſimam Dominam Catharinam, quatenus de facto & non de jure dictum prætenſum Matrimonium ad invicem contraxerunt & conſummarunt, ab invicem ſeparamus & divorciamus, atq; ſic ſeparatos & divorciatos, necnon ob omni vinculo Matrimoniali reſpectu dicti prætenſi Matrimonii liberos & immunes fuiſſe & eſſe, pronunciamus, decernimus & declaramus, per hanc noſtram ſententiam definitivam, ſive hoc noſtrum finale Decretum, quam ſive quod ferimus & promulgamus in his ſcriptis. In quorum præmiſſorum fidem & teſtimonium, has literas noſtras teſtimoniales, ſive præſens publicum ſententiæ vel Decreti inſtrumentum, exinde fieri ac per Notarios Publicos ſubſcriptos, ſcribas & actuarios noſtros in ea parte ſpecialiter aſſumptos, ſubſcribi & ſignari, noſtriq; ſigilli appenſione juſſimus & fecimus communiri.

He likewiſe paſſed Judgment (confirming the King's Marriage with Queen Ann) *at* Lambeth, May 28 1533. *which is in the ſame* Inſpeximus.

Act 5. Anno Regni 25.

XLVIII. *An Act concerning the Deprivations of the Biſhops of* Salisbury *and* Worceſter.

WHere before this time the Church of *England*, by the King's moſt noble Progenitors, and the Nobles of the ſame, have been founded, ordained, and eſtabliſhed, in the Eſtate and degree of Prelatie Dignities, and other Promotions Spiritual, to the intent and purpoſe that the ſaid Prelates, and other Perſons, having the ſaid Dignities and Promotions Spiritual, continually ſhould be abiding, and Reſeants upon their ſaid Promotions within this Realm; and alſo keep, uſe, and exerciſe Hoſpitality, Divine Services, teaching and preaching of the

Laws of Almighty God, to ſuch Perſons as were and have been within the precinct of their Promotions or Dignities, for the Wealth of the Souls of their Givers and Founders, greatly to the honour of Almighty God. Of the which ſaid Spiritual Perſons, the King's Highneſs, and his moſt noble Progenitors, have had right honourable, and well-learned Perſonages, apt, meet, and convenient, for to guide and inſtruct his Highneſs, and his moſt noble Progenitors, in their Counſels, concerning as well their Outward as Inward Affairs, to be deviſed and practiſed for the utility and preſervation of this Realm; by reaſon whereof the Iſſues, Revenues, Profits, and Treaſure, riſing and coming of the ſaid Spiritual Promotions and Dignities, were and ſhould be ſpent, employed, and converted within this Realm, to the great profit and commodity of the King's Subjects of the ſame. And where alſo by the laudable Laws and Proviſions of this Realm, before this time made, it hath been ordained, uſed, and eſtabliſhed, that no Perſon nor Perſons, of whatſoever Eſtate, Degree, or Quality he or they were, ſhould take or receive within this Realm of *England*, to Farm, by any Procuracy, Writ, Letter of Attorney, Adminiſtrations, by Indenture, or by any other Mean, any Benefice, or other Promotion within this Realm, of any Perſon or Perſons, but only of the King's true and lawful Subjects, being born under the King's Dominions. And alſo that no Perſon or Perſons, of what eſtate and degree ſoever he or they were, by reaſon of any ſuch Farm, Procuracie, Letter of Attorney, Adminiſtration, Indenture, or by any other mean, as is aforeſaid, ſhould carry, conveigh, or cauſe to be carried and conveighed out of this Realm, any Gold, Silver, Treaſure, or other Commodity, by Letter of Exchange, or by way of Merchandiſe, or otherwiſe, for any of the Cauſes aforeſaid, to the profit or commodity of any Alien, or other Stranger, being born out of this Realm, having any ſuch Promotion Spiritual within the ſame, without licenſe of the King's Highneſs, by the advice of his Council, as by the ſame Laws, Statutes, and Proviſions, more plainly at large it may appear; which ſaid laudable Laws, Statutes, and Proviſions, were made, deviſed, and ordained, by great policy and foreſight of the King's moſt noble Progenitors, the Nobles and Commons of this Realm, for the great profit, utility, and benefit of the ſame, to the intent that the Gold, Silver, Treaſure, Riches, and other Commodity of the ſame, by the occaſion aforeſaid, ſhould not be exhauſted, employed, converted, and otherwiſe tranſported out of this Realm and Dominions of the ſame, to the uſe, profit, and commodity of any Stranger being born out of this Realm, or the Dominions of the ſame; But only to be ſpent, and uſed, and beſtowed within the ſame, to the great comfort and conſolation of the Subjects of this Realm. Notwithſtanding which ſaid wholſome Laws, Statutes, and Proviſions, the King's Highneſs being a Prince of great benignity and liberality, having no knowledg, nor other due information, or inſtruction of the ſame Laws, Statutes, and Proviſions, heretofore hath nominated, and preferred, and promoted, *Laurence Campegius* Biſhop of *Sarum*, with all the Spiritual and Temporal Poſſeſſions, Promotions, and other Emoluments and Commodities in any wiſe belonging or appertaining to the ſame: And alſo hath nominated, preferred, and promoted, *Hierome*, being another Stranger, born out of the King's ſaid Realm and Dominions, to

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the See and Biſhoprick of *Worceſter*, with all the Spiritual and Temporal Promotions, and other Emoluments and Commodities, in any wiſe belonging or appertaining to the ſame. Which ſaid two Biſhops, and namely the Biſhop of *Sarum*, nothing regarding their Duties to Almighty God, nor their Cures of the ſaid Biſhopricks, everſith or for the more part of the time of their ſaid Promotions or Profections into the ſame, have been, and yet be reſident, dwelling and abiding at the See of *Rome*, or elſewhere, in other parts beyond the Sea, far out and from any of the King's ſaid Dominions; by reaſon whereof, the great Hoſpitality, Divine Service, teaching and Preaching the Laws, and Examples of good living, and the other good and neceſſary effects before rehearſed, have been many years by-paſt, and yet continually be, not only withdrawn, decayed, hindred, and miniſhed, but alſo great quantity of Gold, Silver, and Treaſure, to the yearly ſum and value of 3000 *l.* at the leaſt, have been yearly taken and conveighed out of this Realm, to the ſingular profit, and great enriching of the ſaid Biſhops, and daily is like to be conveighed, tranſported, and ſent, contrary to the purport and effect of the ſaid former wholſome Laws and Statutes, to the great impoveriſhing of this Realm, as well preſently as for to come, if ſpeedy remedy be not had therefore in brief time provided. In conſideration whereof, be it enacted by the Authority of this preſent Parliament, that the ſaid two ſeveral Sees and Biſhopricks of *Salisbury* and *Worceſter*, and either of them from henceforth, ſhall be taken, reputed, and accounted in the Law to be utterly void, vacant, and utterly deſtitute of any Incumbent, or Prelate, *&c.*

XLVIII. *A Letter from* Cromwel *to* Fiſher, *about the Maid of* Kent, *Anno* 34, *or end of* 35.

MY Lord, in my right hearty wiſe I commend me to your Lordſhip, doing you to underſtand, that I have received your Letters dated at *Rocheſter*, the 18*th* day of this Month; in which ye declare what craft and cunning ye have to perſuade, and to ſet a good Countenance upon an ill Matter, drawing ſome Scriptures to your purpoſe; which well weighed, according to the places whereout they be taken, make not ſo much for your purpoſe as ye alledge them for; and where in the firſt Leaf of your Letters ye write, that ye doubt nothing, neither before God nor before the World, if need ſhall that require, ſo to declare your ſelf, whatſoever hath been ſaid of you, that ye have not deſerved ſuch heavy words, or terrible threats, as hath been ſent from me unto you by your Brother. *Cotton Libr. Cleopat. E. 4.*

How ye can declare your ſelf afore God and the World, when need ſhall require, I cannot tell; but I think verily that your Declaration made by theſe Letters, is far inſufficient to prove that ye have deſerved no heavy words in this behalf. And to ſay plainly, I ſent you no heavy words, but words of great comfort, willing your Brother to ſhew you

how benign and merciful the Prince was: And that I thought it expedient for you to write unto his Highneſs, and to recognize your Offences, and deſire his pardon, which his Grace would not deny you now in your age and ſickneſs; which my counſel I would you had followed, rather than to have written theſe Letters to me, excuſing your ſelf altho there were no manner of default in you. But, my Lord, if it were in an other manner of caſe than your own, and out of the Matter which ye favour, I doubt not but that ye would think him that ſhould have done as ye have done, not only worthy heavy Words, but alſo heavy Deeds; for where ye labour to excuſe your ſelf of your Hearing, Bribing, and concealing of the Maiden's falſe and feigned Revelations, and of your manifold ſending of your Chaplains unto her, by a certain intent which ye pretend your ſelf to have had, to know by communing with her, or by ſending your Chaplains to her, whether for Revelations, Word of God, or no, alledging divers Scriptures that ye were bound to prove them, and to receive them after they were proved. My Lord, whether ye have uſed a due means to try her and her Revelations, or no, it appeareth by the proceſs of your own Letters. For where you write that ye had conceived a great opinion of the holineſs of this Woman, for many conſiderations rehearſed in your Letters, compriſed in ſix Articles; whereof the firſt is grounded upon the bruit and fame of her; the ſecond, upon her entring into Religion after her trances and diffiguration; the third, upon rehearſal that her Ghoſtly Father being Learned and Religious, ſhould teſtify that ſhe was a Woman of great holineſs; the fourth, upon the report that divers other vertuous Prieſts, Men of good Learning and Reputation, ſhould ſo teſtify of her, with which Ghoſtly Father, and Prieſts, ye never ſpake, as ye confeſs in your Letters; the fifth, upon the praiſes of my late Lord of *Canterbury*, which ſhewed you, as ye write, that ſhe had many great Viſions; the ſixth, upon the ſaying of the Prophet *Amos*, *Non faciet Dominus Deus Verbum, niſi revelaverit ſecretum ſuum ad ſervos ſuos Prophetas.* By which Conſiderations ye were induced to the deſire to know the very certainty of this Matter, whether theſe Revelations which were pretended to be ſhewed to her from God, were true Revelations or not. Your Lordſhip in all the ſequel of your Letters, ſhew not that ye made no further trial upon the truth of her and her Revelations, but only in communing with her, and ſending your Chaplains to her with idle Queſtions, as of the 3 *Mary Magdalens*, by which your communication and ſending, ye tried out nothing of her falſhood, neither (as it is credibly ſuppoſed) intended to do as ye might have done, in any wiſe more eaſily than with communing with her, or ſending to her; for little credence was to be given to her, affirming her own feigned Revelations to be from God; for if credence ſhould be given to every ſuch lewd Perſon as would affirm himſelf to have Revelations from God, what readier way were there to ſubvert all Common-Weals and good orders in the World?

Verily, my Lord, if ye had intended to trace out the truth of her, and of her Revelations, ye would have taken an other way with you; firſt, you would not have been converted with the vain Voices of the People, making bruits of her Trances and Diffiguration, but like a wiſe, diſcreet, and circumſpect Prelate, ye ſhould have examined (as other

other ſince) ſuch ſad and credible Perſons as were preſent at her Traunces and Diffigurings, not one or two, but a good number, by whoſe teſtimony ye ſhould have proved, whether the Bruits of her Traunces and Diffigurations were true or not. And likewiſe ye ſhould have tried by what craft and perſuaſion ſhe was made a Religious Woman; and if ye had been ſo deſirous, as ye pretended, to enquire out the truth or falſhood of this Woman, and of her Revelations; it is to be ſuppoſed ye would have ſpoken with her good, religious, and well-learned Ghoſtly Father e're this time, and alſo with the vertuous and well-learned Prieſt, (as they were eſteemed) of whoſe reports ye would have been informed by them which heard them ſpeak; or ye would alſo have been minded to ſee the Book of her Revelations, which was offered you, of which ye might have had more trial of her and her Revelations, than of a hundred communications with her, or of as many ſendings of your Chaplains unto her. As for the late Lord of *Canterbury*'s ſaying unto you, That ſhe had many great Viſions, it ought to move you never a deal to give credence unto her or her Revelations; for the ſaid Lord knew no more certainty of her, or of her Revelations, than he did by her own report. And as touching the ſaying of *Amos* the Prophet, I think verily the ſame moved you but a little to hearken unto her; for ſithence the Conſummation and the end of the Old Teſtament, and ſithen the Paſſion of Chriſt, God hath done many great and notable things in the World, whereof he ſhewed nothing to his Prophets that hath come to the knowledg of Men. My Lord, all theſe things moved you not to give credence unto her, but only the very matter whereupon ſhe made her falſe Propheſies; to which matter ye were ſo affected, as ye be noted to be in all matters which ye enter once into, that nothing could come amiſs that made for that purpoſe. And here I appeal your Conſcience, and inſtantly deſire you to anſwer, Whether if ſhe had ſhewed you as many Revelations for the confirmation of the King's Graces Marriage, which he now enjoyeth, as ſhe did to the contrary, ye would have given as much credence to her as the ſame done, and would have let the trial of her and her Revelations, to overpaſs thoſe many years, where ye dwelt not from her but twenty miles in the ſame Shire where her Traunces, and Diffigurings, and Propheſies in her Traunces were furmiſed, and reported. And if percaſe ye will ſay (as it not unlike but ye will ſay, minded as ye were wont to be) that the matter be not like, for the Law of God, in your opinion, ſtandeth with the one and not with the other: Surely, my Lord, I ſuppoſe there had been no great cauſe more to truſt the one more than the other; for ye know by Scriptures of the Bible, that God may by his Revelation diſpenſe with his own Law, as with the *Iſraelites* ſpoiling the *Egyptians*, and with *Jacob* to have four Wives, and ſuch other. Think you, my Lord, that any indifferent Man, conſidering the quality of the Matter, and your Affections, and alſo the negligent paſſing over of ſuch lawful Trials as ye might have had of the ſaid Maiden, and her Revelations, is ſo dull, that cannot perceive and diſcern that your communing, and often ſending to the ſaid Maid, was rather to hear and bruit many of her Revelations, than to try out the truth or falſhood of the ſame. And in this Buſineſs, I ſuppoſe, it will be hard for you to purge your ſelf before God, or the World, but that ye have been in great default in hearing, believing,

believing, and concealing ſuch things as tended to the deſtruction of the Prince; and that her Revelations were bent and purpoſed to that end, it hath been duly proved afore as great Aſſembly and Council of the Lords of this Realm, as hath been ſeen many years meet out of a Parliament. And what the ſaid Lords deemed them worthy to ſuffer, which ſaid, heard, believed, and concealed thoſe falſe Revelations, be more terrible than any threats ſpoken by me to your Brother.

And where ye go about to defend, that ye be not to be blamed for concealing the Revelations concerning the King's Grace, becauſe ye thought it not neceſſary to rehearſe them to his Highneſs, for ſix Cauſes following in your Letters; afore I ſhew you my mind concerning theſe Cauſes, I ſuppoſe that albeit you percaſe thought it not neceſſary to be ſhewed to the Prince by you, yet that your thinking ſhall not be your Trial, but the Law muſt define whether ye oughted to utter it or not.

And as to the firſt of the ſaid ſeven Cauſes; Albeit ſhe told you that ſhe had ſhewed her Revelations concerning the King's Grace to the King her ſelf; yet her ſaying, or others, diſcharged not you, but that ye were bound, by your fidelity, to ſhew to the King's Grace that thing which ſeemed to concern his Grace and his Reign ſo nighly: for how knew you that ſhe ſhewed theſe Revelations to the King's Grace, but by her own ſaying, to which ye ſhould have given no ſuch credence, as to forbear the utterance of ſo great Matters concerning a King's Weal? And why ſhould you ſo ſiniſterly judg the Prince, that if ye had ſhewed the ſame unto him, he would have thought that ye had brought that tale unto him, more for the ſtrengthening and confirmation of your Opinion, than for any other thing elſe. Verily, my Lord, whatſoever your Judgment be, I ſee daily ſuch benignity and excellent humanity in his Grace, that I doubt not but his Highneſs would have accepted it in good part, if ye had ſhewed the ſame Revelations unto him, as ye were bounden by your fidelity.

To the ſecond Cauſe; Albeit ſhe ſhewed you not that any Prince, or other Temporal Lord, ſhould put the King's Grace in danger of his Crown; yet there were ways enough by which her ſaid Revelations might have put the King's Grace in danger, as the foreſaid Council of Lords have ſubſtantially and duly conſidered: And therefore albeit ſhe ſhewed you not the means whereby the danger ſhould enſue to the King, yet ye were nevertheleſs bounden to ſhew him of the danger.

To the third; Think you, my Lord, that if any Perſon would come unto you, and ſhew you, that the King's deſtruction were conſpired againſt a certain time, and would fully ſhew you that he were ſent from his Maſter to ſhew the ſame to the King, and will ſay further unto that, he would go ſtreight to the King; were it not yet your duty to certify the King's Grace of this Revelation, and alſo to enquire whether the ſaid Perſon had done his foreſaid Meſſage or no? Yes verily, and ſo were ye bound, tho the Maiden ſhewed you it was her Meſſage from God to be declared by her to the King's Grace.

To the fourth; Here ye tranſlate the temporal Duty that ye owe to your Prince, to the ſpiritual Duty of ſuch as be bound to declare the Word of God to the People, and to ſhew unto them the ill and puniſh-

ment

ment of it in another World; the concealment whereof pertaineth to the Judgment of God, but the concealment of this Matter pertaineth to other Judges of this Realm.

To the fifth; There could no blame be imputed to you, if ye had ſhewed the Maidens Revelation to the King's Grace, albeit they were afterward found falſe, for no Man ought to be blamed doing his Duty: And if a Man would ſhew you ſecretly, that there were a great Miſchief intended againſt the Prince, were ye to be blamed if ye ſhewed him of it; albeit it was a feigned talk, and the ſaid miſchief were never imagined.

To the ſixth; Concerning an Imagination of Mr. *Pary*, it was known that he was beſide himſelf, and therefore they were not blamed that made no report thereof; but it was not like in this caſe, for ye took not this Maiden for a mad Woman, for if ye had, ye would not have given unto her ſo great credence as ye did.

To the final, and ſeventh Cauſe; Where ye lay unto the charge of our Sovereign, that ſo hath unkindly entreated you with grievous Words, and terrible Letters, for ſhewing his Grace truth in his great Matter, whereby ye were diſcomforted to ſhew unto him the Maidens Revelations: I believe that I know the King's Goodneſs, and natural Gentleneſs ſo well, that his Grace would not ſo unkindly handled you, as your unkindly writings him, unleſs ye gave him other Cauſes than be expreſſed in your Letters. And whatſoever the King's Grace hath ſaid or written unto you heretofore, yet notwithſtanding ye were nevertheleſs bounden to utter to him thoſe pernicious Revelations.

Finally; Where ye deſire, for the Paſſion of Chriſt, that ye be no more twitched in this matter, for if ye be put to that ſtrait, ye will not loſe your Soul, but ye will ſpeak as your Conſcience bindeth you, with many more words of great courage. My Lord, if ye had taken my counſel ſent unto you by your Brother, and followed the ſame, ſubmitting your ſelf, by your Letters, at the King's Grace, for your offences in this behalf, I would have truſted that ye ſhould never be quykkrand in this matter more. But now, where ye take upon you to defend the whole Matter, as ye were in no default, I cannot ſo far promiſe you: And ſurely, my Lord, if the Matter come to trial, your own confeſſion in this Letter, beſides the Witneſs which be againſt you, will be ſufficient to condemn you: Wherefore, my Lord, I will eft-ſoons adviſe you, That laying apart all ſuch excuſes as ye have alledged in your Letters, which in my opinion be of ſmall effect, as I have declared, ye beſeech the King's Grace, by your Letters, to be your Gracious Lord, and to remit unto you your negligence, over-ſight, and offence, committed againſt his Highneſs in this behalf; and I dare undertake that his Highneſs ſhall benignly accept you into his gracious favour, all matters of diſpleaſure paſt afore this time forgotten and forgiven. As touching the ſpeaking of your Conſcience, It is thought that ye have written and have ſpoken as much as ye can, and many things, as ſome right probably believes, againſt your own Conſcience: and many report, that at the laſt Convocation, ye ſpake many things which ye could not well defend; and therefore it is not greatly feared what ye can ſay or write in that Matter, howſoever ye be qukkrane and ſtartled. And if ye had taken, *&c.*

L. *A Renunciation of the Pope's Supremacy; ſigned by the Heads of ſix Religious Houſes.*

QUum ea ſit non ſolum Chriſtianæ Religionis & pietatis ratio, ſed noſtræ etiam obedientiæ regula, ut Domino noſtro Henrico ejus nominis pro Dominio Regio Octavo, cui uni & ſoli poſt Chriſtum Ieſum Salvatorem noſtrum debentur omnia, non modo omnimodam in Chriſto, & eandem ſinceram perpetuamq; animi devotionem, fidem, obſervantiam, honorem, cultum, reverentiam præſtemus, ſed etiam de eadem fide & obſervantia noſtra rationem quotieſcunq; poſtulabitur reddamus, & palam omnibus ſi res poſcat libentiſſime teſtemur: Norint univerſi ad quos præſens ſcriptum pervenit, quod nos Priores & Conventus fratrum, viz. prædicatoris Langley Regis ordinis Sancti Dominici Minorum de Ailſbury, Ordinis Sancti Franciſci prædicatorum Dunſtopliæ, Ordinis antedicti Minorum de Bedford, Ordinis Sancti Franciſci Fratrum Carmelitarum de Hechyng, Ordinis Beatæ Mariæ Minorum de Morea, Ordinis Sancti Franciſci, uno ore & voce, atque unanimi omnium & ſingulorum conſenſu & aſſenſu, hoc ſcripto noſtro ſub ſigillis noſtris communibus, & in domibus noſtris capitularibus dato, pro nobis & ſucceſſoribus noſtris omnibus ſingulis, in perpetuum profitemur, teſtamur & fideliter promittimus & ſpondemus, nos dictos Priores & Conventus & Succeſſores noſtros, omnes & ſingulos, integram, inviolatam, ſinceram perpetuamq; fidem, obſervantiam & obedientiam ſemper præſtituros erga Dominum Regem noſtrum Henricum Octavum, & erga Sereniſſimam Reginam Annam Uxorem ejuſdem, & erga caſtum Sanctumq; Matrimonium nuper non ſolum inter eoſdem juſte & legitime contractum, ratum & conſummatum, ſed etiam tam in duabus Convocationibus Cleri, quam in Parliamento Dominorum Spiritualium & Temporalium atq; Communium in eodem Parliamento Congregatorum & præſentum determinatum, & per Thomam Cantuarien. Epiſcopum ſolenniter confirmatum, & erga quamcunq; aliam ejuſdem Henrici Regis noſtri Uxorem, poſt mortem prædictæ Annæ nunc Uxoris ſuæ legitimæ ducendam, & erga ſobolem dicti Domini Regis Henrici ex prædicta Anna legitime tam progenitam quam progignendam, & erga ſobolem dicti Domini Regis ex alia quacunq; legitima Uxore poſt mortem ejuſdem Annæ legitime progignendam, & quod eadem populo notificabimus, prædicabimus & ſuadebimus, ubicunq; dabitur locus & occaſio. Item, quod confirmatum ratumq; habemus ſemperq; perpetuo habituri ſumus, quod prædictus Rex noſter Henricus eſt Caput Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ. Item, quod Epiſcopus Romanus, qui in ſuis Bullis Papæ nomen uſurpat & ſummi Pontificis Principatum ſibi arrogat, nihilo majoris neq; Auctoritatis aut juriſdictionis habendus ſit, quam cæteri quivis Epiſcopi in Anglia alibi in ſua cujuſq; Dioceſe. Item, quod ſoli dicto Domino Regi & Succeſſoribus ſuis adhærebimus, atq; ejus & Proclamationes, inſuper omnes Angliæ leges atque etiam Statuta omnia, in Parliamento & per Parliamentum decreta, confirmata, ſtabilita & ratificata, perpetuo manutenebimus, Epiſcopi Romani legibus, decretis & Canonibus, ſi qui contra legem Divinam & Sacram Scripturam eſſe invenientur, in perpetuum renunciantes. Item, quod nullus noſtrum omnium in ulla vel privata vel publica concione quicquam

quicquam ex Sacris Scripturis deſumptum ad alienum ſenſum detorquere præſumet, ſed quiſquis Chriſtum ejuſq; vera, prædicabit Catholice & Orthodoxe. Item, quod unuſquiſq; in ſuis orationibus & comprecationibus de more faciendis, primum omnium Regem, tanquam Supremum Caput Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, Deo & populi precibus commendabit; deinde Reginam cum ſua ſobole, tum demum Archiepiſcopum Cantuarien. cum cæteris Cleri Ordinibus, prout videbitur. Item, quod omnes & ſinguli prædicti Priores & Conventus & Succeſſores noſtri, Conſcientiæ & Jurisjurandi Sacro firmiter obligamur, quod omnia & ſingula prædicta ſideliter & in perpetuum obſervabimus. In cujus rei teſtimonium huic Inſtrumento, vel ſcripto noſtro, communia ſigilla noſtra appendimus, & noſtra nomina propria quiſq; manu ſubſcripſimus, Sacris in Domibus noſtris Capitularibus, die quinto Menſis Maii, Anno Chriſti milleſimo quingenteſimo trigeſimo quarto, Regni vero Regis noſtri Henrici Octavi viceſimo ſexto.

Ego Frater Richardus Ingerth Prior Conventus, & Prædicator Langley Regis, cum conſenſu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus ſed ſponte ſubſcribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Cotton, Prior Conventus Prædicatorum Dunſtabliæ, cum aſſenſu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus ſed ſponte ſubſcribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Sutler, Prior Conventus Carmelitarum Hicchiæ, cum Aſſenſu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus ſed ſponte ſubſcribo.

Ego Frater Edwardus Tryley Sacræ Theologiæ Bacalaureus, & Conventus Ailsberiæ, cum aſſenſu omnium Fratrum Conventus prædicti, non coactus ſed ſponte ſubſcribo.

Ego Frater Joannes Wyatt, Sacræ Theologiæ Doctor Conventus Bed. una cum aſſenſu omnium Fratrum, ſponte hoc ſcribo & non coactus.

Ego Frater Joannes Chapmanus, Sacræ Theologiæ Bacalaureus, Magiſter immerito Conventus Mare, cum aſſenſu omnium Fratrum, mea ſponte ſubſcribo.

Another Declaration to the ſame purpoſe, Mutatis Mutandis, *is made by the Prioreſs of* Bedford *in* Kent, *of the Order of St.* Dominick, *May* 4. 1534. Regn. viceſimo ſexto. Rot. Clauſa.

LI. *A Mandate for the Conſecration of a Suffagran Biſhop.*

Rot. Pat. 2. par. 27 Regni.

REX Reverendiſſimo in Chriſto Patri & perdilecto Conſiliario noſtro Thomæ Cantuarienſi Epiſcopo ſalutem. Reverendus Pater & dilectus Conſiliarius noſter Richardus Norvicenſis Epiſcopus nobis ſignificavit, quod Dioceſis ſua Epiſcopi Suffraganei ſolatio, qui ſuæ ſollicitudinis partem ſuſtinere conſuevit, deſtituta eſt & exiſtit; & ideo reverendos Patres Gregorium Abbatem Monaſterii Beatæ Mariæ de Leyſtone, & Thomam Mannynge Priorem Monaſterii Beatæ Mariæ de Butley, Norvicen. Dioc. Ordine Sacerdotali, rite inſignitos, & legitimo Matrimonio natos, & in ætate legitima conſtitutos, viroſq; in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus multum circumſpectos, quibus de Canonicis nihil obviant inſtituta, quo minus (ut aſſerunt) ad Epiſcopalem Suffraganei Dignitatem admitti poſſint & deberent, nobis per ſuas literas ſuo magno ſigillo munitas præſentavit, humiliter & devote ſupplicans, quatenus nos alterum ipſorum ſic præſentatorum ad aliquam ſedem Epiſcopi Suffraganei infra Provinciam Cantuarienſem exiſtentem nominare, ipſique ſic nominato ſtylum, Titulum & Dignitatem hujuſmodi ſedis donare dignaremur: unde nos ex gratia noſtra ſpeciali & mero motu noſtris, dictum Reverendum Patrem Thomam Manynnge Priorem Monaſterii Beatæ Mariæ de Butley prædicti, alterum ex dictis, Præſentamus in Epiſcopum Suffraganeum Sedis Gips vici Norvicen. Dioceſ. antedictæ, nominamus, eique Stilum, Titulum & Dignitatem ejuſdem Sedis Epiſcopi Suffraganei damus & conferimus. Atque hæc vobis tenore præſentamus, ſignificamus, requirentes vos, quatenus eundem Patrem ſic per nos nominatum, in Epiſcopum Suffraganeum ejuſdem Sedis Gips vici conſecretis, eique Benedictionem ac omnia Epiſcopalia Inſignia conferatis; cæteraq; omnia & ſingula quæ veſtro in hac parte incumbunt officio paſtorali, juxta modum & formam Statuti Parliamenti in viceſimo ſexto Anno Regni noſtri apud Weſtmonaſterium nuper editi peragetis.

T. R. apud Weſtm. 6. die Martii 27. Regn.

Ad Librum Tertium.

I. Inſtructions for the General Viſitation of the Monaſteries.

Articuli Regiæ Inquiſitionis, in Monaſticam vitam agentes, exponendi, & præcipue in exemptos a juriſdictione Diocæſana, jam tantum Regiæ Majeſtati & ejus jurisdictioni ſubditos & ſubjectos, ac hujus inclyti ſui Regni Statutis & legibus, nulliſq; aliis penitus, obnoxios & aſtrictos.

1. *IN primis*; Whether Divine Service be ſolemnly ſung, ſaid, obſerved, and kept in this Monaſtery, according to the Number and the Abilities thereof, by Night and by Day, in due time and hours? and how many be preſent commonly at Mattins, and other Service, and who be abſent, and ſo accuſtomed to be, without cauſe or ſickneſs? *Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.*

2. *Item*; How many Monks, Cannons Regulars, or Nuns, be within this Monaſtery, and how many there ought to be, and whether the number be compleat according to the Founder's Will, or the Statutes, Ordinances, and laudable cuſtom of this Houſe; and whether the number be augmented or diminiſhed now of late?

3. *Item*; Who were the firſt Founders of this Houſe?

Fundationem primam, ſecundam, tertiam, & quotquot habent, exhibeant.

4. *Item*; Whether this Houſe hath had any encreaſe of Lands given to it ſithence the firſt Foundation thereof? by whom? by how many? and when?

5. *Item*; To what Sum of Mony thoſe Revenues and Rents of this Houſe do extend and amount unto yearly?

6. *Item*; Whether this Houſe was ever tranſlated from on habit and order to another? by whoſe Authority? and for what Cauſe?

Tranſlationem exhibeant.

7. *Item*; How the Lands and Poſſeſſions appertaining unto this Monaſtery, given by the firſt Founder, and all other Lands given ſithence the firſt Foundation, were granted, given, and eſtabliſhed, and ſo firſt brought to *Morte main?* whether by the only Authority of the Giver, or by the Authorization of the Prince for that time reigning, and by what tenour and form ye hold them?

Donationem & Confirmationem exhibeant.

8. *Item*; What evidence have you to ſhew for all and ſingular your Lands, Manors, Tenements, and other your Poſſeſſions Mortiſate, and given unto you, and this your Monaſtery?

9. *Item*; Wherefore, for what Cauſes and Conſiderations ye were exempt from your Dioceſan? and what was your Suggeſtion and Motive at the obtaining of your ſaid Exemption?

Exemptionem exhibeant.

10. *Item*; Whether ye have any private, peculiar, or local Statutes, Confirmations, Ordinances, or Rules, made only for the behoof, good order, and ſingular weal of this Houſe, beſides the Rules of your Profeſſion? and whether they were made either by your Founders before your Exemption, or by the good Fathers of this Houſe, with the whole conſent of the Brethren, being ſinneth your exemption: to what uſe they were made, and how ye obſerve them?

Statuta illa localia, & alia quotquot habent, exhibeant.

11. *Item*; By what way and form the Maſter of this Houſe was elected and choſen? And whether all the Brethren having, or ought to have by the Law, Statutes, or laudable cuſtom of this Houſe, Voices in the Election, were preſent in the ſame Election, or lawfully called or cited to it?

12. *Item*; Whether any Perſons Excommunicate, Suſpended, or Interdicted, did give Voices in the ſame Election?

13. *Item*; Within what time after the Election was made and done, the Maſter of this Houſe was confirmed? and by whom?

14. *Item*; Whether unto the Confirmation, all that had Intereſt, or that would object againſt the ſame, were lawfully cited, moniſhed, and called?

Exhibeat Electionem, Confirmationem, & Titulum ſuæ Incumbentiæ.

15. *Item*; What Rule the Maſter of this Houſe, and other the Brethren, do profeſs?

16. *Item*; How many be Profeſſed, and how many be Novices; and whether the Novices have like Habit, or uſe to wear an Habit diſtinct from the Habit of the Brethren Profeſſed?

17. *Item*; Whether ye do uſe to profeſs your Novices in due time, and within what time and ſpace after they have taken the Habit upon them?

18. *Item*; Whether the Brethren of this Houſe do know the Rule that they have profeſſed, and whether they keep their Profeſſion according to that their Rule, and Cuſtom of this Houſe; and in eſpecial, the three ſubſtantial and principal Vows, that is to ſay, *Poverty*, *Chaſtity*, and *Obedience?*

19. *Item*; Whether any of the Brethren uſe any propriety of Mony, or of Plate, in their Chambers; or of any other manner thing unwarre of the Maſter, and without his knowledg and licenſe, or by his ſufferance and knowledg? and for what cauſe?

20. *Item*; Whether ye do keep Chaſtity, not uſing the company of any ſuſpect Woman within this Monaſtery, or without? And whether the Maſter, or any Brother of this Houſe be ſuſpected upon Incontinency, or defamed for that he is much converſant with Women?

21. *Item*; Whether Women uſeth and reſorteth much to this Monaſtry by back-ways, or otherwiſe? and whether they be accuſtomably,

mably, or at any time lodged within the Precinct thereof?

22. *Item*; Whether the Maſter, or any Brother of this Houſe, uſeth to have any Boys or young Men laying with him?

23. *Item*; Whether the Brethren of this Houſe keep their Obedience, being ready at their Maſter's Commandment, in all things honeſt, lawful, and reaſonable?

Sequuntur Regulæ Cæremoniales.

24. *Item*; Whether ye do keep ſilence in the Church, Cloiſter, Fraitrie, and Dormitorie, at the hours and time ſpecified in your Rule?

25. *Item*; Whether ye do keep Faſting and Abſtinence, according to your Rules, Statutes, Ordinances, and laudable Cuſtoms of this Houſe?

26. *Item*; Whether ye abſtain from Fleſh in time of *Advent*, and other times declared and ſpecified by the Law, Rules, and laudable Cuſtoms of this Houſe?

27. *Item*; Whether ye wear Shirts and Sheets of Woollen, or that ye have any Conſtitution, Ordinance, or Diſpenſation, granted or made to the contrary, by ſufficient and lawful Authority?

Profitentes Regulam Benedicti. quam arctiſſime tenentur ad prædicta Cæremonialia obſervanda.

28. *Item*; Whether ye do ſleep altogethers in the *Dormitorie*, under one Roof, or not?

29. *Item*; Whether ye have all ſeparate Beds, or any one of you doth lay with an other?

30. *Item*; Whether ye do keep the Fraitry at Meals, ſo that two parts, or the leaſt, the two part of the whole Covent be always there, unleſs the Maſter at every one time diſpenſe with you to the contrary?

31. *Item*; Whether ye do wear your Religious habit continually, and never leave it off but when ye go to bed?

32. *Item*; Whether every Brethren of this Houſe have lightly departed hence, and hath gone to any other Houſe of like Order, and Profeſſion, without ſpecial Letters and Licenſe of their Maſter?

33. *Item*; Whether the Maſter and Brethren of this Houſe have received and admitted any Brother of another Houſe, without ſpecial Licenſe and Letters of his Maſter and Head?

34. *Item*; Whether any of you, ſithence the time of your Profeſſion, hath gone out of this Houſe to his Friends, or otherwiſe?

35. *Item*; How oftimes he did ſo, and how long at every time ye tarried forth?

36. *Item*; Whether ye had ſpecial licenſe of your Maſter ſo to go forth, or not?

37. *Item*; Whether at every time of your being forth, ye changed or left off your habit, or every part thereof?

38. *Item*; Whether ye, or any of you be, or hath been, in manifeſt Apoſtaſy, that is to ſay, Fugitives or Vagbonds?

39. *Item*; For what cauſe or occaſion ye have ſo gone forth and been in Apoſtaſy? and whether the cauſe of your going forth was by reaſon of the great cruelty of your Maſter, or by his negligence, not calling you home to your Cloiſter?

40. *Item*;

40. *Item*; Whether ye be weekly ſhaven, and do not nouriſh or ſuffer your Hair to be long? and whether ye wear your Apparel according to the Rule, not too exceſſive, nor too exquiſite; and in like wiſe the trappo's of your Horſes, and other your bearing Beaſts?

41. *Item*; Whether the Maſter and Head of this Houſe do uſe his Brethren charitably, without partiality, malice, envy, grudg, or diſpleaſure more ſhewed to one than to another?

42. *Item*; Whether he do uſe his Diſciplines, Corrections, and Puniſhments upon his Brethren, with mercy, pity, and charity, without cruelty, rigorouſneſs, and enormous hurt, no more favouring one than another?

43. *Item*; Whether any Brother, or Religious Perſon of this Houſe, be incorrigible?

44. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe do uſe his Brethren charitably when they be ſick and diſeaſed? and whether in time of their ſickneſs he do procure unto them Phyſicians, and all other neceſſaries?

45. *Item*; Whether he make his Accompts (as he ought to do) once every year before his Brethren, and chiefly the Seniors and Officers, to the intent they may be made privy to the ſtate and condition of the Houſe, and know perfectly the due adminiſtration thereof?

46. *Item*; Whether the Prior, Subprior, Sellerar, Kitchener, Terrure, Sacriſten, or any ſuch-like Officer, having Adminiſtration of every manner Revenues of this Houſe, do make his whole and true Accompt, according as he is bound to do, not applying any thing by him received to his own proper uſe or commodity?

47. *Item*; Whether any Religious Perſon of this Houſe do bear, occupy, or exerciſe more Offices than one, for, and to his own ſingular commodity, advantage, or profit, by the partial dealing of the Maſter?

48. *Item*; Whether all and ſingular the Revenues and Profits of this Houſe be converted and employed to the behove and uſe thereof, and of the Brethren, and according to the Founder's mind and Giver?

49. *Item*; Whether the Maſter do make ſufficient reparations upon his Monaſtery, as the Church and all other houſing thereto adjoined, and alſo upon all other the Lands, Granges, Farms, and Tenements belonging to the ſame, and whether he ſuffer any dilapidation, decay, or ruine in any part of them?

50. *Item*; Whether there be any Inventory made of all and ſingular the Moveables, Goods, which from time to time have been, and yet be in this Houſe, as of Jewels, Reliques, Ornaments, Veſtiments, ready Mony, Plate, Bedding, with other Utenſils; alſo of Corn, Chattels, and other Commodities, to the intent the ſtate and condition of this Houſe may be always known?

51. *Item*; That ye expreſs truly and ſincerely the whole ſtate and condition of this Houſe, as in Mony, Plate, Cattel, Corn, and other Goods?

52. *Item*; Whether this Monaſtery be indebted? to whom? and for what cauſe?

53. *Item*; Whether any of the Lands be ſold, or mortgaged? and for what Sums?

54. *Item*; Whether any be lett to Farm by the Maſter of this Houſe for term of years, and for how many years? and ſpecially whether they be

be letten for ſmall Sums, or for leſs Sums than they were woht to be letten for, to the intent to have great ſums of ready Mony before hand?

55. *Item*; Whether he do enforce, compel, or conſtrain his Brethren, or any of them, to conſent to the ſealing of any Leaſes, Grants, Farm-Holds, Annuities, Corrodies, or any other Alienations?

56. *Item*; Whether the Plate and Jewels, or any part or parcel thereof, or of any other moveable Goods of this Houſe be laid to pledg, ſold, or alienated for a time, or for ever? for what cauſe, and to whom? or otherwiſe imbezled, or conſumed?

57. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe be wont to give under his Seal of Office, or Covent-Seal, Farms, Corrodies, Annuities, or Offices, to his Kinsfolk, Alliances, Friends, or Acquaintance, for term of years, or otherwiſe, to the hurt, hindrance, dammage, and impoveriſhment of this Houſe?

58. *Item*; Whether he be wont to grant any Patent, or Covent-Seal, without the conſent of his Brethren?

59. *Item*; Whether the Covent-Seal of this Houſe be ſurely and ſafely kept under three Keys; that is to ſay, one remaining and being in the cuſtody of the Maſter, and the other two in the cuſtody of two Seniours?

60. *Item*; Whether the Muniments and Evidences of the Lands, Rents, and Revenues of this Houſe, be ſafely kept from Vermine and Moiſtneſs?

61. *Item*; Whether the Maſter do keep Hoſpitality according to the ability of his Houſe, and in like manner as other Fathers hereof have done heretofore?

62. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe, in receiving any Novice, being of willing and toward mind to enter into Religion, hath demanded or received, or convented to receive any Mony, Rewards, or any other temporal Commodities of him ſo entring, or willing to enter, or of any other his Friends? and whether for not promiſing, granting, or giving ſuch Rewards or Gifts, any hath been repelled and not received?

63. *Item*; Whether the Novices, and other received into Religion, have a Preceptor and Maſter deputed unto them to teach them Gramar and good Letters?

64. *Item*; Whether any Seniour of this Houſe be deputed to declare, inform, and inſtruct them their Rules, and whereunto they ſhall be bounden to obſerve and keep, after their Profeſſion?

65. *Item*; Whether any of you have taken upon him the Habit and Profeſſion of your Religion, chiefly for the intent, hope, or truſt to be made Head and Maſter of this Houſe?

66. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe, in giving any Advocation, Nomination, Preſentation, or Collation of any Parſonage, Vicarage, Chapel, or Benefice of the Patronage and Gift this Houſe, do take, or uſe to take any manner Penſion, Portion, or other Commodity or Gains; or elſe doth make any Convention or Compaction, whereby any lucre may enſue to him in that behalf?

67. *Item*; Whether he do receive, or uſe to receive, the Fruits and Revenues of every ſuch Benefice vacant, or uſe to borrow any Mony

of

of him to whom he intendeth to give ſuch Benefice unto, expreſly covenanting or intending, that he ſo obtaining the ſaid Benefice, ſhall freely and clearly remit the ſaid Mony ſo borrowed?

68. *Item*; What, and how many Benefices the Maſter of this Houſe doth occupy and keep in his own hands?

69. *Item*; Whether the ſame Benefices be appropriate and united to this Houſe by ſufficient authority?

70. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe doth make diſtributions amongſt the Pariſhoners of the Benefices appropriate, and doth keep and obſerve all and ſingular other Proviſions and Ordinances ſpecified and expreſſed in the Appropriations of the ſame Benefices?

Exhibeant omnes & ſingulas Appropriationes, una cum Ordinationibus & Dotationibus Vicariatuum.

71. *Item*; Whether he do promote unto ſuch Benefices as be of his Gift, ſufficient and able Perſons in Learning, Manners, and Vertue?

72. *Item*; Whether any Brother of this Houſe do ſerve any Pariſh-Church, being appropriate and united to the ſame, and how many Churches appropriate be ſo ſerved?

73. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe hath and poſſeſſeth any Benefice with Cure, or any other Dignity with his Abbey?

Si aliquod tale habet, Diſpenſationem exhibeat.

74. *Item*; Whether the Maſter of this Houſe at any time ſince he was firſt made Abbot, or Maſter, did know or believe that he was Suſpended, or Excommunicate, either by the Law, or by any Judg; and whether he knowing or ſuppoſing himſelf ſo to be, did ſing Maſs in the mean time, and before he was abſolved?

In Viſitatione Monialium ad Præmiſſa addantur hæc.

75. *Item*; Whether this Monaſtery hath good and ſufficient Encloſure, and whether the Doors and Windows be diligently kept ſhut, ſo that no Man can have any entry into the ſame, or any part thereof, at inconvenient times?

Propter quod neceſſarium erit Viſitatori circumire Monaſterium, ac videre & rimare diſpoſitionem ædificiorum, & an ſint aliqua loca pervia per quæ ſecrete intrari poſſit; & una ſecum habeat Abbatiſſam cum duabus aut tribus ſenioribus Monialibus, a quibus tum interroget, an oſtia Monaſterii ſingulis quibuſque noctibus ſub clavibus clauſa teneantur, & quæ earum Monialium ſenio confectarum, vel an Abbas ipſa clavium cuſtodiam tempore nocturno habeant & teneant; nam non eſt tutum clavium cuſtodiam Junioribus committere.

76. *Item*; Whether Strangers, both Men and Women, uſeth commonly to have communication with the Siſters of this Houſe, without licenſe of the Abbeſs or Prioreſs, ſpecially in ſecret places, and in the abſence of their Siſters?

77. *Item*;

77. *Item*; Whether any Siſter of this Houſe were profeſſed for any manner of compulſion of her Friends and Kinſfolks, or by the Abbeſs or Prioreſs?

78. *Item*; Whether any of the Siſters of this Houſe uſeth to go forth any whither out of the Precinct thereof, without ſpecial licenſe of their Abbeſs or Prioreſs?

79. *Item*; Whether any Siſter doth uſe her Habit continually out of her Cell?

80. *Item*; Wherein every one of you occupieth her ſelf, beſide the time of Divine Service?

81. *Item*; Whether any Siſter of this Houſe hath any familiarity with Religious Men, Secular Prieſts, or Lay-Men, being not near of kin unto them?

82. *Item*; Whether any Siſter of this Houſe hath been taken and found with any ſuch accuſtomably ſo communing, and could not ſhew any reaſonable cauſe why they ſo did?

83. *Item*; Whether any of you doth uſe to write any Letters of Love, or laſcivious faſhion to any Perſon, or receive any ſuch, or have any privy Meſſengers coming and reſorting unto you, or any of you, with Token or Gifts, from any manner ſecular Perſon or other?

84. *Item*; Whether any of you doth uſe to ſpeak with any manner of Perſon, by night or by day, by Grates or back Windows, or other privy Places within this Monaſtry, without licenſe of your Head?

85. *Item*; Whether the Confeſſor of this Houſe be a diſcreet Man, of good learning, vertue and honeſt behaviour, of good name and fame, and whether he hath been always ſo taken?

86. *Item*; How oftimes in the year the Siſters of this Houſe uſeth to be Confeſſed and Communicate?

Reſtat pro Eccleſiis Collegiatis, Hoſpitalibus, Eccleſiis Cathedralibus, Parrochialibus, Eccleſiis, Epiſcopo, & Archiepiſcopo, pro ordine Jeroſolomitarum?

Exhibeant omnia ſcripta, munimenta, Inventaria, Scedulas quaſcunque, unde aliquid cognitionis eorum reformationi Monaſteriorum, ſive domorum utilitati, neceſſariæ explicari, aut quoquo modo colligi poſſit.

II. *General Injunctions to be given on the King's Highneſs's behalf, in all Monaſtries and other Houſes, of whatſoever Order or Religion they be.*

FIrſt; That the Abbot, Prior, or Preſident, and all other Brethren of the Place that is viſited, ſhall faithfully, truly, and heartily, keep and obſerve, and cauſe teach, and procure to be kept and obſerved of other, as much as in them may lie, all and ſingular Contents, as well in the other of the King's Highneſs Succeſſion, given heretofore by them, as in a certain Profeſſion lately ſealed with the Common Seal, and ſubſcribed and Signed with their own hands: Alſo that they ſhall *Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.*

obſerve and fulfil, by all the means that they beſt may, the Statutes of this Realm, made, or to be made, for the ſuppreſſion and taking away of the uſurped and pretenſed Juriſdiction of the Biſhop of *Rome* within this Realm: and for the aſſertion and confirmation of the Authority, Juriſdiction, and Prerogative of our moſt noble Sovereign Lord the King, and his Succeſſors; and that they ſhall diligently inſtruct their Juniors and Youngers, and all other committed to their Cure, That the King's Power is by the Laws of God moſt excellent of all under God in Earth; and that we ought to obey him afore all other Powers, by God's Preſcript; and that the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Juriſdiction or Authority heretofore uſurped, by no means is founded or eſtabliſhed by Holy Scripture: but that the ſame, partly by the craft and deceit of the ſame Biſhop of *Rome*, and by his evil and ambitious Canons and Decretals; and partly by the toleration and permiſſion of Princes, by little and little hath grown up; and therefore now, of moſt right and equity, is taken away and clean expelled out of his Realm.

Alſo, that the Abbot, Prior, or Preſident and Brethren, may be declared, by the King's Supream Power and Authority Eccleſiaſtical, to be abſolved and looſed from all manner Obedience, Oath, and Profeſſion by them heretofore perchance promiſed, or made, to the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, or to any other in his ſtead, or occupying his Authority; or to any other Forreign Prince, or Perſon: And nevertheleſs let it be enjoined to them, that they ſhall not promiſe or give ſuch Oath or Profeſſion to any ſuch Forreign Potentate hereafter. And if the Statutes of the ſaid Order Religious, or Place, ſeem to bind them to Obedience, or Subjection, or any other Recognizance of Superiority to the ſaid Biſhop of *Rome*, or to any other Forreign Power, Potentate, Perſon or Place, by any ways; ſuch Statutes, by the King's Graces Viſitors, be utterly annihilate, broken, and declared void and of none effect; and that they be in no caſe bounden or obligate to the ſame, and ſuch Statutes to be forthwith utterly put forth and aboliſhed out of the Books, or Muniments of that Religion, Order or Place, by the Preſident and his Brethren.

Alſo, that no Monk, or Brother of this Monaſtery, by any means go forth of the Precinct of the ſame.

Alſo, that Women, of what ſtate or degree ſoever they be, be utterly excluded from entring into the Limits or Circuit of this Monaſtery, or place, unleſs they firſt obtain licenſe of the King's Highneſs, or his Viſitor.

Alſo, that there be no entring into this Monaſtery but one, and that by the great fore-gate of the ſame, which diligently ſhall be watched and kept by ſome Porter ſpecially appointed for that purpoſe, and ſhall be ſhut and opened by the ſame both day and night, at convenient and accuſtomed hours; which Porter ſhall repel all manner Women from entrance into the ſaid Monaſtery.

Alſo, that all and ſingular Brethren, and Monks of this Monaſtery, take their refections altogether in a place called the *Miſericorde*, ſuch days as they eat Fleſh, and all other days in their Refectory; and that at every Meſs there ſit four of them, not of duty demanding to them any certain, uſual, or accuſtomed duty or portion of Meat as they were wont to do; but that they be content with ſuch Victuals as is ſet before them, and there take their Refections ſoberly, without exceſs, with giving due

thanks

thanks to God; and that at every ſuch Refection, ſome Chapter of the New Teſtament, or Old, by ſome of the ſaid Brethren, be read and recited to the other, keeping ſilence, and giving audience to the ſame.

Alſo, that the Abbot and Preſident do daily prepare one Table for himſelf and his Gueſts thither reſorting, and that not over-ſumptuous, and full of delicate and ſtrange Diſhes, but honeſtly furniſhed with common Meats; At which Table, the ſaid Abbot, or ſome Senior in his ſtead, ſhall ſit to receive, and gently entertain the Strangers, the Gueſts.

Alſo, that none of the Brethren ſend any part of his Meat, or the leavings thereof to any Perſon, but that there be aſſigned an Almoner, which ſhall gather the Leavings, both of the Covent and Strangers Tables, after that the Servants of the Houſe have had their convenient Refections, and diſtribute the ſame to poor People; amongſt whom ſpecial conſideration be had of ſuch, before other, as be Kinsfolk to any of the ſaid Brethren, if they be of like power and debility as other be; and alſo of thoſe which endeavour themſelves, with all their will and labour, to get their living with their hands, and yet cannot fully help themſelves for their chargeable Houſhold, and multitude of Children: yet let not them be ſo cheriſhed, that they ſhall leave labour and fall to idleneſs; with conſideration alſo ſpecially to be had of them, which by weakneſs of their Limbs and Body be ſo impotent that they cannot labour; and by no means let ſuch Alms be given to valiant mighty and idle Beggars and Vagabonds, as commonly uſe to reſort about ſuch places; which rather, as drove-Beaſts and Mychers, ſhould be driven away and compelled to labour, than in their idleneſs and lewdneſs, againſt the form of the King's Graces Statute in this behalf made, cheriſhed, and maintained, to the great hindrance and damage of the Common-Weal.

Alſo, that all other Almſes or Deſtributions due, or accuſtomed to be made, by reaſon of the Foundation, Statutes, or cuſtomes of this place, be made and given, as largely and as liberally as ever they were at any time heretofore.

Alſo, that the Abbot, Prior, or Preſident, ſhall find Wood and Fewel ſufficient to make Fire in the Refectory, from *Allhallow*-even to *Good-Friday*.

Alſo, that all the Brethren of this Houſe, except the Abbot, and ſuch as be ſick, or evil at eaſe, and thoſe that have fulfilled their *Jubilee*, lie together in the Dormitory, every one by himſelf, in ſeveral Beds.

Alſo, that no Brother, or Monk, of this Houſe, have any Child or Boy laying, or privily accompanying with him, or otherwiſe haunting unto him, other than to help him to Maſs.

Alſo, that the Brethren of this Houſe, when they be ſick, or evil at eaſe, be ſeen unto, and be kept in the Infirmary duly, as well for their ſuſtenance of Meat and Drink, as for their good keeping.

Alſo, that the Abbot, or Preſident, keep and find in ſome Univerſity, one or two of his Brothers, according to the Ability and Poſſeſſions of this Houſe; which Brethren, after they be learned in good and holy Letters, when they return home, may inſtruct and teach their Brethren, and diligently preach the Word of God.

Alſo, that every day, by the ſpace of one hour, a Leſſon of Holy Scripture be kept in this Covent, to which all, under pain by this ſaid Preſident to be moderated, ſhall reſort; which Preſident ſhall have Authority to diſpenſe with them, that they, with a low and treatable voice, ſay their long hours, which were wont to be ſung.

Alſo, that the Brethren of this Houſe, after Divine Service done, read or hear ſomewhat of Holy Scripture, or occupy themſelf in ſome ſuch like honeſt and laudable exerciſe.

Alſo, that all and every Brethren of this Houſe ſhall obſerve the Rule, Statutes, and laudable Cuſtoms of this Religion, as far as they do agree with Holy Scripture and the Word of God. And that the Abbot, Prior, or Preſident of this Monaſtery, every day ſhall expound to his Brethren, as plainly as may be, in Engliſh, a certain part of the Rule that they have profeſſed, and apply the ſame always to the Doctrine of Chriſt, and not contrariwiſe; and he ſhall teach them, that the ſaid Rule, and other their Principles of Religion (ſo far as they be laudable) be taken out of Holy Scripture; and he ſhall ſhow them the places from whence they were derived; and that their Ceremonies, and other obſervances of Religion, be none other things than as the firſt Letters or Principles, and certain Introductions to true Chriſtianity, or to obſerve an order in the Church. And that true Religion is not contained in Apparel, manner of going, ſhaven Heads, and ſuch other marks; nor in ſilence, faſting, up-riſing in the night, ſinging, and ſuch other kind of Ceremonies, but in cleanneſs of mind, pureneſs of living, Chriſt's Faith not feigned, and brotherly Charity, and true honouring of God in Spirit and Verity: And that thoſe above-ſaid things were inſtituted and begun, that they being firſt exerciſed in theſe, in proceſs of time might aſcend to thoſe as by certain ſteps, that is to ſay, to the chief point and end of Religion: and therefore let them be diligently exhorted, that they do not continually ſtick and ſurceaſe in ſuch Ceremonies and Obſervances, as tho they had perfectly fulfilled the chief and outmoſt of the whole true Religion; but that when they have once paſt ſuch things, they endeavour themſelves to higher things, and convert their minds from ſuch external Matters, to more inward and deeper Conſiderations, as the Law of God and Chriſtian Religion doth teach and ſhow. And that they aſſure not themſelves of any Reward or Commodity any wiſe, by reaſon of ſuch Ceremonies and Obſervances, except they refer all ſuch to Chriſt, and for his ſake obſerve them; and for that they might thereby the more eaſily keep ſuch things as he hath commanded, as well to them as to all Chriſtian People.

Alſo, that the Abbot and Preſident of this Place ſhall make a full and true reckoning and accompt of his Adminiſtration every year to his Brethren, as well of his Receipts as Expences; and that the ſaid Accompt be written in a great Book remaining with the Covent.

Alſo, that the Abbot and Preſident of this Houſe ſhall make no waſte of the Woods pertaining to this Houſe, nor ſhall ſet out unadviſedly any Farmes or Reverſions, without the conſent of the more part of the Convent.

Alſo, that there be aſſigned a Book and a Regiſter that may copy out into that Book all ſuch Writings, word by word, as ſhall paſs under the Convent-Seal of this Houſe.

Alſo, that no Man be ſuffered to profeſs, or to wear the Habit of Religion in this Houſe e're he be 24 years of Age compleat; And that they entice nor allure no Man with ſuaſions and blandyments to take the Religion upon him.

Item, that they ſhall not ſhew no Reliques, or feigned Miracles, for encreaſe of Lucre, but that they exhort Pilgrims and Strangers to give that to the Poor, that they thought to offer to their Images or Reliques.

Alſo, that they ſhall ſuffer no Fairs, or Markets, to be kept or uſed within the limits of this Houſe.

Alſo, that every Brother of this Houſe that is a Prieſt, ſhall every day in his Maſs, pray for the moſt happy and moſt proſperous eſtate of our Sovereign Lord the King, and his moſt noble and lawful Wife Queen *Ann*.

Alſo, that if either the Maſter, or any Brother of this Houſe, do infringe any of the ſaid Injunctions, any of them ſhall denounce the ſame, or procure to be denounced, as ſoon as may be, to the King's Majeſty, or to his Viſitor-General, or his Deputy. And the Abbot, or Maſter, ſhall miniſter ſpending Mony, and other Neceſſaries, for the way to him that ſhall ſo denounce.

Other Spiritual Injunctions may be added by the Viſitor, as the place and nature of the Comperts ſhall require, after his diſcretion.

Reſerving Power to give more Injunctions, and to examine and diſcuſs the Comperts, to puniſh and reform them that be convict of any notable Crime, to ſearch and try the Foundations, Charters, Donations, Appropriations and Muniments of the ſaid Places; and to diſpoſe all ſuch Papiſtical Eſcripts as ſhall be there found, to the Right Honourable Mr. *Thomas Cromwell* General-Viſitor to the King's ſaid Highneſs, as ſhall ſeem moſt expedient to his high wiſdom and diſcretion.

III. *Some Particulars relating to the Diſſolution of Monaſteries.*

Section I.

The Preamble of the Surrender of the Monaſtery of Langden.

OMnibus Chriſti fidelibus, &c. Willielmus Dyer, Abbas Monaſterii Beatæ Mariæ Virginis & S. Thomæ Martyris de Langden, in Com. Kent, & ejuſdem loci Conventus, Ordinis Præmonſtrat. capitulum dictæ domus plene facientes, ejuſdemq; domus (quæ in ſuis fructibus, redditibus, provenien. even. & emolumen. non mediocriter deteriorata eſt, & quaſi in totum diminuta, ingentiq; ære alieno obruta, oppreſſa, & gravata extitit) ſtatum uſq; adeo matura deliberatione, & diligenti tractatu, conſiderantes, ponderantes, & penſantes, quod niſi celeri remedio, regia proviſione huic Monaſterio ſive Prioratui (quippe quod de ejus fundatione & perſonatu exiſtit) brevi ſuccuratur & provideatur, funditus

funditus in Spiritualibus & Temporalibus annihiletur, per præſentes damus & concedimus, &c.

The reſt follows in the ordinary form of Law: but the ordinary Preamble in moſt Surrenders is.

Omnibus Chriſti fidelibus, &c. Nos——Salutem. Sciatis quod nos, deliberate, certa ſcientia, & mero motu, noſtris, ex quibuſdam cauſis, juſtis, & rationabilibus, nos, animas & conſcientias noſtras, ſpecialiter moventibus, ultro & ſponte dediſſe & conceſſiſſe, Domino Regi, &c.

But it ſeems ſome few Houſes, though they were prevailed with to ſurrender, yet would not do it with ſuch a Preamble, for there are about twenty Surrenders without any Preamble at all, made to *John London* Clerk, *ad uſum Domini Regis*.

Section II.

A Liſt of Religious Houſes, which by the King's Letters Patents were of new founded and preſerved from the diſſolution of Leſſer Monaſteries.

Anno Regni 28.

ST. Mary *of* Betleſden, Buckinghamſhire, Ciſtercians.	17 *Auguſt.*
St. Mary *of* Huntington, Auguſtians.	
Chertſey, Cambridg-ſhire, Benedict. Nuns.	
St. Mary *in* Winton, Southamp. ſhire, Benedict. Nuns.	
Grace-dieu, Leiceſter-ſhire, Auguſt. Nuns.	
St. Michael Hull, York-ſhire, Carthuſians.	27.
St. Clare *of* Denby, Cambridg-ſhire, Nuns.	28.
Kymme, Lincoln-ſhire, Auguſtin.	2. *September.*
St. Ann Marrick, York-ſhire, Benedict. Nuns.	9.
St. Mary *of* Bindon, Dorſet-ſhire, Ciſtercians.	16. *November.*
St. Mary Harpa, Weſtmor. Præmonſtrat.	16.
St. Mary *of* Hynnings, Lincoln-ſhire, Ciſterc. Nuns.	27.
St. Mary de-la-Pray, Northamp. ſhire, Nuns.	13. *December.*
St. Mary *of* Kelling, York-ſhire, Nuns.	14.
St. Mary *of* Cockerſand, Lancaſh. Præmonſtrat. Nuns.	19.
De-la-val, York-ſhire, Carthuſ.	2. *January.*
St. Mary Newſtead, Nottinghamſh. Auguſt. Nuns.	2.
Wormſley, Herefordſh. Auguſt.	27.
St. Mary *of* Alnewick, Northumb. Præmonſt.	30.
Bellalanda, Yorkſh. Ciſterc.	30.
St. John Bapt. Eggleſtone, Yorkſh.	30.
St. Mary de Nith, Glamorganſh. Ciſterc.	30.
St. Mary Ulneſtock, Leiceſterſh.	30.
St. Mary *of* Dale, Derbyſh. Auguſt.	30.
St. Katharine of Poleſloo, Devonſh. Benedict. Nuns.	30.
St. Mary Lacock, Wiltſh. Auguſt. Nuns.	30.
St. Mary Cheſter, Nuns.	30.
St. Mary *of* Studley, Oxfordſh. Nuns.	30.

St. Mary

St. Mary *of* Canon Leigh, Devonſh. Nuns. 12. *February.*
Cockhill, Worceſterſh. Auguſt. Nuns. 5. *March.*
St. Bartholomew, New-Caſtle, Nuns. 30.
St. Mary *of* Wallingwells, Yorkſh. *April.*

The Grants for theſe Houſes are all in the 28 *year of the King, to be held* in perpetuam eleemoſynam, *and are enrolled in the 1ſt, 2d, 4th, and 5th parts of the Patent Rolls for that Year.*

Section III.

A Liſt of all the Surrenders of Abbies, which are yet extant in the Augmentation Office.

Regni 27.

Langden, Præmonſt. ſigned by the Abbot and 10 Monks, Com. Kent. 13. *November.*
Folkeſton, Benedict. the Prior, Kent. 15.
Dover, the Prior, 8 Monks, Kent. 16.
Merten, Auguſt. the Prior, and 5 Friers, Yorkſh. 9. *February.*
Hornby, Premonſt. the Prior and two Monks. 23.
Tilty, Ciſterc. the Abbot and 5 Monks, Eſſex. 28.
Bilſington, the Prior and two Monks, Kent, 21.

Theſe are all enrolled Rot. Clauſ. Part 1ſt.

Regni 28.

Furneſſe, the Abbot and 30 Monks, Lancaſhire. 9. *April.*
Bermondſey, the Abb. Surrey. 1. *June.*
Buſhliſham, Bp of St. Davids, Commendator, Berk. 5. *July.*

The Originals of theſe two laſt are loſt, but enrolled Rot. Clauſ. Part 2d. Regn. 28.

Regni 29.

Lanthony, Auguſt. the Prior and 21 Monks, Gloceſtſh. 10. *May.*
Abbington, Bened. the Abbot and 25 Monks, Berkſh. 29.
Charterhouſe, the Prior. London. 10. *June.*
Chertſey,——the Abbot and 14 Monks, 6. *July.*
Wardon, Ciſterc. the Abbot and 14 Monks, Bedfordſh. 4. *December.*
St. Auſtins Canterb. the Abbey-Seal. 5.
Weſtacre, Auguſt. the Prior and 8 Monks, Norfolk, 14. *January.*
Kingſwood, Ciſterc. Gloceſtſh. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 1. *February.*
Coxhall, Ciſterc. the Abbot, Eſſex. 5.
St. Andrew, Bened. Northampt. the Prior and 12 Fr. 2. *March.*
Holmcultrin——the Abbot and 25 Monks, Cumberland, 6.
Butley, Auguſt, the Commend. and 8 Monks, Suffolk. 7.
Stradford-Langthorn, Ciſterc. the Abbot and 14 Mon. Eſſex. 8.
Southwick, Auguſt. Hampſh. 7. *April.*
Kennelworth, Bened. the Prior and 16 Mon. Warwickſh. 14.
Merton, Auguſt. the Abbot and 14 Monks, Surrey, 16.
Pont-Robert, Ciſterc. the Abbot and 8 Monks, Suſſex, 16.
Belloloco, Ciſterc. the Abbot and 19 Monks, Hampſh. 17.

Beſides theſe, the following Surrenders are enrolled.

Lewes;

Lewes, Cluniac. Suſſex, the Prior. 16. *November.*
Caſtle-Acre, Cluniac. Norfolk, the Prior. 22.
Titchfield, Præmonſt. the Commend. Southamptſh. 18. *December.*
Muchelling, Bened. Sommerſetſh. the Abbot. 3. *January.*
Boxley, Ciſterc. Kent, the Abbot. 26.
Walden, Bened. Eſſex the Bpp. Suffr. of Colcheſter, Commend. 28. *March.*

Almoſt all theſe Abbies were above the value of two hundred pound, ſo that they were not within the Statute for ſuppreſſing the leſſer Abbies, but the Abbots were prevailed on by other Motives to ſurrender their Houſes to the King.

Regni 30.

Batle, Bened. Suſſex, the Abbot and 16 Monks. 27. *May.*
Thurgarton, Auguſt. Yorkſh. the Prior and 8 Frat. 14. *June.*
Buſhliſham, Bened. Berkſh. the Abbot and 15 Monks. 19.
Axiholm, Carthuſ. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 8 Monks. 23.
Rupa, Ciſterc. Yorkſh. the Abbot and 17 Monks. 23.
Walbeck, Præmonſt. Nottingſh. the Abbot and 18 Mon. 20.
Huntington Cannons, Aug. the Prior and 8 Cannons. 11. *July.*
Lincoln, Gilbertines the Prior, and 15 Monks. 14.
Feverſham, Cluniac. Kent, the Abbot and 8 Monks. 8.
Bordeſley, Ciſterc. Worceſtſh. the Abbot and 19 Monks. 17.
Cumbermore, Auguſt. Cheſh. the Abbot. 27.
St. Auſtins, Canterb. Bened. the Abbot and 30 Monks. 30.
St. James, Northamptonſh. Bened. the Abbot Elect and 5 Monks. 25. *Auguſt.*
Fordham, Gilbertines, Cambridgſh. the Prior and 3 Frat. 1. *September.*
Chateras, Black-Nuns, Cambridgſh. the Abbeſs & 10 Nuns. 3.
Val-royal, Cheſh. the Abbot and 14 Monks. 7.
Croxton, Premonſt. Leiceſterſh. the Abbot and 22 Mon. 8.
Haughmond, Cannons, Shropſh. the Abbot and 10 Mon. 9.
Tudburry, Bened. Staffordſh. the Prior and 8 Monks. 14.
De-la-pray, no Subſcriptions, only the Common Seal. 16.
Roſtiter, Auguſt. Staffordſh. the Abbot and 8 Monks. 16.
Crockeſden, Ciſterc. Staffordſh. the Abbot & 12 Mon. 17.
Hilton, Ciſterc. Staffordſh. the Abbot and 8 Monks. 18.
Semperingham, * Gilbertines, the Prior and 8 Monks. 18.
Sulby, Præmonſt. Northamptſh. the Abbot and 11 Mon. 20.
Haberholm, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 6 Cann. 24.
Betleſden, Ciſterc. Bedfordſh. Abbot and 11 Monks. 25.
Cately, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Prior. 25.
Bolington, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 9 Monks. 26.
Thelsford, the Holy Trinity, Warwickſh. Prior & 3 Mon. 26.
Sixhill, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Commend. and 8 Monks. 27.
Thetford, Auguſt. Norfolk, the Prior. 27.
Alvinghame, Gilb. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 27 Monks. 29.
Ormesby, Gilb. the Prior and 6 Frat. 30.
Linn Carmelites, The Prior and 10 Fra.
Linn Dominicans, The Prior and 11 Fra. Norfolk. 30.
Linn Auguſt. The Prior and 14 Fra.

* *In the Houſes of this Order there were Cloiſters for both Sexes. St.* Gilbert *Lord of* Semperingham *founded it; the Bpp. of* Landaff *was at this time Commendator of the whole Order.*

Linn,

Linn, Franciſc. the Warden and 9 Frat. 1. *October.*
Aileſbury, Franciſc. Buckinghamſh. the Warden & 6 Frat. 1.
Coventry, Carm. Warwickſh. the Prior and 13 Frat. 1.
Newſtead Gilb. the Prior and 5 Monks. 2.
Matterſey, Gilb. the Prior and 4 Monks. 3.
Coventry, Franc. Warden and 10 Frat. 5.
Marmond, Cannons, Cambridgſh. the Prior and 1 Monk. 5.
Stamford, Auguſt. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 5 Frat. 6
Stamford, Dominic. the Prior and 9 Frat. 7.
Grinſbey, Franciſc. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 5 Frat. 9.
Miraval, Ciſterc. Warwickſh. the Abbot and 9 Monks. 13.
Shouldham, Gilb. Norfolk, the Prior, 9 Monks, 7 Nuns. 15.
Braywood, Black-Nuns, Staffordſh. the Prioreſs. 16.
Lilleſhull, Auguſt. Shropſh. the Abbot and 10 Monks. 16.
Stafford, Auguſt. the Prior and 5 Monks. 16.
Northampton, Dominic. the Prior and 7 Frat. 16.
Northallerton, Carmel. Yorkſh. the Prior and 9 Frat. 17.
Warwick, Dominic. the Prior and 6 Frat. 20.
Northampton, Carmel. the Prior and 8 Frat. 20.
Weatheral, Dominic. Cumberland, the Prior. 20.
Chickſand, Gilb. Bedfordſh. the Prior, 6 Monks, 18 Nuns, 22.
Darley, Auguſt. Derbyſh. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 22.
Dale, Premonſt. Derbyſh. the Abbot and 16 Monks. 24.
Repton, Auguſt. Derbyſh. the Subprior and 8 Monks. 25.
Grace-dieu, Auguſt. Nuns, Leiceſterſh. the Prioreſs. 27.
Northampton, Franciſc. the Warden and 10 Frat. 28.
Northampton, Auguſt. the Prior and 9 Frat. 28.
Mallen Nuns, Kent, the Abbeſs and 10 Nuns. 29.
Bardeny, Bened. Lincolnſh. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 1. *November*
Barnwell, Auguſt. Can. Cambridgſh. the Prior and 6 Monks. 8.
Leiceſter, Franciſ. the Warden and 7 Frat. 10.
Dominic. the Prior. 10.
Auguſt. the Prior. 10.
London, Dominic. the Bp of Rocheſt. Commend. & 15 Frat. 10.
Auguſt. the Prior and 12 Frat. 12.
Franciſ. the Warden and 25 Frat. 12.
Croſs-Friers, 6 Frat. 13.
Doncaſter, Carm. Yorkſh. the Prior and 6 Friers. 13.
Werkſop, Auguſt. Notting.ſh. the Prior and 15 Friers. 14.
Pipewell—Lincolnſh. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 15.
Wigemore—Herefordſh. the Commend. and 10 Friers. 18.
York, Auguſt. the Prior and 7 Friers. 18.
Doncaſter. Franciſc. Guardian, 6 Friers, 3 Novices. 20.
Monkbreton, Bened. Yorkſh. the Prior and 13 Monks. 21.
St. Helens London, a Nunnery, no hands, only the Seal. 25.
Pomfret, Dominic. Yorkſh. the Prior, 7 Friers, 1 Novice. 26.
York, Carmel. the Prior, 9 Friers, 3 Novices. 27.
Franciſ. the Guardian, 15 Friers, 3 Novices. 27.
Dominic. the Prior, 6 Friers, 4 Novices. 27.
Gilbertines, the Prior, 3 Monks. 28.
Auguſt. the Prior, 9 Friers, 4 Novices. 28.

Bellalanda, Ciſterc. Yorkſh. the Abbot and 24 Monks. 30. *November.*
Dunnington, the Order of the Trinity, Berkſh. the Miniſter. 30.
Ryeval, Ciſterc. Yorkſh. the Abbot and 23 Monks. 3. *December.*
St. Albans, Bened. Herfordſh. the Abbot and 37 Monks. 5.
Anſham, Bened. Oxfordſh. the Prior and 8 Monks. 4.
Kirkham, Auguſt. Yorkſh. the Prior and 17 Friers. 8.
Notely—Yorkſh. the Abbot and 17 Monks. 9.
Ellerton, Gilber. Yorkſh. the Prior and 4 Friers. 11.
York, the H. Trin. the Miniſter and 10 Prieſts.
Yarom, Dominic. the Prior, and 5 Friers, 6 Novices.
Darby, Dominic. the Prior and 5 Friers. 3. *January.*
Semperingham, Gilber. the Commend. and 3 Monks. 6.
Newcaſtle, Franciſ. the Warden, with 8 Friers, & 2 Novices. 9.
Newcaſtle, Auguſt. 9.
Newcaſtle, Dominic. the Prior and 12 Friers. 10.
Newcaſtle, Carmel. the Prior, 7 Friars, and 2 Novices. 10.
Walknell, Newcaſtle, H. Trin. the Prior. 10.
Tinmouth, Bened. Northumberl. Prior, 15 Prebend. 3. Nov. 12.
Warwick, Bened. the Prior and 12 Monks. 15.
Coventry, Carthuſ. the Prior and 7 Monks. 16.
York, Auguſt. the Prior and 17 Fellows. 17.
Bredneſtock, Wiltſh. the Prior and 13 Monks. 18.
Richmond, Yorkſh. Franciſ. the Prior and 14 Friers. 19.
Lacock, Wiltſh. Nunnery, the Abbeſs. 21.
Combe, Warwickſh. Ciſterc. the *quondam* Abbot, 13 Monks. 21.
Keniſham, Sommer.ſh. Auguſt. the Abbot and 10 Monks. 23.
Bolton, Yorkſh. Auguſt. the Prior and 14 Friers. 29.
Cockerſand, Lank.ſh. Premonſ. the Abbot and 22 Monks. 29.
Pollſworth, Warwickſh. Nunnery, no Hands, only the Seal. 31.
Nottingham, Carmel. the Prior and 6 Friers. 5. *February.*
Franciſ. the Prior and 7 Friers. 5.
Athelny, Sommer.ſh. Bened. the Abbot and 8 Monks. 8.
Taunton, Sommer.ſh. Auguſt. the Prior and 12 Monks. 10.
Buckland, Sommer.ſh. Nunnery, the Prioreſs. 10.
Dunkeſwell, Sommer.ſh. Ciſterc. 12.
Polleſlow, Devonſh. Nunnery, the Prioreſs. 14.
Witham, Sommer.ſh. Carthuſ. the Prior and 12 Monks. 15.
Buſhſham, Devonſh. 19.
Cannonleigh, Devonſh. Nunnery, no Hands but the Seal. 19.
Hartland, Devonſh. Auguſt. the Abbot and 4 Monks. 21.
Torry, Premonſt. Devonſh. the Abbot and 15 Monks. 23.
Launceſton, Cornwal, Auguſt. the Prior and 8 Monks. 24.
Buckfaſt, Devonſh. Ciſter. the Abbot with 10 Monks. 25.
Buckland, Devonſh. Ciſter. the Abbot. 27.
Bodmyn, Cornwal, Auguſt. the Prior and 8 Monks. 27.
Edingdon, Wiltſh. Auguſt. the Rector and 12 Monks. 28.
Plimptone, Canons, Auguſt. Devonſh. the Prior & 18 Monks. 1. *March.*
St. Germans, Can. Aug. Cornwal, the Prior and 7 Monks. 2.
Ford, Ciſter. Devon. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 8.
Midleton, Bened. Devonſh. Abbot & Bp. Suff. of Shaftſ. 12 Mo. 11.
Abbots-bury, Bened. Dorſetſh. the Prior and 10 Monks. 12.

Tarent

Tarent, Nunnery, Dorſetſh. the Abbeſs and 18 Nuns. 13.
Bindon, Ciſterc. Dorſetſh. the Abbot and 7 Monks. 14.
Cerne, Bened. Dorſetſh. the Abbot and 16 Monks. 15.
Sherburne, Bened. Dorſetſh. the Abbot and 16 Monks. 18. *March.*
Montecute, Cluniac. Sommerſh. the Abbot and 13 Monks. 20.
Tavenſtock, Bened. Sommerſh. the Abbot and 20 Monks. 20.
Shaftſbury Nunnery, Dorſetſh. the Abbeſs. 23.
Willton Nunnery, Wiltſh. the Abbeſs. 25.
Hinton, Carthuſ. Sommerſetſh. the Prior and 19 Monks. 31.
Brutton Cannons-Auguſt. Sõmerſh. the Abbot & 14 Monks. 1. *April.*
Hide, Bened. Hampſh. Bp. Bangor Commend. and 21 Mon. in *April*, but no date.

Without date there are four.

Franciſcans Cambr. the Guardian and 23 Frat.
Dominicans Cambr. the Prior and 15 Fr.
Thetford Dominic. the Prior.
Sancta Maria de Pratis, the Abbot and 19 Monks.

Hoſpitals reſigned this Year.

St. Thomas Southwark, the Maſter and one Brother. 25. *July.*
St. John Wells, the Maſter and 3 Brothers. 3. *February.*
Bridgwater, the Maſter and 7 Brothers. 3.
St. John Exon, the Maſter and 2 Brothers. 20.

All the former Reſignations have the Covent Seals put to them, except thoſe of ſome few Houſes of Begging Friars, which perhaps had no Seals; they are alſo enrolled in the 1ſt, 2d, 3d, and 5th Clauſ. Rolls of that Year. There are likewiſe ſome few more enrolled, of which the Originals are loſt, which follow.

Hales-Owen, Premonſt. Sallop. the Abbot. 9. *June.*
Clattercott. Gilbert. the Prior. 22. *Auguſt.*
Bedford, Franciſ. the Warden. 3. *October.*
Stamford, Franciſ. the Warden. 8.
Derleyghs, Ciſterc. Staffordſh. the Abbot. 20.
Pipeldeth, Ciſterc. Northamſh. the Abbot. 5. *November.*
De-la-pray Nunnery, Northamſh. the Abbeſs. 16. *December.*
Northallerton. Carmel. Yorkſh. the Prior. 20.
Pulton Gilbert. the Prior. 16. *January.*
Newburg, Auguſt. Yorkſh. 22.
Bath Cathedral, Bened. 27.
Bruſyard Nunnery, Suffolk, the Abbeſs. 17. *February.*
Newham, Ciſterc. Devonſh. the Abbot. 8. *March.*

Here follow the Reſignations made in the 31 Year of the King's Reign, of which the Originals are yet extant.

Kimme Can. Auguſt. Lincolnſh. the Prior and 9 Monks. 6. *July.*
Bevoll Carthuſ. Notting.ſh. the Prior and 7 Monks. 8.
Irthforth Nunnery, Lincolnſh. the Prioreſs and 17 Nuns. 9.
Nuncotton Nunnery, Yorkſh. without Subſcriptions. 11.
Hynings Nunnery, Lincolnſh. no Subſcriptions. 11.
Foſſe Nunnery, Lincolnſh. the Prioreſs. 11.
Newſtead Premonſt. Notting.ſh. the Prior and 11 Monks. 21.
St. Oſith. Can. Auguſt. Eſſex. the Abbot and 16 Monks. 28.
Eliſtu Nunnery, Bedfordſh. the Abbeſs. 26. *Auguſt.*
Hamond, a Cõmiſſion to the Bp. of Cheſter to take the Surrender of it. 31.
Swine Nunnery, Yorkſh. no Subſcriptions. 3. *September.*
Haughmond Can. Auguſt. Sallop. the Abbot and 10 Mon. 9.
Nunnkeling Nunnery, Yorkſh. no Subſcription but the Seal. 10.
Nunniton Nunnery, the Prioreſs, 27 Croſſes for Subſcript. 12.
Ulneſcroft, Lieceſterſh. the Prior and 11 Friers. 15.
Marrick Nunnery, Yorkſh. the Prioreſs. 15.
Burnham Nunnery, Bucks, the Abbeſs and 9 Nuns. 19.
St. Bartholomew Smithfield, the Prior. 25. *October.*
Edmundſbury Bened. Suffolk, the Abbot and 44 Monks. 4. *November.*
A Commiſſion for the ſurrender of St. Allborrough, Cheſh. 7.
Berkin Nunnery, Eſſex, the Abbeſs. 14.
* *What this See was I cannot conjecture.* Tame, Oxfordſh. Bp. *Reonen. and 16 Monks. 16.
Oſney, *ibid. id.* and 12 Monks. 17.
Godſtow Nunnery, Oxfordſh. ſubſcribed by a Notary. 17.
Studley Nunnery, Oxfordſh. ſigned as the former. 19.
Thelsford, Norfolk, the Prior and 13 Monks. 16. *February.*
Weſtminſter Bened. the Abbot and 27 Monks. 16. *January.*
A Commiſſion to the Arch-Bpp. of Canterb. for taking the Surrender of Chriſt's-Church Canterb. } 20. *March.*
And another for the ſurrender of Rocheſter, both dated }
Waltham Benedict. Eſſex, the Abbot and 17 Monks. 23.
St. Mary Watte, Gilber. Bpp. of Landaffe Commend. 8 Friers and 14 Nuns.

There is alſo in the Augmentation-Office, a Book concerning the Reſignations and Suppreſſions of the following Monaſteries.

St. Swithins Wincheſter. 15. *November.*
St. Mary Wincheſter. 17.
Wherewell, Hampſhire. 21.
Chriſt's Church, Twinham, the Commendator thereof is called *Epiſcopus Neopolitanus.* 28.
Winchelcomb. 3. *December.*
Ambroſe Bury. 4.
St. Auſtins, near Briſtol. 9.

Billerſwick,

Billeſſwick, near Briſtol.	9. *December.*
Malmeſbury.	15.
Cirenceſter.	19.
Hales.	24.
St. Peter's, Gloceſter.	2. *January.*
Teukſbury.	9.

There are alſo ſeveral other Deeds enrolled, which follow.

St. Mary-Overhay, in Southwark.	14. *October.*
St. Michael, near Kingſton upon Hull, Carthuſ.	9. *November.*
Burton upon Trent. Staffordſh.	14.
Hampol Nunnery, Yorkſh.	19.
St. Oſwald, Yorkſh.	20.
Kirkſtall, Yorkſh.	22.
Pomfret, Yorkſh.	23.
Kirkelles, Yorkſh.	24.
Ardyngton, Yorkſh.	26.
Fountains, Yorkſh.	26.
St. Mary York.	29.
St. Leonard York.	1. *December.*
Nunnapleton Nunnery, Yorkſh.	5.
St. Gelmans Selbe, Yorkſh.	6.
Melſey, Yorkſh.	11.
Malton, Yorkſh.	11.
Whitby, Yorkſh.	14.
Albalanda, Northumb.	18.
Montgraſſe Carthuſ. Yorkſh.	18.
Alnewick Premonſtrat. Northumb.	22.
Giſburne Auguſt. Yorkſh.	22.
Newſhame, Dunelme.	29.
St. Cuthberts Cathedral of Dureſme.	31.
St. Bartholomew Nunnery, in Newcaſtle.	3. *January.*
Egleliſton, Richmondſh.	5.
St. Mary Carlile, Cumber.	9.
Hoppa Premonſt. Weſtmorland.	14.
St. Werburg. Cheſter.	20.
St. Mary Cheſter, a Nunnery.	21.
St. Peters Shrewſbury.	24.
St. Milburg Winlock, Salop.	26.

Section IV.

IT ſeems there was generally a Confeſſion made with the Surrender: Of theſe ſome few are yet extant, though undoubtedly great care was taken to deſtroy as many as could be in Queen *Mary*'s time. That long and full one made by the Prior of St. *Andrews* in *Northampton*, the Preamble whereof is printed by *Fuller*, and is at large printed by *Weaver*, is yet preſerved in the Augmentation-Office. There are ſome few more alſo extant, ſix of theſe I have ſeen, one of them follows.

For-

FOraſmuch as we *Richard Green*, Abbot of our Monaſtery of our Bleſſed Lady St. *Mary* of *Betleſden*, and the Convent of the ſaid Monaſtery, do profoundly conſider, That the whole manner and trade of living, which we and our pretenſed Religion have practiſed, and uſed many days, does moſt principally conſiſt in certain dumb Ceremonies, and other certain Conſtitutions of the Biſhops of *Rome*, and other Forinſecal Potentates, as the Abbot of *Ciſtins*, and therein only noſeled, and not taught in the true knowledg of God's Laws, procuring always Exemptions of the Biſhops of *Rome* from our Ordinaries and Dioceſans: ſubmitting our ſelves principally to Forinſecal Potentates and Powers, which never came here to reform ſuch diſorders of living and abuſes, as now have been found to have reigned amongſt us. And therefore now aſſuredly knowing, that the moſt perfect way of living, is moſt principally and ſufficiently declared unto us by our Maſter Chriſt, his Evangeliſts and Apoſtles, and that it is moſt expedient for us to be governed and ordered by our Supream Head, under God, the King's moſt noble Grace, with our mutual aſſent and conſent, ſubmit our ſelves, and every one of us, to the moſt benign Mercy of the King's Majeſty; and by theſe preſents do ſurrender, *&c.*

The Surrender follows in common form, Signed by the Abbot, Subprior, and 9 Monks, 25. *Septemb.* Regni 30.

There are others to the ſame purpoſe Signed by the Guardian and ſeven Franciſcans at *Aliſbury*, the 1ſt of *October*. By the Franciſcans at *Bedford* the 3d of *October*. The Franciſcans in *Coventry* the 5th of *October*. And the Franciſcans in *Stamford* the 8th of *October*. And the Carmelites in *Stamford* on the ſame day, which I ſhall alſo inſert, the former four agreeing to it.

FOraſmuch as we the Prior and Friers of this Houſe of *Carmelites* in *Stamford*, commonly called the White Friers in *Stamford*, in the County of *Lincoln*, do profoundly conſider that the perfection of Chriſtian living doth not conſiſt in ſome Ceremonies, wearing of a white Coat, diſguiſing our ſelves after ſtrange faſhions, dockying and becking, wearing Scapulars and Hoods, and other-like Papiſtical Ceremonies, wherein we have been moſt principally practiſed and noſeled in times paſt; but the very true way to pleaſe God, and to live a true Chriſtian Man, without all hypocriſy and feigned diſſimulation, is ſincerely declared to us by our Maſter Chriſt, his Evangeliſts, and Apoſtles; being minded hereafter to follow the ſame, conforming our ſelf to the Will and Pleaſure of our Supream Head, under God, on Earth, the King's Majeſty; and not to follow henceforth, the ſuperſtitious Traditions of any Forinſecal Potentate or Power, with mutual aſſent and conſent, do ſubmit our ſelves unto the Mercy of our ſaid Sovereign Lord, and with the like mutual aſſent and conſent do ſurrender, *&c.*

Signed by the Prior and 6 Friers.

Section V.

Of the manner of ſuppreſſing the Monaſteries after they were Surrendred.

THE Reader will beſt underſtand this by the following account of the Suppreſſion of the Monaſtery of *Teuksbury*, copied from a Book that is in the Augmentation-Office, which begins thus:

THE Certificate of *Robert Southwell* Eſquire, *William Petre*, *Edward Kairne*, and *John London*, Doctors of Law; *John Ap-rice*, *John Kingſman*, *Richard Paulet*, and *William Bernars*, Eſquires, Commiſſioners aſſigned by the King's Majeſty, to take the Surrenders of divers Monaſteries, by force of his Grace's Commiſſion to them, 6, 5, 4, or 3 of them, in that behalf directed; bearing date at his Highneſs's Palace of *Weſtminſter*, the *7th* day of *Novemb.* in the 31 year of the Reign of our moſt dread Sovereign Lord *Henry* the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth immediately under Chriſt Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, of all and ſingular their Proceedings, as well in and of theſe Monaſteries by his Majeſty appointed to be altered, as of others to be diſſolved, according to the tenour, purport, and effect of his Graces ſaid Commiſſion; with Inſtructions to them likewiſe delivered, as hereafter enſueth.

Com. *Gloceſter.*

Teuksbury late Monaſtery	Surrendred to the uſe of the King's Majeſty, and of his Heirs and Succeſſors for ever made; bearing date under the Covent-Seal of the ſame late Monaſtery, the *9th* day of *January*, in the 31 year of the Reign of our moſt dread victorious Sovereign Lord, King *Henry* the Eighth: and the ſaid day and year clearly diſſolved and ſuppreſſed.			
The clear yearly value of all the Poſſeſſions belonging to ſaid late Monaſtery.	As well Spiritual as Temporal, over and beſides 136 *l.* 8 *s.* 1 *d.* in Fees, Annuities, and Cuſtodies, granted to divers Perſons by Letters Patents under the Covent-Seal of the ſaid late Monaſtery for term of their lives.	*l.*	*s.*	*d.*
		1595	15	06

Penſions

		l.	*s.*	*d.*	
Penſions aſſigned to the late Religious diſpatched; that is to ſay, to	*John Wich*, late Abbot there	266	13	04	551 06 08
	John Beley late Prior there	16	00	00	
	J. Bromeſgrove late Prior of *Delehurſt*	13	06	08	
	Robert Circeſter Prior of St. *James*	13	06	08	
	Will. Didcote Prior of *Cranborne*	10	00	00	
	Robert Cheltenhem B. D.	10	00	00	
	Two Monks 8 *l.* a piece	16	00	00	
	One Monk	07	00	00	
	27 Monks 6 *l.* 13 *s.* 4 *d.* each	180	00	00	
		l.	*s.*	*d.*	
	And ſo remains clear	1044	08	10	

Records and Evidences Belonging to the late Monaſtery: Remains in the Treaſury there under the Cuſtody of *John Whittington* Kt. the Keys whereof being delivered to *Richard Paulet* Receiver.

Houſes and Buildings aſſigned to remain undefaced. The Lodging called the *Newark*, leading from the Gate to the late Abbots Lodging, with Buttery, Pantry, Cellar, Kitching, Larder, and Paſtry thereto adjoining. The late Abbot's Lodging, the Hoſtery, the great Gate entring into the Court, with the Lodging over the ſame; the Abbot's Stable, Bakehouſe, Brewhouſe and Slaughterhouſe, the Almry, Barn, Derryhouſe, the great Barn next *Aven*, the Maltinghouſe, with the Garnees in the ſame, the Oxhouſe in the Barton, the Barton-gate, and the Lodging over the ſame. — Committed to the cuſtody of *John Whittington* Knight.

Deemed to be ſuperfluous. The Church, with Chappels, Cloiſter, Chapter-houſe, Miſericord, the two Dormitories, the Infirmary, with Chappels and Lodgings within the ſame; the Work-hay, with another Houſe adjoining to the ſame, the Covent-Kitching, the Library, the old Hoſteory, the Chamberers Lodging, the new-Hall, the old Parlor adjoining to the Abbot's Lodging; the Cellarers Lodging, the Poultry-houſe, the Gardner, the Almary, and all other Houſes and Lodgings not above reſerved. — Committed as above-ſaid.

Leads remaining upon The Quire, Iles, and Chappels annext the Cloiſter Chapter-houſer, Frater, St. *Michaels* Chappel, Halls, Fermory, and Gate-houſe, eſteemed to — 180 Poder.

Bells remaining In the Steeple there are eight poize by eſtimation — 14600 weight.

Jewels

Jewels reſerved to the uſe of the King's Majeſty. — Miters garniſhed with gilt, rugged Pearls, and counterfeit Stones. — 2.

Plate of Silver reſerved to the ſame uſe.

Silver gilt	329 ounces,	1431.
Silver parcel gilt	605 ounces.	
Silver white	497 ounces.	

Ornaments reſerved to the ſaid uſe. — One Cope of Silver Tiſſue, with one Cleſible, and one Tunicle of the ſame; one Cope of Gold Tiſſue, with one Cleſ. and two Tunicles of the ſame.

Sum of all the Ornaments, Goods, and Chattels belonging to the ſaid late Monaſtery. — Sold by the ſaid Commiſſioners, as in a particular Book of Sales thereof made ready to be ſhewed, as more at large may appear.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
	194	08	00

Payments to the late Religious & Servants diſpatcht:

To 38 late Religious Perſons of the ſaid late Monaſtery of the King's Mat. reward.	80	13	04
To an 144 late Servants of the ſaid late Monaſtery, for their Wages and Liveries.	75	10	00

Payments for debts owing by the ſaid late Monaſtery, — To divers Perſons for Victuals and Neceſſaries of them had to the uſe of the ſaid Monaſtery, with 10 *l.* paied to the late Abbot there, for and in full paiment of 124 *l.* 5 *s.* 4 *d.* by him to be paid to certain Creditors of the ſaid late Monaſtery, by Covenants made with the aforeſaid Commiſſioners. — 18 12 00

And ſo remains clear — 19 12 08

Then follows a Liſt of ſome ſmall Debts owing to and by the ſaid Monaſtery.

Then follows a Liſt of the Livings in their Gift.

Com. *Gloceſt.* } Four Parſonages and 10 Vicarages.

Com. *Wigorn.* } Two Parſonages and 2. Vicarages.

Com. *Warwic.* } Two Parſonages.

Com. *Will.* *Briſtol.*	} Five Parſonages and 1 Vicarage,	
Com. *Wilts.*	} oo	2 Vicar.
Com. *Oxon.*	} One Parſ. and 2 Vicar.	
Com. *Dorſ.*	} Four Parſ. and 2 Vicar.	
Com. *Sommerſ.*	} Three Parſ.	
Com. *Devon.*	} oo	1 Vicar.
Com. *Corub.*	} oo	2 Vicar.
Com. *Glamorg.* and *Morgan.*	} oo	5 Vicar.

In all 21 Parſonages and 27 Vicarages.

IV. *Queen* Ann Boleyn's *laſt letter to King* Henry.

SIR,

Cotton Libr. *Otho* C.10.

YOur Grace's diſpleaſure, and my Impriſonment, are things ſo ſtrange unto me, as what to write, or what to excuſe, I am altogether ignorant. Whereas you ſend unto me (willing me to confeſs a Truth, and ſo obtain your favour) by ſuch an one whom you know to be mine ancient profeſſed Enemy. I no ſooner received this Meſſage by him, than I rightly conceived your meaning; and as if, as you ſay, confeſſing a Truth indeed may procure my ſafety, I ſhall with all willingneſs and duty perform your Command.

But let not your Grace ever imagine that your poor Wife will ever be brought to acknowledg a Fault, where not ſo much as a thought thereof preceded. And to ſpeak a Truth, never Prince had Wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true affection, than you have ever found in *Ann Boleyn*, with which Name and Place I could willingly have contented my ſelf, if God, and your Grace's pleaſure had been ſo pleaſed. Neither did I at any time ſo far forget my ſelf in my Exaltation, or received Queenſhip, but that I always looked for ſuch an alteration as now I find; for the ground of my preferment being on no ſurer Foundation than your Grace's Fancy, the leaſt alteration, I knew, was fit and ſufficient to draw that Fancy to ſome other Subject. You have choſen me, from a low eſtate, to be your Queen and Companion, far beyond my deſert or deſire. If then you found me worthy of ſuch honour, Good your Grace let not any light Fancy, or bad counſel of mine Enemies, withdraw your Princely Favour from me; neither let that Stain, that unworthy ſtain of a diſloyal heart towards your good Grace, ever caſt ſo foul a blot on your moſt dutiful Wife, and the

Infant

Infant-Princeſs your Daughter: Try me, good King, but let me have a lawful Trial, and let not my ſworn Enemies ſit as my Accuſers and Judges; yea, let me receive an open Trial, for my Truth ſhall fear no open ſhame; then ſhall you ſee, either mine innocency cleared, your ſuſpicion and Conſcience ſatisfied, the ignominy and ſlander of the World ſtopped, or my Guilt openly declared. So that whatſoever God or you may determine of me, your Grace may be freed from an open cenſure; and mine Offence being ſo lawfully proved, your Grace is at liberty, both before God and Man, not only to execute worthy puniſhment on me as an unlawful Wife, but to follow your Affection, already ſetled, on that Party, for whoſe ſake I am now as I am, whoſe Name I could ſome good while ſince have pointed unto: your Grace being not ignorant of my ſuſpicion therein.

But if you have already determined of me, and that not only my Death, but an infamous ſlander muſt bring you the enjoying of your deſired happineſs; then I deſire of God, that he will pardon your great ſin therein, and likewiſe mine Enemies, the Inſtruments thereof; and that he will not call you to a ſtrict account for your unprincely and cruel uſage of me, at his General Judgment-Seat, where both you and my ſelf muſt ſhortly appear, and in whoſe Judgment I doubt not (whatſoever the World may think of me) mine Innocence ſhall be openly known, and ſufficiently cleared.

My laſt and only requeſt ſhall be, That my ſelf may only bear the burthen of your Grace's diſpleaſure, and that it may not touch the innocent Souls of thoſe poor Gentlemen, who (as I underſtand) are likewiſe in ſtrait Impriſonment for my ſake. If ever I have found favour in your ſight, if ever the Name of *Ann Boleyn* hath been pleaſing in your ears, then let me obtain this requeſt; and I will ſo leave to trouble your Grace any further, with mine earneſt Prayers to the Trinity to have your Grace in his good keeping, and to direct you in all your Actions. From my doleful Priſon in the *Tower* this *6th* of *May*.

Your moſt Loyal and ever

Faithful Wife,

Ann Boleyn.

V. *The Judgment of the Convocation concerning General-Councils. Publiſhed by the L.* Herbert *from the Original.*

AS concerning General-Councils, like-as we (taught by long experience) do perfectly know that there never was, nor is, any thing deviſed, invented, or inſtituted by our Fore-Fathers, more expedient or more neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of our Faith; for the extirpation of Hereſies, and the aboliſhing of Sects and Schiſms; and finally, for the reducing of Chriſt's People unto one perfect unity and concord in his Religion, than by the having of General-Councils. So

that the ſame be lawfully had and congregated in *Spiritu Sancto*, and be alſo conform and agreeable, as well concerning the ſurety and indifferency of the Places, as all other Points requiſite and neceſſary for the ſame, unto that wholſome and godly Inſtitution and uſage, for the which they were at firſt deviſed and uſed in the Primitive Church. Even ſo on the other ſide, taught by like experience, we eſteem, repute, and judg, That there is, ne can be any thing in the World more peſtilent and pernicious to the Common-weal of Chriſtendom, or whereby the Truth of God's Word hath in times paſt, or hereafter may be ſooner defaced or ſubverted, or whereof hath and may enſue more contention, more diſcord and other deviliſh effects, than when ſuch General Councils have or ſhall be aſſembled, not chriſtianly nor charitably, but for and upon private malice and ambition, or other worldly and carnal Reſpects and Conſiderations, according to the ſaying of *Gregory Nazianzenus*, in his Epiſtle to one *Procopius*, wherein he writeth this Sentence following; *Sic ſentio, ſi verum ſcribendum eſt, omnes Conventus Epiſcoporum fugiendos eſſe, quia nullius Synodi finem vidi bonum, neque habentem magis ſolutionem malorum, quam incrementum: Nam cupiditates contentionum, & gloria (ſed ne putes me odioſum iſta ſcribentem) vincunt rationem.* That is to ſay; "I think this, if I ſhould write truly, That all General "Councils be to be eſchewed, for I never ſaw that they produced any "good End or Effect, nor that any Proviſion or Remedy, but rather "increaſe of Miſchiefs proceeded of them. For the deſire of maintenance of Men's Opinions and ambition of Glory (but reckon not that "I write this of malice) hath always in them overcomed reaſon. Wherefore we think that Chriſtian Princes, eſpecially and above all things, ought and muſt, with all their wills, power, and diligence, foreſee and provide; *Ne Sanctiſſima hac in parte majorum Inſtituta, ad improbiſſimos ambitionis aut malitiæ effectus explendos, diverſiſſimo ſuo fine & ſceleratiſſimo pervertantur: Neve ad alium prætextum poſſint valere, & longe diverſum effectum orbi producere quam Sanctiſſima rei facies præ ſe ferat.* That is to ſay, "Leaſt the moſt noble wholſome Inſtitutions of our Elders in this behalf be, perverted to a moſt contrary and moſt wicked "end and effect; that is to ſay, to fulfil and ſatisfy the wicked affections of Men's Ambition and Malice; or, leſt they might prevail for any "other colour, or bring forth any other effect than their moſt vertuous "and laudable countenance doth outwardly to the World ſhew or pre"tend. And firſt of all we think that they ought principally to conſider who hath the Authority to call together a General Council. Secondly, Whether the Cauſes alledged be ſo weighty and ſo urgent, that neceſſarily they require a General Council, nor can otherwiſe be remedied. Thirdly, Who ought to be Judges in the General Council. Fourthly, What order of proceeding is to be obſerved in the ſame, and how the Opinions or Judgments of the Fathers are to be conſulted or asked. Fifthly, What Doctrines are to be allowed or defended, with diverſe other things which in General Councils ought of reaſon and equity to be obſerved. And as unto the firſt Point, We think that neither the Biſhop of *Rome*, nor any one Prince, of what eſtate, degree, or preheminence ſoever he be, may by his own Authority, call, indite, or ſummon any General Council without the expreſs conſent, aſſent, and agreement of the reſidue of Chriſtian Princes, and eſpecially ſuch as have

have within their own Realms and Seigniories,* *Imperium merum*, that is to ſay, of ſuch as have the whole, intire, and ſupream Government and Authority over all their Subjects, without knowledging or recognizing of any other ſupream Power or Authority. And this to be true, we be induced to think, by many and ſundry, as well Examples as great Reaſons and Authority. The which, foraſmuch as it ſhould be over-long and tedious to expreſs here particularly, we have thought good to omit the ſame for this preſent. And in witneſs that this is our plain and determinate Sentence, Opinion, and Judgment, touching the Premiſſes, we the Prelates and Clergy under-written, being congregate together in the Convocation of the Province of *Canterbury*, and repreſenting the whole Clergy of the ſame, here to theſe Preſents ſubſcribed our Names the 20*th* of *July*, in the Year of our Lord, 1536. 28. *Hen.* 8.

Signed by

Thomas Cromwel, Thomas Cantuarienſis, Johannes London, with 13 Biſhops and of Abbots, Priors, Arch-Deacons, Deans, Proctors, Clerks, and other Miniſters 49.

There were then but 17 *Biſhops in the Province of* Canterbury, *and* Rocheſter *being vacant of the other* 16, 14 *did ſign this.*

VI. *Inſtructions for the King's Commiſſioners, for a new ſurvey, and an Inventory to be made of all the Demeſnes, Lands, Goods, and Chattels appertaining to any Houſe of Religion of Monks, Canons, and Nuns within their Commiſſion, according to the Articles hereafter following. The number of which Houſes in every County limited in their Commiſſion, being annexed to the ſaid Commiſſion.* *An Original.*

Henry R.

FIrſt; After the Diviſion made, one Auditor, one particular Receiver, one Clerk of the Regiſter of the laſt Viſitation, with three other diſcreet Perſons to be named by the King in every County where any ſuch Houſes be; after their repair to ſuch Houſe, ſhall declare to the Governour, and Religious Perſons of the ſame, the Statute of Diſſolution, the Commiſſion, and the cauſe and purpoſe of their repair for that time. Ex MSS. *Nob.* D. G. *Pierpoint.*

Item; That after the Declaration made, the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall ſwear the Governors of the Houſes, or ſuch other the Officers of the ſame Houſe, or other, as ye ſhall think can beſt declare the ſtate and plight of the ſame, to make declaration and anſwer to the Articles there under-written.

Item; Of what Order, Rule, or Religion, the ſame Houſe is, and whether it be a Cell or not; and if it be a Cell, then the Commiſſioners to deliver to the Governours of the Houſe a Privy Seal, and alſo to injoin him, in the King's Name, under a great pain, to appear without delay before the Chancellor of the Augmentations of the Revenues of

the

the King's Crown and the Council; and in the mean time not to meddle with the ſame Cell, till the King's pleaſure be further known.

Item; What number of Perſons of Religion be in the ſame, and the converſation of their lives, and how many of them be Prieſts, and how many of them will go to other Houſes of that Religion; or how many will take Capacities; and how many Servants or Hinds the ſame Houſe keepeth commonly, and what other Perſons have their living in the ſame Houſe.

Item; To ſurvey the quantity or value of the Lead and Bells of the ſame Houſe, as near as they can, with the ruin, decay, ſtate, and plight of the ſame.

Item; Incontinently to call for the Covent-Seal, with all Writings and Charters, Evidences and Muniments concerning any of the Poſſeſſions to be delivered to them, and put the ſame in ſure keeping, and to take a juſt Inventory betwixt them and the Governour, or other Head-Officer, by Indenture, of the Ornaments, Plate, Jewels, Chattels, ready Mony, Stuff of Houſhold, Coin, as well ſigned as not ſigned, Stock and Store in the Farmor's hands, and the value thereof, as near as they can, which were appertaining to the ſame Houſes the firſt day of *March* laſt paſt; and what debts the Houſe doth owe, and to what Perſon; and what Debts be owing to them, and by whom.

Item; After, to cauſe the Covent, or Common-Seal, the Plate, Jewels, and ready Mony, to be put in ſafe keeping, and the reſidue of the Particulars ſpecified in the Inventory, to be left in the keeping of the Governor, or ſome other Head-Officer, without waſting or conſumption of the ſame, unleſs it be for neceſſary expence of the Houſe.

Item; That they command the Governor, or other receiver of the ſame Houſe, to receive no Rents of their Farms until they know further of the King's pleaſure, except ſuch Rents as muſt needs be had for their neceſſary Food or Suſtenance, or for payment of their Servants Wages.

Item; To ſurvey diſcreetly the Demeſnes of the ſame Houſe; that is to ſay, ſuch as have not been commonly uſed to be letten out, and to certifie the clear yearly value thereof.

Item; To examine the true yearly value of all the Farms of the ſame Houſe, deducting thereof Rents reſerved, Penſions and Portions paied out of the ſame, Synodals, and proxies; Bailiffs, Receivers, Stewards, and Auditors Fees, and the Names of them to whom they be paied and due, and to none other.

Item; What Leaſes hath been made to any Farmer, of the Farms pertaining to the ſame Houſe; and what Rent they reſerved, and to whom, and for how many years, and a Copy of the Indenture if they can get it, or elſe the Counter-pane.

Item; To ſearch and enquire what Woods, Parks, Forreſts, Commons, or other Profit belonging to any of the Poſſeſſions of the ſame Houſes, the Number of the Acres, the Age and Value, as near as they can.

Item; What Grants, Bargains, Sales, Gifts, Alienations, Leaſes of any Lands, Tenements, Woods, or Offices, hath been made by any the ſaid Governors, of any of the ſaid Houſes, within one Year next before

the

the 4*th* day of *February* laſt paſt, and of what things, or to what value, and to whom, and for what eſtate.

Item; If there be any Houſe of the Religion aforeſaid omitted and not certified in the *Exchequer*, then the ſaid Commiſſioners to ſurvey the ſame, and to make Certificate accordingly.

Item; That they ſtraitly command every Governor of every ſuch Houſe limited in their Commiſſion, to Sow and Till their Grounds as they have done before, till the King's pleaſure be further known.

Item; If there be any Houſe given by the King to any Perſon, in any of the ſaid ſeveral Limits of the ſaid Commiſſion, the Names whereof ſhall be declared to the ſaid Commiſſioners, Then the ſaid Commiſſioners ſhall immediately take the Covent from the Governor, and take an Inventory indented of the Lead, Bells, Debts, Goods, Chattels, Plate, Jewels, Ornaments, Stock and Store, to the King's uſe; and to make ſale of the Goods, Chattels, and other Implements, Plate and Jewels only excepted.

Item; The ſaid Commiſſioners in every ſuch Houſe, to ſend ſuch of the Religious Perſons that will remain in the ſame Religion, to ſome other great Houſe of that Religion, by their diſcretion, with a Letter to a Governor for the receipt of them; And the reſidue of them that will go to the World, to ſend them to my Lord of *Canterbury*, and the Lord Chancellor for their Capacities, with the Letter of the ſame Commiſſioners.

Item; The ſaid Commiſſioners to give the ſaid Perſons that will have Capacities, ſome reaſonable Rewards, according to the diſtance of the place, by their diſcretions to be appointed.

Item; The ſaid Commiſſioners to command the Governour to reſort to the Chancellor of the Augmentation for his yearly Stipend and Penſion.

Item; If there be any Houſe diſſolved or given up to the King by their Deed, then the Commiſſioners ſhall order themſelves in every point and purpoſe, as the Houſes given by the King to any other Perſon in form aforeſaid.

Item; Every of the ſaid Commiſſioners having in charge to ſurvey more than one Shire within the Limits of their Commiſſion, immediately after they have peruſed one Shire, parcel of their Charge, in form aforeſaid, ſhall ſend to the Chancellour of the Court for the Augmentation of the Revenues of the King's Crown, a brief Certificate of all theſe Comperts, according to the Inſtructions aforeſaid, what they have done in the Premiſſes, and in every County ſo ſurveighed, then to proceed further to another County; and ſo as they paſs the ſaid Counties to make like Certificate, and ſo forth, till their Limits be ſurveighed, and there to remain till they know further of the King's pleaſure.

Item; If the ſaid Commiſſioners have but one County in charge, then to certifie the ſaid Chancellor in form aforeſaid, and there to remain till they know further of the King's pleaſure.

VII. *Injunctions given by the Authority of the King's Highneſs to the Clergy of this Realm.*

Regiſter, *Craum*, fol. 47.

IN the Name of God, Amen. In the Year of our Lord God one thouſand five hundred thirty ſix, and of the moſt noble Reign of our Sovereign Lord, *Henry* the Eighth, King of *England* and *France*, the 28 Year, and the day of I *Thomas Cromwel* Knight, Lord *Cromwel*, Keeper of the Privy-Seal of our ſaid Sovereign Lord, the King, and Vicegerent unto the ſame, for and concerning all his Juriſdictions Eccleſiaſtical within the Realm, viſiting by the King's Highneſs's Supream Authority Eccleſiaſtical, the People and Clergy of this Deanery of by my truſty Commiſſary lawfully deputed and conſtitute for this part, have, to the glory of Almighty God, to the King's Highneſs's honour, the publick Weal of this his Realm, and encreaſe of Vertue in the ſame, appointed and aſſigned theſe Injunctions enſuing to be kept and obſerved, of the Dean, Parſons, Vicars, Curates, and Stipendaries, reſiant or having cure of Soul, or any other Spiritual Adminiſtrations within this Deanery, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

The firſt is; That the Dean, Parſons, Vicars, and other, having cure of Soul any-where within this Deanery, ſhall faithfully keep and obſerve, and as far as in them may lie, ſhall cauſe to be obſerved and kept of other, all and ſingular Laws and Statutes of this Realm, made for the aboliſhing and extirpation of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s pretenſed and uſurped Power and Juriſdiction within this Realm. And for the eſtabliſhment and confirmation of the King's Authority and Juriſdiction of the ſame, as of the Supream Head of the Church of *England*; and ſhall, to the uttermoſt of their Wit, Knowledg, and Learning, purely, ſincerely, and without any colour or diſſimulation, declare, manifeſt, and open, for the ſpace of one quarter of a year next enſuing, once every *Sunday*, and after that at the leaſt-wiſe twice every quarter, in their Sermons and other Collations, that the Biſhop of *Rome*'s uſurped Power and Juriſdiction, having no eſtabliſhment nor ground by the Law of God, was of moſt juſt cauſes taken away and aboliſhed; and therefore they owe unto him no manner of obedience or ſubjection; and that the King's Power is within his Dominion the higheſt Power and Potentate, under God, to whom all Men within the ſame Dominions, by God's Commandment, owe moſt loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other Powers and Potentates in Earth.

Item; Whereas certain Articles were lately deviſed and put forth by the King's Highneſs's Authority, and condeſcended upon by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation, whereof part are neceſſary to be holden and believed for our Salvation, and the other part do concern and teach certain laudable Ceremonies, Rites, and Uſages of the Church, meet and convenient to be kept and uſed for a decent and politick order in the ſame; the ſaid Dean, Parſons, Vicars, and other Curats, ſhall ſo open and declare in their ſaid Sermons, and other Collations,

Collations, the ſaid Articles unto them that be under their Cure, that they may plainly know and diſcern which of them be neceſſary to be believed and obſerved for their Salvation, and which be not neceſſary, but only do concern the decent and politick order of the ſaid Church: according to ſuch Commandment and Admonition as hath been given unto them heretofore, by Authority of the King's Highneſs in that behalf.

Moreover, That they ſhall declare unto all ſuch as be under their Cure, the Articles likewiſe deviſed, put forth, and authorized of late, for and concerning the abrogation of certain ſuperfluous Holy-days, according to the effect and purport of the ſame Articles: and perſwade their Pariſhioners to keep and obſerve the ſame inviolable, as things honeſty provided, decreed, and eſtabliſhed, by common conſent, and publick Authority, for the Weal, Commodity, and Profit of all this Realm.

Beſides this, to the intent that all Superſtition and Hypocriſie, crept into divers Mens hearts may vaniſh away, they ſhall not ſet forth or extol any Images, Reliques, or Miracles, for any ſuperſtition or lucre; nor allure the People by any inticements to the pilgrimages of any Saint, otherwiſe than is permitted in the Articles lately put forth by the Authority of the King's Majeſty, and condeſcended upon by the Prelates and Clergy of this his Realm in Convocation; as though it were proper or peculiar to that Saint to give this Commodity, or that: ſeeing all Goodneſs, Health, and Grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very Author of the ſame, and of none other, for without him it cannot be given: But they ſhall exhort, as well their Pariſhioners as other Pilgrims, that they do rather apply themſelves to the keeping of God's Commandments, and fulfilling of his Works of Charity; perſwading them that they ſhall pleaſe God more by the true exerciſing of their bodily Labour, Travail, or Occupation, and providing for their Families, than if they went about to the ſaid Pilgrimages; and that it ſhall profit more their Souls health, if they do beſtow that on the Poor and Needy, which they would have beſtowed upon the ſaid Images or Reliques.

Alſo in the ſame their Sermons, and other Collations, the Parſons, Vicars, and other Curats, aforeſaid, ſhall diligently admoniſh the Fathers and Mothers, Maſters and Governors of Youth, being within their Cure, to teach, or cauſe to be taught, their Children and Servants, even from their Infancy, their *Pater Noſter*, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments, in their Mother Tongue: And the ſame ſo taught, ſhall cauſe the ſaid Youth oft to repeat and underſtand. And to the intent that this may be the more eaſily done, the ſaid Curats ſhall, in their Sermons, deliberately and plainly recite of the ſaid *Pater Noſter*, the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments, one Clauſe or Article one day, and an other another day, till thoſe be taught and learnt by little; and ſhall deliver the ſame in writing, or ſhew where printed Books containing the ſame be to be ſold, to them that can read or will deſire the ſame. And thereto that the ſaid Fathers and Mothers,

Maſters and Governors, do beſtow their Children and Servants, even from their Childhood, either to Learning, or ſome other honeſt Exerciſe, Occupation, or Huſbandry: exhorting, counſelling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their ſaid Sermons and Collations, as otherwiſe, perſwading the ſaid Fathers, Mothers, Maſters, and other Governors, being under their Cure and Charge, diligently to provide and foreſee that the ſaid Youth be in no manner-wiſe kept or brought up in idleneſs, leſt at any time afterwards they be driven, for lack of ſome Myſtery or Occupation to live by, to fall to begging, ſtealing, or ſome other unthriftineſs; foraſmuch as we may daily ſee, through ſloth and idleneſs, divers valiant Men fall, ſome to begging, and ſome to theft and murder; which after brought to calamity and miſery, impute a great part thereof to their Friends and Governors, which ſuffered them to be brought up ſo idely in their Youth; where if they had been well educated and brought up in ſome good Literature, Occupation, or Myſtery, they ſhould, being Rulers of their own Family, have profited, as well themſelves as divers other Perſons, to the great commodity and ornament of the Common-weal.

Alſo, that the ſaid Parſons, Vicars, and other Curats, ſhall diligently provide that the Sacraments and Sacramentals be duly and reverently miniſtred in their Pariſhes; and if at any time it hapned them, either in any of the Caſes expreſſed in the Statutes of this Realm, or of ſpecial licenſe given by the King's Majeſty to be abſent from their Benefices, they ſhall leave their Cure, not to a rude and unlearned Perſon, but to an honeſt, well-learned, and expert Curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their Cure wholſome Doctrine, and reduce them to the right way that do err; and always let them ſee, that neither they, nor their Vicars, do ſeek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the Souls that they have under their Cure, or the Glory of God.

Alſo, the ſaid Dean, Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and other Prieſts, ſhall in no wiſe, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cauſe, than for their honeſt neceſſity, haunt or reſort to any Taverns or Ale-houſes; And after their Dinner and Supper, they ſhall not give themſelves to Drinking or Riot, ſpending their time idely, by Day or by Night, at Tables or Cards-playing, or any other unlawful Game; but at ſuch times as they ſhall have ſuch leiſure, they ſhall read or hear ſomewhat of Holy Scripture, or ſhall occupy themſelves with ſome other honeſt Exerciſe; and that they alway do thoſe things which appertain to good congruence and honeſty, with profit of the Common-weal, having always in mind, That they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and ſhould be examples to all other to live well and chriſtianly.

Furthermore; Becauſe the Goods of the Church are called the Goods of the Poor, and at theſe days nothing is leſs ſeen than the Poor to be ſuſtained with the ſame; all Parſons, Vicars, Penſionaries, Prebendaries, and other Beneficed Men within the Deanery, not being reſident upon their Benefices, which may diſpend yearly 20 *l.* or above within this Deanry, or elſewhere, ſhall diſtribute hereafter yearly amongſt their

their poor Pariſhioners, or other Inhabitants there, in the preſence of the Church-Wardens, or ſome other honeſt Men of the Pariſh, the fortieth part of the Fruits and Revenues of the ſaid Benefices: leſt they be worthily noted of Ingratitude; which reſerving ſo many parts to themſelves, cannot vouchſafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof amongſt the poor People of that Pariſh, that is ſo fruitful and profitable unto them.

And to the intent that Learned Men may hereafter ſpring the more for the execution of the Premiſſes; Every Parſon, Vicar, Clerk, or beneficed Man within this Deanry, having yearly to diſpend in Benefices, and other promotions of the Church, an 100 *l.* ſhall give competent exhibition to one Scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may diſpend, to ſo many Scholars more, ſhall give like exhibition in the Univerſity of *Oxford* or *Cambridg*, or ſome Grammer-School; which after they have profited in good Learning, may be Partners of their Patrons Cure and Charge, as well in preaching as otherwiſe, in the execution of their Offices; or may, when need ſhall be, otherwiſe profit the Common-Wealth with their Counſel and Wiſdom.

Alſo, that all Parſons, Vicars, and Clerks, having Churches, Chappels, or Manſions within this Deanry, ſhall beſtow yearly hereafter upon the ſame Manſions, or Chancels of their Churches being in decay, the fifth part of their Benefices till they be fully repaired; and the ſame ſo repaired, ſhall always keep and maintain in good ſtate.

All which and ſingular Injunctions ſhall be inviolably obſerved of the ſaid Dean, Parſons, Vicars, Curats, Stipendiaries, and other Clerks and beneficed Men, under the pain of ſuſpenſion and ſequeſtration of the Fruits of their Benefices, until they have done their duty according to theſe Injunctions.

VIII. Cromwel's *Letter to* Shaxton, *Biſhop of* Sarum, *taken from a Copy writ by his Secretary.*

MY Lord, after hearty Commendations, I cannot but both much marvel that you whom I have taken as mine truſty Friend, ſhould judg me, as I perceive by your Letters you do, and alſo be glad that ye ſo frankly utter your Stomach to me. I would thank you for your plain writing and free monitions, ſaving that you ſeem fuller of ſuſpition than it becometh a Prelate of your ſort to be: and (to ſay that maketh me more ſorry) much worſe perſwaded of me than I thought any of your Learning and Judgment could have been. I took a Matter out of your hands to mine, if upon conſiderations mine Office bind me to do ſo, what cauſe have ye to complain? if I had done this, either upon affection, or intending prejudice to your eſtimation, you might have expoſtulated with me; and yet if ye then had done it after a gentler ſort, I ſhould both ſooner have amended that I did amiſs, *Cott.* Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4.

and alſo have had better cauſe to judge your writing to me, to be of a friendly heart towards me. If ye be offended with my ſharp Letters, how can your teſty words (I had almoſt given them another Name) delight me? I required you to uſe no extremity in your Office, *durus eſt hic ſermo*, ye call it; and when ye have done, ye begin again, even as tho all being ſaid, all were ſtill behind. If ye have uſed none extremity, I am, I enſure you, as glad of it as I ought to be: And though ye do not, yet upon a complaint my Office bindeth me to ſuccour him that ſaith he is over-matched, and is compelled to ſuſtain wrong. I was thus informed, and by Perſons to whom I gave more credit than I intend to do hereafter, if they have abuſed me, as ye would make me believe they have. They thus complaining, could I do leſs than grant unto them ſuch Remedies as the King's Highneſs and his Laws give indifferently to all his Subjects? Might I not alſo ſomewhat gather, that ye proceeded the ſorer againſt the Reader, *Roger London*, when I had ſeen how much you deſired the preferment of your Servant to that Revenue? My Lord, you had ſhewed your ſelf of much more patience, I will not ſay of much more prudence, if ye had contented your ſelf with their lawful Appeal, and my lawful Injunctions; and rather have written ſomewhat fully to inſtruct us in this Matter, than thus to deſire to conquer me by ſhrewd words, to vanquiſh me by ſharp threp of Scripture, which as I know to uſe travel, ſo I truſt to God as great a Clerk as ye be, is done already. Thus out of their place, it becometh me not, neither yet I am wont to vaunt my ſelf of well-doing, I know who worketh all that is well wrought by me; and whereas he is the whole Doer, I intend not to offer him this wrong, to labour, and I to take the thanks; yet as I do not ceaſe to give thanks, that that it hath pleaſed his Goodneſs to uſe me as an Inſtrument, and to work ſomewhat by me, ſo I truſt I am as ready to ſerve him in my Calling, to my little power, as ye are preſt to write worſe of me than ye ought to think. My Prayer is, That God give me no longer life, than I ſhall be glad to uſe mine Office *in ædificationem*, and not *in deſtructionem*, as ye bear me in hand I do. God, ye ſay, will judg ſuch uſing of Authority, meaning flatly, that I do abuſe ſuch Power as hath pleaſed God and the King's Highneſs to ſet me in; God, I ſay, will judg ſuch Judges as ye are, and charge alſo ſuch thoughts as ye miſuſe: ye do not ſo well as I would ye ſhould do, if ye ſo think of me as your Letters make me think ye do. The Crime that ye charge me withal, is greater than I may or ought to bear, untruer, I truſt, than they that would faineſt, ſhall be able to prove. It is a ſtrange thing, you ſay, that I neither would write, nor ſend you word by mouth, what ye ſhould do with the Popiſh Monks of *Abington*; and that the Abbot of *Redding* could get ſtreight-way my Letters to inhibit your juſt doings: That was not my mind which I wrote, I did not intend to lett your juſt doings, but rather to require you to do juſtly; neither I was ſwift in granting my Letters to him, albeit I am much readier to help him that complains of wrong, than preſt to further on him that deſireth puniſhment of a Perſon whom I am not ſure hath offended. I made you no anſwer, a ſtrange thing! my Lord, I thought ye had better known my Buſineſs, than for ſuch a Matter to eſteem me not your Friend; you might have better judged that I was too much cumbred with other Affairs, that thoſe which

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ſued for the Abbot, could better eſpy their time than you could. Some Man will think it rather utter diſpleaſure conceived before, than that ye have any urgent occaſion here to misjudg my mind towards you. As concerning your Manor you muſt uſe your Priviledges as things lent unto you, ſo long as ye ſhall occupy them well, that is, according to the mind and pleaſure of them that gave you them. I took neither the Monk's Cauſe, nor any other, into my hands, to be a bearer of any ſuch whom their upright dealings is not able to bear. No, you know I think, that I love ſuch readers of Scripture as little as ye do: would God Men of your ſort were as diligent to ſee that in all their Dioceſſes good were made, as I am glad to remove things when I know them; if ye had taken even then but half the pains to ſend up ſuch things againſt him as ye now ſend, neither you ſhould have had cauſe, no nor occaſion thus eaſily to divine of my good or evil-will towards you, nor I have been cumbred with this anſwer. My Lord, I pray you, while I am your Friend, take me to be ſo; for if I were not, or if I knew any cauſe why I ought not, I would not be afraid to ſhow you what had alienated my mind from you; ſo you ſhould well perceive that my diſpleaſure ſhould laſt no longer than there were cauſe. I paſs over your *Nemo læditur niſi a ſeipſo*, I pray with you this firſt part, *Our Lord have pity upon me*; the other part is not in my Prayers, *That God ſhould turn my heart*, for he is my Judg, I may err in my doings for want of knowledg, but I willingly bear no miſdoers, I willingly hurt none whom honeſty and the King's Laws do not refuſe. Undo not you your ſelf, I intend nothing leſs than to work you any diſpleaſure. If hitherto I have ſhewed you any pleaſure, I am glad of it: I ſhowed it to your Qualities and not to you; if they tarry with you, my good-will cannot depart from you, except your Prayer be heard, that is, *My Heart be turned.* I aſſure you I am right-glad ye are in the place ye are in, and will do what ſhall lie in me to aid you in your Office, to maintain your Reputation, to give you credit among your Flock, and elſewhere; as long as I ſhall ſee you faithful to your Duty, according to your Calling. I will not become your good Lord, as your deſire is, I am and have been your Friend, and take you to be mine; caſt out vain ſuſpition, let raſh Judgment rule Men of leſs wit and diſcretion; wilfulneſs becometh all Men better than a Biſhop, which ſhould always teach us to lack gladly our own Will, becauſe you may not have your own Will. Here is *Chriſtus paup. facit & ditat, cum Dominus dedit & Dominus abſtulit*, to what purpoſe? *Sit nomen Domini benedictum*, can never lack his place, it becometh alwiſe in ſeaſon; or elſe as great a Divine as ye are, I would ſay, it were not the beſt Placed here, except you wiſt better, you had rather loſe all than any part of your will. I pray you teach Patience better in your Deeds, or elſe ſpeak as little of it as ye can. My Lord, you might have provoked an other in my place, that would have uſed leſs patience with you, finding ſo little in you; but I can take your Writings, and this Heat off your Stomach, even as well as I can, I truſt, beware of Flatterers. As for the Abbot of *Redding*, and his Monk, if I find them as ye ſay they are, I will order them as I ſhall think good; ye ſhall do well to do your Duty, if you ſo do, ye have no cauſe to miſtruſt my Friendſhip; if ye do not, I muſt tell it you, and that ſomewhat after the plaineſt ſort, To take a Cauſe out of your hands into mine,

mine, I do but mine Office, you meddle further than your Office will bear you, thus roughly to handle me for uſing of mine. If ye do ſo no more, I let paſs all that is paſt, and offer you ſuch kindneſs as ye ſhall lawfully deſire at my hands. Thus fare you well.

IX. The Sentence given out by Pope *Paul* the third, againſt King *Henry*.

Damnatio & Excommunicatio Henrici 8. *Regis* Angliæ, *ejuſque Fautorum & Complicum, cum aliarum pœnarum adjectione.*

Paulus *Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

Cherubini Bullarium, Tom. 2. pag. 704.

EJus qui immobilis permanens ſua providentia ordine mirabili dat cuncta moveri, diſponente clementia, vices, licet immeriti gerentes in terris, & in ſede juſtitiæ conſtituti, juxta prophetæ quoque Hieremiæ vaticinium dicentis: Ecce te conſtitui ſuper gentes & Regna, ut evellas & deſtruas, ædifices, plantes, præcipuum ſuper omnes Reges Univerſæ Terræ cunctoſq; populos obtinentes principatum: ac illum qui pius & miſericors eſt, & vindictam ei qui illam prævenit paratam temperat, nec quos impœnitentes videt ſevera ultione caſtigat, quin prius comminetur, in aſſidue autem peccantes & in peccatis perſeverantes, cum exceſſus miſericordiæ fines prætereunt, ut ſaltem metu pœnæ ad cor reverti cogantur, juſtitiæ vires exercet, imitantes; ex incumbenti nobis Apoſtolicæ ſollicitudinis ſtudio per-urgemur, ut cunctarum perſonarum noſtræ curæ cælitus commiſſarum ſalubri ſtatui ſolertius intendamus, ac erroribus & ſcandalis, quæ Hoſtis antiqui verſutia imminere conſpicimus, propenſius obviemus, exceſſuſq; & enormia ac ſcandaloſa crimina congrua ſeveritate coerceamus, & juxta Apoſtolum inobedientiam ovium promptius ulciſcendo, illorum perpetratores debita correctione ſic compeſcamus, quod eos Dei iram provocaſſe pœniteat, & ex hoc aliis exemplum cautelæ ſalutaris accedat.

Sane cum ſuperioribus diebus nobis relatum fuiſſet, quod Henricus Angliæ Rex, licet tempore Pontificatus fæl. record. Leonis Papæ X. Prædeceſſoris noſtri diverſorum hæreticorum Errores, ſæpe ab Apoſtolica Sede & Sacris Conciliis præteritis temporibus damnatos, & noviſſime noſtra ætate per perditionis alumnum Martinum Lutherum ſuſcitatos & innovatos, zelo Catholicæ Fidei, & erga dictam Sedem devotionis fervore inductus, non minus docte quam pie, per quendam librum per eum deſuper compoſitum, & eidem Leoni Prædeceſſori ut eum examinaret & approbaret oblatum, confutaſſet, ob quod ad eodem Leone Prædeceſſore ultra dicti libri, cum magna ipſius Henrici Regis laude & commendatione, approbationem, titulum Defenſoris Fidei reportaverit, a recta Fide & Apoſtolico tramite devians, ac propriæ ſalutis, famæ, & honoris

honoris immemor, poſtquam Chariſſima in Chriſto Filia noſtra Catharina Angliæ Regina illuſtri ſua progenie conjuge, cum qua publice in facie Eccleſiæ Matrimonium contraxerat, & per plures annos continuaverat, ac ex qua, dicto conſtante Matrimonio, prolem pluries ſuſceperat; nulla legitima ſubſiſtente cauſa, & contra Eccleſiæ prohibitionem dimiſſa, cum quadam Anna Bolena, Muliere Anglica, dicta Catharina adhuc vivente, de facto Matrimonium contraxerat, ad deteriora proſiliens, quaſdam leges ceu generales Conſtitutiones edere non erubuit, per quas ſubditos ſuos ad quoſdam hæreticos & ſchiſmaticos Articulos tenendos, inter quos & hoc erat quod Romanus Pontifex Caput Eccleſiæ, & Chriſti Vicarius non erat, & quod ipſe in Anglica Eccleſia ſupremum Caput exiſtebat, ſub gravibus etiam mortis pœnis cogebat. Et his non contentus, Diabolo ſacrilegii crimen ſuadente, quamplures Prælatos, etiam Epiſcopos, aliaſq; perſonas Eccleſiaſticas, etiam Regulares, necnon Sæculares, ſibi ut hæretico & ſchiſmatico adhærere, ac Articulos prædictos Sanctorum Patrum decretis & Sacrorum Conciliorum Statutis, imo etiam ipſi Evangelicæ veritati contrarios, tanquam tales alios damnatos approbare, & ſequi nolentes, & intrepide recuſantes, capi & carceribus mancipari. Hiſq; ſimiliter non contentus, mala malis accumulando, bonæ memoriæ Jo. H. S. Vitalis Preſbyt. Cardinal. Roſſen. quem ob fidei conſtantiam & vitæ Sanctimoniam ad Cardinalatus dignitatem promoveramus, cum dictis hæreſibus & erroribus conſentire noſſet, horenda immanitate & deteſtanda ſævitia, publice miſerabili ſupplicio tradi & decollari mandaverat, & fecerat, Excommunicationis, & Anathematis, aliaſq; graviſſimas ſententias, cenſuras, & pœnas in literis & conſtitutionibus recolendæ mem. Bonifacii VIII. Honorii III. Roman. Pontificum prædeceſſorum noſtrorum deſuper editis contentas, & alias in tales a jure latas damnabiliter incurrendo, ac Regno Angliæ, & dominiis quæ tenebat, necnon regalis faſtigii celſitudine ac præfati tituli prærogativa, & honore ſe indignum reddendo.

2. Nos licet ex eo, quod prout non ignorabamus, idem Henricus Rex certis cenſuris Eccleſiaſticis, quibus a piæ memoriæ Clemente Papa VII. etiam prædeceſſore noſtro, poſtquam humaniſſimis literis & paternis exhortationibus, multiſq; nunciis & mediis, primo & poſtremo etiam judicialiter, ut præfatam Annam a ſe dimitteret, & ad prædictæ Catharinæ ſuæ veræ Conjugis conſortium rediret, fruſtra monitus fuerat, innodatus extiterat, Pharaonis duritiam imitando, per longum tempus in clavium contemptum inſorduerat, & inſordeſcebat, quod ad cor rediret, vix ſperare poſſe videremus, ob paternam tamen Charitatem, qua in minoribus conſtituti donec in obedientia, & reverentia Sedis prædictæ permanſit, eum proſecuti fueramus, utq; clarius videre poſſemus, an clamor qui ad nos delatus fuerat, (quem certe etiam ipſius Henrici Regis reſpectu falſum eſſe deſideramus) verus eſſet, ſtatuimus ab ulteriori contra ipſum Henricum Regem proceſſu ad tempus abſtinendo, hujus rei veritatem diligentius indagare.

3. Cum autem debitis diligentiis deſuper factis clamorem ad nos, ut præfertur, delatum, verum eſſe, ſimulque, quod dolenter referimus, dictum Henricum Regem ita in profundum malorum deſcendiſſe, ut de ejus reſipiſcentia nulla penitus videatur ſpes haberi poſſe, repererimus: Nos attendentes vetere lege, crimen adulterii notatum lapidari mandatum, ac auctores Schiſmatis hauſtu terræ abſorptos, eorumq; ſequaces cœleſti

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igne conſumptos, Elimamq; Magum viis Domini reſiſtentem per Apoſtolum æterna ſeveritate damnatum fuiſſe, volenteſq; ne in diſtricto examine ipſius Henrici Regis & ſubditorum ſuorum, quos ſecum in perditionem trahere videmus, animarum ratio a nobis expoſcatur, quantum nobis ex alto conceditur, providere contra Henricum Regem, ejuſque complices, fautores, adhærentes, & ſequaces, & in præmiſſis quomodolibet culpabiles, contra quod ex eo quod exceſſus, & delicta prædicta adeo manifeſta ſunt & notoria, ut nulla poſſint tergiverſatione celari, abſq; ulteriori mora ad executionem procedere poſſemus, benignius agendo, decrevimus infraſcripto modo procedere.

4. Habita itaq; ſuper his cum venerabilibus fratribus noſtris S. R. E. Cardinalibus deliberatione matura, & de illorum conſilio & aſſenſu, præfatum Henricum Regem, ejuſq; complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores & ſequaces, ac quoſcunq; alios in præmiſſis, ceu eorum aliquo quoque modo culpabiles, tam laicos quam Clericos, etiam regulares cujuſcunq; dignitatis, ſtatus, gradus, ordinis, conditionis, præeminentiæ, & excellentiæ exiſtant, (quorum nomina & cognomina, perinde ac ſi præſentibus inſererentur, pro ſufficienter expreſſis haberi volumus) per viſcera miſericordiæ Dei noſtri hortamur, & requirimus in Domino, quatenus Henricus Rex a prædictis erroribus prorſus abſtineat, & conſtitutiones, ſeu leges prædictas, ſicut de facto eas fecit, revocet, caſſet, & annullet, & coactione ſubditorum ſuorum ad eas ſervandas, necnon carceratione, captura, & punitione illorum, qui ipſis conſtitutionibus ſeu legibus adhærere, aut eas ſervare noluerint, & ab aliis erroribus prædictis penitus, & omnino abſtineat, & ſi quos præmiſſorum occaſione captivos habeas, relaxet.

5. Complices vero, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces dicti Henrici Regis in præmiſſis, & circa ea ipſi Henrico Regi ſuper his de cætero non adſiſtant, nec adhæreant, vel faveant, nec ei conſilium, auxilium, vel favorem, deſuper præſtent.

6. Alias ſi Henricus Rex, ac fautores, adhærentes. conſultores, & ſequaces, hortationibus & requiſitionibus hujuſmodi non annuerint cum effectu, Henricum Regem, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores & ſequaces, ac alios culpabiles prædictos, auctoritate Apoſtolica, ac ex certa noſtra ſcientia, & de Apoſtolicæ poteſtatis plenitudine, tenore præſentium, in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ, ac ſub majoris Excommunicationis lata ſententia, a qua etiam prætextu cujuſcunq; privilegii, vel facultatis, etiam in forma confeſſionalis, cum quibuſcunq; efficaciſſimis clauſulis nobis & Sede prædicta quomodolibet conceſſis, & etiam iteratis vicibus innovatis, ab alio quam a Romano Pontifice, præterquam in mortis Articulo conſtituti, ita tamen, quod ſi aliquem abſolvi contingat, qui poſtmodum convaluerit, niſi poſt convaleſcentiam, monitioni & mandatis noſtris hujuſmodi paruerit cum effectu, in eandem Excommunicationis ſententiam reincidat, abſolvi non poſſint.

7. Necnon rebellionis, & quoad Henricum Regem, etiam perditionis Regni, & Dominiorum prædictorum, & tam quoad eum, quam quod alios monitos ſupradictos ſupra & infraſcriptis pœnis, quas ſi dictis monitioni & mandatis, ut præfertur, non paruerint, eos, & eorum ſingulos, ipſo facto reſpective incurrere volumus, per præſentes monemus; eiſq; & eorum cuilibet diſtricte præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus Henricus Rex per ſe, vel procuratorem legitimum & ſufficienti mandato ſuffultum,

fultum, infra nonaginta, complices vero, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces, ac alii in præmiſſis quomodolibet culpabiles ſupradicti, Sæculares & Eccleſiaſtici etiam regulares, perſonaliter infra ſexaginta dies compareant coram nobis, ad ſe ſuper præmiſſis legitime excuſandum & defendendum; alias videndum & audiendum contra eos & eorum ſingulos, etiam nominatim, quos ſic monemus, quatenus expediat, ad omnes & ſingulos, actus, etiam ſententiam definitivam, declaratoriam, condemnatoriam, & privatoriam, ac mandatum executivum procedi. Quod ſi Henricus Rex, & alii moniti prædicti intra dictos terminos eis ut præfertur, reſpective præfixos non comparuerint, & prædictam Excommunicationis ſententiam per tres dies, poſt lapſum dictorum terminorum animo, quod abſit, ſuſtinuerint indurato, cenſuras ipſas aggravamus, & ſucceſſive reaggravamus, Henricumq; ipſum, privationis Regni & Dominiorum prædictorum, & tam eum quam alios monitos prædictos, & eorum ſingulos, omnes & ſingulas alias pœnas prædictas incurriſſe, ab omnibuſq; Chriſti fidelibus, cum eorum bonis perpetuo diffidatos eſſe. Et ſi interim ab humanis decedat, Eccleſiaſtica debere carere ſepultura, auctoritate & poteſtatis plenitudine prædictis decernimus, & declaramus, eoſq; anathematis, maledictionis, & damnationis æternæ mucrone percutimus.

8. Necnon quæ præfatus Henricus Rex quomodolibet, & ex quavis cauſa tenet, habet, aut poſſidet, Quamdiu Henricus Rex, & alii moniti prædicti, & eorum ſinguli in aliis per dictum Henricum Regem non tentis, habitis, aut poſſeſſis permanſerint, & triduo poſt eorum inde receſſum, & alia quæcunq; ad quæ Henricum Regem, & alios monitos prædictos, poſt lapſum dictorum terminorum declinare contigerit, Dominia, civitates, terras, caſtra, villas, oppida, Metrapolitanaſque, & alias Cathedrales, cæteraſq; inferiores Eccleſias, necnon Monaſteria, Prioratus, Domos, Conventus, & loca religioſa, vel pia cujuſcunque, etiam S. Benedict. Cluniacen. Ciſtercien. Præmonſtraten. ac Prædicatorum, Minorum, Eremitarum S. Auguſtini Carmelitarum, & aliorum Ordinum, ac Congregationum, & Militiarum quaruncunq; in ipſis Dominiis, Civitatibus, terris, caſtris, villis, oppidis, & locis exiſtentia, Eccleſiaſtico ſupponimus Interdicto, ita ut illo durante in iis etiam prætextu cujuſcunque Apoſtolici indulti, Eccleſiis, Monaſteriis, Prioratibus, Domibus, Conventibus, locis, ordinibus, aut perſonis, etiam quacunq; dignitate fulgentibus conceſſi, præterquam in caſibus a jure permiſſis, ac etiam in illis alias quam clauſis januis, & Excommunicatis & interdictis excluſis, nequeant Miſſæ, aut alia divina officia celebrari.

9. Et Henrici Regis, complicumque, fautorum, adhærentium, conſultorum, ſequacium, & culpabilium prædictorum filii, pœnarum, ut hic in hoc caſu par eſt, participes ſint, omnes & ſingulos ejuſdem Henrici Regis ex dicta Anna, ac ſingulorum aliorum prædictorum filios natos, & naſcituros, alioſq; deſcendentes, uſq; in eum gradum, ad quem jura pœnas in caſibus hujuſmodi extendunt (nemine excepto, nullaq; minoris ætatis, aut ſexus, vel ignorantiæ, vel alterius cujuſvis cauſæ habita ratione) dignitatibus, & honoribus in quibus quomodolibet conſtituti exiſtunt, ſeu quibus gaudent, utuntur, potiuntur, aut muniti ſunt, necnon privilegiis, conceſſionibus, gratiis, indulgentiis, immunitatibus, remiſſionibus, libertatibus, & indultis, ac dominiis, civitatibus, caſtris, terris, villis, oppidis, & locis, etiam Commendatis, vel in Gubernium

conceſſis, & quæ in feudum, emphyteuſim, vel alias a Romanis, vel aliis Eccleſiis, Monaſteriis, & locis Eccleſiaſticis, ac ſecularibus Principibus, Dominiis, Potentatibus, etiam Regibus & Imperatoribus, aut aliis privatis, vel publicis perſonis quomodolibet habent, tenent, aut poſſident, cæteriſq; omnibus bonis, mobilibus & immobilibus, juribus & actionibus, eis quomodolibet competentibus privatos, dictaq; bona feudalia, vel emphyteutica, & alia quæcunq; ab aliis quomodolibet obtenta, ad directos dominos, ita ut de illis libere diſponere poſſint, reſpective devoluta, & eos qui Eccleſiaſtici fuerint, etiamſi religioſi exiſtant, Eccleſiis etiam Cathedralibus, & Metropolitanis, necnon Monaſteriis & Prioratibus, præpoſituris, præpoſitatibus, dignitatibus, perſonatibus, Officiis, Canonicatibus & Præbendis, aliiſq; beneficiis Eccleſiaſticis per eos quomodolibet obtentis privatos, & ad illa ac alia in poſterum obtinenda inhabiles eſſe, ſimiliter decernimus & declaramus; eoſq; ſic reſpective privatos ad illa, & alia quæcunq; ſimilia, ac dignitates, honores, adminiſtrationes, & officia, jura, ac feuda in poſterum obtinenda, auctoritate & ſcientia, ac plenitudine ſimilibus inhabilitamus.

10. Ipſiuſq; Henrici Regis, ac Regni omniumq; aliorum dominiorum, civitatum, terrarum, caſtrorum, villarum, fortalitiorum, arcium, oppidorum, & locorum ſuorum, etiam de facto obtentorum Magiſtratus, judices, Caſtellanos, Cuſtodes & Officiales quoſcunque, necnon Communitates, Univerſitates, Collegia, Feudatarios, vaſſallos, ſubditos, cives, incolas, & habitatores etiam forenſes, dicto Regi de facto obedientes, tam ſæculares, quam ſi qui rationis alicujus temporalitatis ipſum Henricum Regem in ſuperiorem recognoſcant, etiam Eccleſiaſticos, a præfato rege, ſeu ejus complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, conſultoribus, & ſequacibus ſupradictis deputatis, a juramento fidelitatis, jure vaſſallitico, & omni erga Regem, & alios prædictos ſubjectione abſolvimus, ac penitus liberamus. His nihilominus ſub Excommunicationis pœna mandantes, ut ab ejuſdem Henrici Regis, ſuorumq; officialium, judicum, & magiſtratuum quorumcunq; obedientia pœnitus & omnino recedant, nec illos in ſuperiores recognoſcant, neque illorum mandatis obtemperent.

11. Et ut alii eorum exemplo perterriti diſcant ab hujuſmodi exceſſibus abſtinere, eiſdem auctoritate, ſcientia, & plenitudine, volumus, ac decernimus, quod Henricus Rex & complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, ſequaces, & alii in præmiſſis culpabiles, poſtquam alias pœnas prædictas, ut præfertur, reſpective incurrerint, necnon præfati deſcendentes, ex tunc infames exiſtant, & ad teſtimonium non admittantur, teſtamenta, & codicillos, aut alias diſpoſitiones, etiam inter vivos concedere, & facere non poſſint, & ad alicujus ſucceſſionem ex teſtamento, vel ab inteſtato, necnon ad juriſdictionem, ſeu judicandi poteſtatem, & ad Notoriatus Officium, omneſq; actus legitimos quoſcunq; ita ut eorum proceſſus, ſive inſtrumenta atq; alii actus quicunque, nullius ſint roboris vel momenti, inhabiles exiſtant, & nulli ipſis, ſed ipſi aliis ſuper quocunque debito & negotio, tam civili, quam criminali, de jure reſpondere teneantur.

12. Et nihilominus omnes, & ſingulos Chriſti fideles, ſub Excommunicationis, & aliis infraſcriptis pœnis, monemus, ut monitos, Excommunicatos, aggravatos, interdictos, privatos, maledictos, & damnatos prædictos evitent, & quantum in eis eſt, & ab aliis evitari faciant,

faciant, nec cum eiſdem, ſeu præfati Regis Civitatum, Dominiorum, Terrarum, Caſtrorum, Comitatuum, Villarum, Fortalitiorum, Oppidorum, & locorum prædictorum civibus, incolis, vel habitatoribus aut ſubditis & vaſſallis, emendo, vendendo, permutando, aut quamcunque mercaturam, ſeu negotium exercendo, commercium, ſeu aliquam converſationem, ſeu communionem habeant: aut vinum, granum, ſal, ſeu alia victualia, arma, pannos, merces vel quaſvis alias mercantias, vel res per mare in eorum navibus, triremibus, aut aliis navigiis, ſive per terram cum mulis, vel aliis animalibus, deferre aut conducere, ſeu deferri aut conduci facere, vel delata per illos recipere, publice vel occulte, aut talia facientibus auxiliũ, conſiliũ, favorem publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis quæſito colore, per ſe, vel alium, ſeu alios quoquo modo præſtare præſumant. Quod ſi fecerint, ultra Excommunicationis prædictæ, etiam nullitatis contractuum quos inirent, necnon perditionis mercium, victualium, & bonorum omnium delatorum, quæ capientium fiant, pœnas ſimiliter eo ipſo incurrant.

13. Cæterum quia convenire non videtur, ut cum his qui Eccleſiam contemnunt, dum præſertim ex eorum pertinacia ſpes corrigibilitatis non habetur, hi qui divinis obſequiis vacant, converſentur; quod etiam illos tuto facere non poſſe dubitandum eſt, omnium & ſingularum Metropolitanarum & aliarum Cathedralium, cæterarumq; inferiorum Eccleſiarum & Monaſteriorum, domorum & locorum Religioſorum, & piorum quorumcumque, etiam S. Auguſtini, S. Benedicti, Cluniacen. Ciſtercien. Præmonſtraten. ac Prædicatorum, Minorum, Carmelitarum, aliorumque quorumcumq; ordinum, & Militiarum, etiam Hoſpitalis Hieroſolymitani, Prælatis, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Præceptoribus, Præpoſitis, Miniſtris, Cuſtodibus, Guardianis, Conventibus, Monachis & Canonicis, necnon Parochialium Eccleſiarum Rectoribus, aliiſq; quibuſcunq; perſonis Eccleſiaſticis in Regno & Dominiis prædictis commorantibus, ſub Excommunicationis ac privationis Adminiſtrationum & regiminum Monaſteriorum, dignitatum, perſonatuum, adminiſtrationum, ac officiorum, Canonicatuumque, & Præbendarum, Parochialium Eccleſiarum, & aliorum beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum quorumcumq; quomodolibet qualificatorum, per eos quomodolibet obtentorum, pœnis mandamus, quatenus infra quinq; dies, poſt omnes & ſingulos terminos prædictos elapſos, de ipſis Regno, & Dominiis, dimiſſis tamen aliquibus Preſbyteris in Eccleſiis quarum curam habuerint, pro adminiſtrando baptiſmate parvulis, & in pœnitentia decedentibus, ac aliis Sacramentis Eccleſiaſticis, quæ tempore Interdicti miniſtrari permittuntur, exeant & diſcedant, neque ad Regnum, & Dominia prædicta revertantur; donec moniti, & Excommunicati, aggravati, reaggravati, privati, maledicti, & damnati prædictis monitionibus, & mandatis noſtris hujuſmodi obtemperaverint, meruerint a cenſuris hujuſmodi abſolutionis beneficium obtinere, ſeu Interdictum in Regno, & Dominiis prædictis, fuerit ſublatum.

14. Præterea ſi præmiſſis non obſtantibus, Henricus Rex, Complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces prædicti in eorum pertinacia perſeveraverint, nec conſcientiæ ſtimulus eos ad cor reduxerit, in eorum fortę potentia, & armis confidentes, omnes & ſingulos Duces, Marchiones, Comites, & alios quoſcunq; tam Seculares, quam Eccleſiaſticos etiam forenſes, de facto dicto Henrico Regi obedientes, ſub ejuſdem Excommunicationis, ac perditionis bonorum ſuorum (quæ, ut infra dicitur, ſimiliter capientium fiant) pœnis, requirimus & monemus, quatenus

quatenus omni mora, & excuſatione poſtpoſita, eos, & eorum ſingulos, ac ipſorum milites & ſtipendiarios, tam equeſtres quam pedeſtres, alioſq; quoſcumque, qui eis cum armis faverint, de Regno & Dominiis prædictis, etiam vi armorum, ſi opus fuerit, expellant: ac quod Henricus Rex, & ejus complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces, mandatis noſtris non obtemperantes prædicti, de Civitatibus, Terris, Caſtris, Villis, Oppidis, Fortalitiis, aut aliis locis Regni & Dominii prædictorum ſe non intromittant, procurent: eis ſub omnibus & ſingulis pœnis prædictis inhibentes, ne in favorem Henrici, ejuſque complicum, fautorum, adhærentium, conſultorum, & ſequacium aliorumq; monitorum prædictorum, mandatis noſtris non obtemperantium, arma cujuſlibet generis offenſiva, vel defenſiva, Machinas quoq; bellicas, ſeu tormenta (artellarias nuncupata) ſumant aut teneant, ſeu illis utantur, aut armatos aliquos præter conſuetam familiam parent, aut ab Henrico Rege, complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, conſultoribus, & ſequacibus, vel aliis in Regis ipſius favorem paratos, quomodolibet, quavis occaſione vel cauſa, per ſe vel alium ſeu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte teneant, vel receptent, aut dicto Henrico Regi, ſeu illius complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, conſultoribus, & ſequacibus prædictis, conſilium, auxilium, vel quomodolibet ex quavis cauſa, vel quovis quæſito colore ſive ingenio, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expreſſe, per ſe vel alium ſeu alios præmiſſis, vel aliquo præmiſſorum præſtent, ſeu præſtari faciant quoquo modo.

15. Præterea ad dictum Henricum Regem facilius ad ſanitatem, & præfatæ Sedis obedientiam reducendum, omnes & ſingulos Chriſtianos Principes, quacumq; etiam Imperiali & Regali dignitate fulgentes, per viſcera miſericordiæ Dei noſtri (cujus cauſa agitur) hortamur & in Domino requirimus, eis nihilominus, qui Imperatore & Rege inferiores fuerint, quos propter excellentiam dignitatis a cenſuris excipimus, ſub Excommunicationis pœna mandantes, ne Henrico Regi ejuſq; complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, conſultoribus, & ſequacibus, vel eorum alicui, per ſe vel alium ſeu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expreſſe, etiam ſub prætextu confœderationum aut obligationum quocumq; etiam juramento, aut quavis alia firmitate roboratarum, & ſæpius geminatarum, a quibus quidem obligationibus & juramentis omnibus, nos eos & eorum ſingulos eiſdem auctoritate & ſcientia ac plenitudine per præſentes abſolvimus, ipſaſq; confœderationes & obligationes tam factas, quam in poſterum faciendas, quas tamen (in quantum Henricus Rex & complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces prædicti circa præmiſſa, vel eorum aliquod ſe directe vel indirecte juvare poſſent) ſub eadem pœna fieri prohibemus, nullius roboris vel momenti, nullaſque, irritas, caſſas, inanes, ac pro infectis habendas fore decernimus & declaramus, conſilium, auxilium, vel favorem quomodolibet præſtent, quinimo ſi qui illis, aut eorum alicui ad præſens quomodolibet aſſiſtant, ab ipſis omnino & cum affectu recedant. Quod ſi non fecerint poſtquam præſentes publicatæ & executioni demandatæ fuerint, & dicti termini lapſi fuerint, omnes & ſingulas civitates, terras, oppida, caſtra, villas, & alia loca eis ſubjecta, ſimili Eccleſiaſtico Interdicto ſupponimus, volentes ipſum Interdictum donec ipſi Principes a Conſilio, auxilio, & favore Henrico Regi & complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, conſultoribus & ſequacibus prædictis præſtando deſtiterint, perdurare.

16. Inſuper

16. Inſuper tam Principes prædictos, quam quoſcumq; alios, etiam ad ſtipendia quorumcumq; Chriſti fidelium militantes, & alias quaſcumq; perſonas, tam per mare, quam per terras, armigeros habentes, ſimiliter hortamur & requirimus, & nihilominus eis in virtute ſanctæ obedientiæ mandantes, quatenus contra Henricum Regem, complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces prædictos, dum in erroribus prædictis, ac adverſus Sedem prædictam, rebellione permanſerint, armis inſurgant, eoſq; & eorum ſingulos perſequantur, ac ad unitatem Eccleſiæ, & obedientiam dictæ Sedis redire cogant & compellant; & tam eos quam ipſorum ſubditos & vaſſallos, ac civitatum, terrarum, caſtrorum, oppidorum, villarum, & locorum ſuorum incolas, & habitatores, alioſque omnes & ſingulas perſonas ſupradictis mandatis noſtris, ut præfertur, non obtemperantes, & quæ præfatum Henricum Regem, poſtquam cenſuras, & pœnas prædictas incurrerit, in Dominum quomodolibet, etiam de facto recognoverint, vel ei quovis modo obtemperare præſumpſerint, aut qui eum, ac complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, ſequaces, ac alios non obtemperantes prædictos, ex Regno & Dominiis prædictis, ut præfertur, expellere noluerint, ubicunq; eos invenerint, eorumque bona, mobilia & immobilia, mercantias, pecunias, navigia, credita, res, & animalia, etiam extra territorium dicti Henrici Regis ubilibet conſiſtentia, capiant.

17. Nos enim eis bona, mercantias, pecunias, navigia, res, & animalia prædicta ſic capta, in proprios eorum uſus convertendi, eiſdem auctoritate, ſcientia, & poteſtatis plenitudine, plenariam licentiam, facultatem & auctoritatem concedimus, illa omnia ad eoſdem capientes plenarie pertinere, & ſpectare, & perſonas ex Regno & Dominiis prædictis originem trahentes, ſeu in illis domicilium habentes, aut quomodolibet habitantes, mandatis noſtris prædictis non obtemperantes, ubicunq; eos capi contigerit, capientium ſervos fieri decernentes: præſenteſq; literas quoad hoc ad omnes alios cujuſcunq; dignitatis, gradus, ſtatus, ordinis, vel conditionis fuerint, qui ipſi Henrico Regi, vel ejus complicibus, fautoribus, adhærentibus, conſultoribus, & ſequacibus, aut aliis monitionibus, & mandatis noſtris hujuſmodi quoad commercium non obtemperantibus, vel eorum alicui victualia, arma, vel pecunias ſubminiſtrare, aut cum eis commercium habere, ſeu auxilium, conſilium, vel favorem, per ſe vel alium, ſeu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, quovis modo contra tenorem præſentium præſtare præſumpſerint, extendentes.

18. Et ut præmiſſa facilius iis quos concernunt innoteſcant, univerſis & ſingulis Patriarchis, Archiepiſcopis, Epiſcopis, & Patriarchalium Metropolitan. & aliarum Cathedralium, & Collegiatarum Eccleſiarum Prælatis, Capitulis, aliiſq; perſonis Eccleſiaſticis, Sæcularibus ac quorumvis ordinum Regularibus, necnon omnibus & ſingulis, etiam mendicantium ordinum Profeſſoribus, exemptis & non exemptis, ubilibet conſtitutis, per eaſdem præſentes ſub Excommunicationis & privationis Eccleſiarum, Monaſteriorum, ac aliorum Beneficiorum Eccleſiaſticorum, graduum quoq; & officiorum, necnon privilegiorum, & indultorum quorumcumq; etiam a Sede prædicta quomodolibet emanatorum pœnis ipſo facto incurrendis, præcipimus & mandamus, quatenus ipſi ac eorum ſinguli, ſi, & poſtquam vigore præſentium deſuper requiſiti fuerint, infra tres dies immediate ſequentes, præfatum Henricum Regem, omneſq;

alios

alios & ſingulos, qui ſupradictas cenſuras & pœnas incurrerint, in eorum Eccleſiis, Dominicis & aliis feſtivis diebus, dum major inibi populi multitudo ad divina convenerit, cum Crucis vexillo, pulſatis campanis, & accenſis, ac demum extinctis, & in terram projectis, & conculcatis candelis, & aliis in ſimilibus ſervari ſolitis cæremoniis ſervatis, Excommunicatos publice nuncient, & ab aliis nuntiari, ac ab omnibus arctius evitari faciant & mandent, necnon ſub ſupradictis cenſuris & pœnis, præſentes literas, vel earum tranſumptum, ſub forma infraſcripta confectum, infra terminum trium dierum, poſtquam, ut præfertur, requiſiti fuerint, in Eccleſiis, Monaſteriis, Conventibus, & aliis eorum locis, publicari & affigi faciant.

19. Volentes, omnes & ſingulos cujuſcumq; ſtatus, gradus, conditionis, præeminentiæ, dignitatis, aut excellentiæ fuerint, qui quo minus præſentes literæ, vel earum tranſumpta, copiæ, ſeu exemplaria, in ſuis civitatibus, terris, caſtris, oppidis, villis, & locis legi & affigi, ac publicari poſſint, per ſe, vel alium, ſeu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte impediverint, eaſdem cenſuras & pœnas, ipſo facto incurrere. Et cum fraus & dolus nemini debeant patrocinari, ne quiſquam ex his, qui alicui regimini & adminiſtrationi deputati ſunt, infra tempus ſui regiminis ſeu adminiſtrationis prædictas ſententias, cenſuras & pœnas ſuſtineat, quaſi poſt dictum tempus ſententiis, cenſuris & pœnis prædictis amplius ligatus non exiſtat, quemcunq; qui dum in regimine, & adminiſtratione exiſtens, monitioni & mandato noſtris, quoad præmiſſa vel aliquid eorum obtemperare noluerit, etiam depoſito regimine, & adminiſtratione hujuſmodi, niſi paruerit, eiſdem cenſuris & pœnis ſubjacere decernimus.

20. Et ne Henricus Rex ejuſq; complices, & fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces, aliiq; quos præmiſſa concernunt, ignorantiam earundem præſentium literarum, & in eis contentorum prætendere valeant, literas ipſas (in quibus omnes & ſingulos, tam juris, quam facti, etiam ſolemnitatum, & proceſſuum, citationumq; ommiſſarum defectus, etiam ſi tales ſint, de quibus ſpecialis, & expreſſa mentio facienda eſſet, propter notorietatem facti, auctoritate, ſcientia, & poteſtatis plenitudine ſimilibus, ſupplemus) in Baſilicæ Principis Apoſtolorum, & Cancellariæ Apoſtolicæ de urbe, & in partibus in Collegiatæ B. Mariæ Burgen. Tornacen. & Parochialis de Dunikerke oppidorum Morinenſis diœceſis, Eccleſiarum valvis affigi, & publicari mandamus: Decernentes quod earundem literarum publicatio ſic facta, Henricum Regem, ejuſq; complices, fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces, omneſq; alios, & ſingulos quos literæ ipſæ quomodolibet concernunt, perinde eos arctent, ac ſi literæ ipſæ eis perſonaliter lectæ, & intimatæ fuiſſent, cum non ſit veriſimile, quod ea, quæ tam patenter fiunt, debeant apud eos incognita remanere.

21. Cæterum quia difficile foret præſentes literas ad ſingula quæque loca, ad quæ neceſſarium eſſet deferri, ſingula volumus & dicta auctoritate decernimus, quod earum tranſumptis manu publici Notarii confectis, vel in alma urbe impreſſis, ac ſigillo alicujus perſonæ in dignitate Eccleſiaſtica conſtitutæ munitis, ubiq; eadem fides adhibeatur, quæ originalibus adhiberetur, ſi eſſent exhibitæ vel oſtenſæ.

22. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtræ moſitionis, aggravationis, reaggravationis, declarationis, percuſſionis, ſuppoſitionis, inhabilitationis, abſolutionis, liberationis, requiſitionis, inhibi-

tionis,

tionis, hortationis, exceptionis, prohibitionis, conceſſionis, extenſionis, ſuppletionis, mandatorum, voluntatis, & decretorum, infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præſumpſerit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Marcum. Anno Incarnationis Domini 1535. 3 Kal. Sept. Pont. noſtri Anno 1.

Sequitur ſuſpenſio Executionis dictæ Bullæ, et tandem ejus revocatio, & Executio.

Paulus *Epiſcopus Servus Servorum Dei, ad perpetuam rei memoriam.*

CUm Redemptor noſter ideo illum qui ipſum negaverat, Petrum, viz. Univerſæ Eccleſiæ præficere voluerit, ut in ſua culpa diſceret aliis eſſe miſerendum, non immerito Romanus Pontifex qui ipſius Petri in dignitate Succeſſor exiſtit, debet etiam in Officio exercendæ miſericordiæ ipſius eſſe Succeſſor. Sed cum in eum dirigitur miſericordia, qui ex hoc ſit inſolentior, & obſtinatior, alioſq; ſecum trahit in perditionem, debet ipſe Romanus Pontifex, poſtpoſita in eum miſericordia, omnem ſeveritatem adhibere, quo membrum illud putridum ita a corpore ſeparetur, ut reliqua membra abſq; metu contagionis ſalva remaneant, præſertim cum pluribus curis adhibitis, & multo tempore in hoc conſumpto morbum quotidie magis invaleſcere, ipſa experientia comprobat.

1. Alias cum nobis relatum fuiſſet, quod Henricus Angliæ Rex, præter ea quæ Matrimonium de facto, & contra prohibitionem Eccleſiæ temerarie contractum concernebant, quaſdam leges, ſeu generales conſtitutiones ſubditos ſuos ad hæreſim, & ſchiſma trahentes ediderat, & bonæ memoriæ Joann. tit. Sancti Vitalis Preſbyterum Cardinalem Roffen. publice damnari & capite puniri, ac alios quamplures Prælatos, necnon alias perſonas Eccleſiaſt. Hæreſi & Schiſmati hujuſmodi adhærere nolentes, carceribus mancipari fecerat; Nos, licet illi qui talia nobis retulerant tales eſſent, ut nullo modo de veritate ſuorum dictorum ambigendum eſſet, cupientes tamen reſpectu ipſius Henrici Regis, quem antequam in has inſanias incideret, peculiari quadam charitate proſequebamur, prædicta falſa reperiri, de eis informationem ulteriorem habere procuravimus, & invenientes clamorem ad nos delatum verum eſſe, ne noſtro Officio deeſſemus, contra eum procedere decrevimus, juxta formam quarundam literarum noſtrarum, quarum tenor ſequitur. Et eſt talis, &c.

Omittitur inſertio, quia bulla ipſa eſt quæ præcedit.

2. Dum autem poſtea ad dictarum literarum executionem deveniendum eſſe ſtatuiſſemus, cum nobis per nonnullos principes, & alias inſignes perſonas perſuaderetur, ut ab executione hujuſmodi per aliquantum

tum temporis ſuperſederemus, ſpe nobis data, quod interim ipſe Henricus Rex ad cor rediret & reſipiſceret; nos qui, ut hominum natura fert, facile credebamus quod deſiderabamus, dictam executionem ſuſpendimus, ſperantes (ut ſpes nobis data erat) ex ipſa ſuſpenſione, correctionem & reſipiſcentiam, non autem pertinaciam & obſtinationem, ac majorem delirationem, ut rei effectus edocuit, proventuram.

3. Cum itaq; reſipiſcentia & Correctio hujuſmodi quam tribus fere annis expectavimus, non ſolum poſtea ſequuta non ſit, ſed ipſe Henricus Rex quotidie magis ſe in ſua feritate, ac temeritate confirmans, in nova etiam ſcelera proruperit, quippe cum non contentus vivorum Prælatorum & ſacerdotum crudeliſſima trucidatione, etiam in mortuos, & eos quidem quos in ſanctorum numerum relatos Univerſalis Eccleſia pluribus ſæculis venerata eſt, feritatem exercere non expavit, Divi enim Thomæ Cantuarien. Archiepiſcopi, cujus oſſa, quæ in dicto Regno Angliæ potiſſimum, ob innumera ab omnipotenti Deo illic perpetrata miracula, ſumma cum veneratione in arca aurea in Civitate Cantuarien. ſervabantur, poſtquam ipſum Divum Thomam, ad majorem Religionis contemptum, in judicium vocari, & tanquam contumacem damnari ac proditorem declarari fecerat, exhumari, & comburi, ac cineres in ventum ſpargi juſſit, omnem plane cunctarum gentium crudelitatem ſuperans, cum ne in bello quidem hoſtes victores ſævire in mortuorum cadavera ſoliti ſunt; adhæc omnia ex diverſorum Regum etiam Anglorum, & aliorum Principum liberalitate donaria, ipſi arcæ appenſa, quæ multa, & maximi pretii erant, ſibi uſurpavit, nec putans ex hoc ſatis injuriæ religionis intuliſſe, Monaſterium Divo illi Auguſtino, a quo Chriſtianam fidem Angli acceperunt, in dicta civitate dicatum, omnibus Theſauris, qui etiam multi & magni erant, ſpoliavit, & ſicut ſe in belluam tranſmutavit, ita etiam belluas quaſi ſocias ſuas honorare voluit, feras videlicet in dicto Monaſterio, expulſis Monachis, intromittendo, genus quidem ſceleris non modo Chriſti fidelibus, ſed etiam Turcis inauditum & abominandum.

4. Cum itaq; morbus iſte a nullo quantumvis peritiſſimo medico alia cura ſanari poſſit, quam putridi membri abſciſſione, nec valeret cura hujuſmodi, abſq; eo, quod nos apud Deum cauſam hanc noſtram efficiamus, ulterius retardari, ad dictarum literarum (quas ad hoc ut Henricus Rex, ejuſq; Complices, Fautores, adhærentes, conſultores, & ſequaces, etiam ſuper exceſſibus per eum noviſſime, ut præfertur, perpetratos, intra terminum eis, quoad alia, per alias noſtras literas prædictas reſpective præfixas, ſe excuſare, alias pœnis ipſis literis contentas incurrant, extendimus & ampliamus) publicationem, & deinde, Deo duce, ad executionem procedere omnino ſtatuimus. Et quia a fide dignis accepimus, quod ſi ipſarum & præſentium literarum publicatio Diep Rothomagen. vel Boloniæ Ambianen. Diœc. Oppidis in Franciæ, aut Civitate Sancti Andreæ, ſeu in Oppido Calliſtren. Sancti Andreæ Diœc. in Scotiæ Regnis, vel in Thuamien. & Antiferten. Civitatibus, vel Diœc. Dominii Hiberniæ fiat, non ſolum tam facile, ut ſi in locis in dictis literis expreſſis fieret, ſed facilius ipſarum literarum tenor, ad Henrici, & aliorum quos concernunt, præſertim Anglorum, notitiam deveniret; Nos volentes in hoc opportune providere, motu, ſcientia, & poteſtatis plenitudine prædictis decernimus, quod publicatio literarum ſuperius inſertarum, quarum inſertioni ſuperius factæ, ac ipſis Originalibus quoad

validitatem

validitatem publicationis, ſeu executionis præſentium, fidem adhiberi volumus, in duobus ex locis præſentibus literis expreſſis, alias juxta ſupra inſertarum, & præſentium literarum tenore facta, etiam ſi in locis extra Romanam Curiam in dictis præinſertis literis ſpecificatis, hujuſmodi publicatio non fiat, perinde Henricum Regem, & alios quos concernunt præſertim Anglos afficiat, ac ſi Henrico Regi & aliis prædictis præſentim Anglis perſonaliter intimatæ fuiſſent.

5. Quodq; præſentium tranſumptis, juxta modum in præinſertis literis expreſſum factis, tam in judicio quam extra, eadem fides adhibeatur, quæ Originalibus adhiberetur, ſi forent exhibitæ, vel oſtenſæ.

6. Non obſtantibus Conſtitutionibus & Ordinationibus Apoſtolicis, necnon omnibus illis, quæ in dictis literis voluimus non obſtare, cæteriſq; contrariis quibuſcunque.

7. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam noſtri Decreti, & voluntatis infringere, vel ei auſu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præſumpſerit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei, ac Beatorum Petri & Pauli Apoſtolorum ejus ſe noverit incurſurum.

Dat. Romæ apud S. Petrum, Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ 1538. decimo ſexto Kal. Januarii, Pontificatus noſtri anno quinto.

X. *The Judgment of ſome Biſhops concerning the King's Supremacy. An Original.*

THe words of St. *John* in his 20*th* Chap. *Sicut miſit me Pater, & ego mitto vos, &c.* hath no reſpect to a King's or a Princes Power, but only to ſhew how that the Miniſters of the Word of God, choſen and ſent for that intent, are the Meſſengers of Chriſt, to teach the Truth of his Goſpel, and to looſe and bind ſin, *&c.* as Chriſt was the Meſſenger of his Father. The words alſo of St. *Paul*, in the 20*th* Chap. of the *Acts*; *Attendite vobis & univerſo gregi, in qua vos Spiritus Sanctus poſuit Epiſcopos regere Eccleſiam Dei*, were ſpoken to the Biſhops and Prieſts, to be diligent Paſtors of the People, both to teach them diligently, and alſo to be circumſpect that falſe Preachers ſhould not ſeduce the People, as followeth immediately after in the ſame place. Other places of Scripture declare the highneſs and excellency of Chriſtian Princes Authority and Power; the which of a truth is moſt high, for he hath power and charge generally over all, as well Biſhops, as Prieſts, as other. The Biſhops and Prieſts have charge of Souls within their own Cures, power to miniſter Sacraments, and to teach the Word of God; to the which Word of God Chriſtian Princes knowledg themſelves ſubject; and in caſe the Biſhops be negligent, it is the Chriſtian Princes Office to ſee them do their duty. Ex MSS. D. *Stillingfleet.*

T. Cantuarien.
Joannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunelmen.
Jo. Batwellen.
Thomas Elien.
Nicolaus Sarisburien.
Hugo Wygorn.
J. Roffen.

XI. *Injunctions to the Clergy made by* Cromwell.

Regiſt. *Cranmer.*

IN the Name of God, Amen. By the Authority and Commiſſion of the excellent Prince *Henry*, by the Grace of God, King of *England* and of *France*, Defenſor of the Faith; Lord of *Ireland*; and in Earth Supream Head, under Chriſt, of the Church of *England*. I *Thomas* Lord *Cromwel*, Privy Seal, and Vice-gerent to the King's ſaid Highneſs, for all his Juriſdiction Eccleſiaſtical within this Realm, do, for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, encreaſe of Vertue, and diſcharge of the King's Majeſty, give and exhibit unto you theſe Injunctions following, to be kept, obſerved, and fulfilled, upon the pains hereafter declared.

Firſt; That ye ſhall truly obſerve and keep all and ſingular the King's Highneſs Injunctions, given unto you heretofore in my Name, by his Graces Authority; not only upon the pains therein expreſſed, but alſo in your default after this ſecond monition continued, upon further puniſhment to be ſtraitly extended towards you by the King's Highneſs Arbitriment, or his Vice-gerent aforeſaid.

Item; That yé ſhall provide on this ſide the Feaſt of next coming, one Book of the whole Bible of the largeſt Volume in Engliſh, and the ſame ſet up in ſome convenient place within the ſaid Church that ye have Cure of, whereas your Pariſhioners may moſt commodiouſly reſort to the ſame, and read it; the charge of which Book ſhall be ratably born between you the Parſon and the Pariſhioners aforeſaid, that is to ſay, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

Item; That you ſhall diſcourage no Man privily or apertly from the reading or hearing of the ſaid Bible, but ſhall expreſly provoke, ſtir, and exhort every Perſon to read the ſame, as that which is the very lively Word of God, that every Chriſtian Man is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he look to be ſaved; admoniſhing them nevertheleſs to avoid all contention, altercation therein, and to uſe an honeſt ſobriety in the inquiſition of the true ſenſe of the ſame, and refer the explication of the obſcure places to Men of higher judgment in Scripture.

Item; That ye ſhall every *Sunday* and Holy-day through the Year, openly and plainly recite to your Pariſhioners, twice or thrice together, or oftner, if need require, one particle or ſentence of the *Pater Noſter*, or *Creed*, in Engliſh, to the intent they may learn the ſame by Heart; And ſo from day to day, to give them one little leſſon or ſentence of the ſame, till they have learned the whole *Pater Noſter* and *Creed*, in Engliſh, by rote. And as they be taught every ſentence of the ſame by rote, ye ſhall expound and declare the underſtanding of the ſame unto them, exhorting all Parents and Houſholders to teach their Children and Servants the ſame, as they are bound in Conſcience to do. And that done, ye ſhall declare unto them the *Ten Commandments*, one by one

one, every Sunday and Holy-day, till they be likewiſe perfect in the ſame.

Item; That ye ſhall in Confeſſions every *Lent* examine every Perſon that cometh to Confeſſion unto you, whether they can recite the Articles of our Faith, and the *Pater Noſter* in Engliſh, and hear them ſay the ſame particularly; wherein if they be not perfect, ye ſhall declare to the ſame, That every Chriſtian Perſon ought to know the ſame before they ſhould receive the bleſſed Sacrament of the Altar; and moniſh them to learn the ſame more perfectly by the next year following, or elſe, like-as they ought not to preſume to come to God's Board without perfect knowledg of the ſame, and if they do, it is to the great peril of their Souls; ſo ye ſhall declare unto them, that ye look for other Injunctions from the King's Highneſs by that time, to ſtay and repel all ſuch from God's Board as ſhall be found ignorant in the Premiſſes; whereof ye do thus admoniſh them, to the intent they ſhould both eſchew the peril of their Souls, and alſo the worldly rebuke that they might incur after by the ſame.

Item; That ye ſhall make, or cauſe to be made, in the ſaid Church, and every other Cure ye have, one Sermon every quarter of the year at leaſt, wherein ye ſhall purely and ſincerely declare the very Goſpel of Chriſt, and in the ſame exhort your Hearers to the Works of Charity, Mercy, and Faith, eſpecially preſcribed and commanded in Scripture, and not to repoſe their truſt or affiance in any other Works deviſed by Mens fantaſies beſide Scripture; as in wandring to Pilgrimages, offering of Mony, Candels, or Tapers, to Images, or Reliques; or kiſſing or licking the ſame over, ſaying over a number of Beads, not underſtanded or minded on, or in ſuch-like ſuperſtition; for the doing whereof, ye not only have no promiſe of reward in Scripture, but contrariwiſe great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to Idolatry and Superſtition, which of all other Offences God Almighty doth moſt deteſt and abhor, for that the ſame diminiſheth moſt his honour and glory.

Item; That ſuch feigned Images as ye know in any of your Cures to be ſo abuſed with Pilgrimages or Offerings of any thing made thereunto, ye ſhall, for avoiding of that moſt deteſtable offence of Idolatry, forthwith take down, and without delay; and ſhall ſuffer from henceforth no Candles, Tapers, or Images of Wax to be ſet afore any Image or Picture; but only the Light that commonly goeth a-croſs the Church by the Rood-loft, the Light before the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Light about the Sepulchre; which for the adorning of the Church, and Divine Service, ye ſhall ſuffer to remain: ſtill admoniſhing your Pariſhioners, that Images ſerve for none other purpoſe, but as to be Books of unlearned Men, that ken no Letters, whereby they might be otherwiſe admoniſhed of the lives and converſation of them that the ſaid Images do repreſent; which Images if they abuſe, for any other intent than for ſuch remembrances, they commit Idolatry in the ſame, to the great danger of their Souls: And therefore the King's Highneſs graciouſly tendring the weal of his Subjects Souls, hath in part already, and more will

hereafter, travail for the aboliſhing of ſuch Images as might be an occaſion of ſo great an offence to God, and ſo great a danger to the Souls of his loving Subjects.

Item; That all in ſuch Benefices, or Cures, as ye have, whereupon ye be not your ſelf Reſident, ye ſhall appoint ſuch Curats in your ſtead, as can both by their hability, and alſo promptly, execute theſe Injunctions, and do their duty, otherwiſe that ye are bounden in every behalf accordingly, and may profit them, no leſs with good Examples of living, than with declaration of the Word of God, or elſe their lack and defaults ſhall be imputed unto you, who ſhall ſtraitly anſwer for the ſame if they do otherwiſe.

Item; That ye ſhall admit no Man to preach within any your Benefices or Cures, but ſuch as ſhall appear unto you to be ſufficiently licenſed thereunto by the King's Highneſs, or his Grace's Authority, by the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, or the Biſhop of this Dioceſs; and ſuch as ſhall be ſo licenſed, ye ſhall gladly receive to declare the Word of God, without any reſiſtance or contradiction.

Item; If ye have heretofore declared to your Pariſhioners any thing to the extolling or ſetting forth of Pilgrimages, feigned Reliques, or Images, or any ſuch ſuperſtitions, that you ſhall now openly afore the ſame recant and reprove the ſame, ſhewing them (as the truth is) that ye did the ſame upon no ground of Scripture, but as one led and ſeduced by a common Error and Abuſe crept into the Church, through the ſufferance and avarice of ſuch as felt profit by the ſame.

Item; If ye do or ſhall know any Man within your Pariſh, or elſewhere, that is a Letter of the Word of God to be read in Engliſh, or ſincerely preached, or of the execution of theſe Injunctions; or a favourer of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s pretenſed Power, now by the Laws of this Realm juſtly rejected and extirped; ye ſhall detect and preſent the ſame to the King's Highneſs, or his honourable Council, or to his Vicegerent aforeſaid, or the Juſtice of Peace next adjoining.

Item; That you, and every Parſon, Vicar, or Curat within this Dioceſs, ſhall for every Church keep one Book or Regiſter, wherein he ſhall write the day and year of every Wedding, Chriſtening, and Burying, made within your Pariſh for your time, and ſo every Man ſucceeding you likewiſe; and alſo there inſert every Perſon's Name that ſhall be ſo wedded, chriſtened, and buried; and for the ſafe keeping of the ſame Book, the Pariſh ſhall be bound to provide, of their common charges, one ſure Coffer with two Locks and Keys, whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the Wardens of every ſuch Pariſh wherein the ſaid Book ſhall be laid up; which Book ye ſhall every *Sunday* take forth, and in the preſence of the ſaid Wardens, or one of them, write and record in the ſame, all the Weddings, Chriſtenings, and Buryings, made the whole week afore; and that done, to lay up the Book in the ſaid Coffer, as afore: And for every time that the ſame ſhall be omitted, the Party that ſhall be in the fault thereof, ſhall forfeit to the ſaid Church

Church 3 *s.* 4 *d.* to be employed on the reparation of the ſaid Church.

Item; That ye ſhall every quarter of a year read theſe and the other former Injunctions, given unto you by the Authority of the King's Highneſs, openly and deliberately before all your Pariſhioners, to the intent that both you may be the better admoniſhed of your duty, and your ſaid Pariſhioners the more incited to enſue the ſame for their part.

Item; Foraſmuch as by a Law eſtabliſhed, every Man is bound to pay the Tithes; no Man ſhall, by colour of duty, omitted by their Curats, detain their Tithes, and ſo redouble one wrong with another, or be his own Judg, but ſhall truly pay the ſame, as hath been accuſtomed, to their Parſons and Curats, without any reſtraint or diminution; and ſuch lack or default as they can juſtly find in their Parſons and Curats to call for reformation thereof at their Ordinaries, and other Superiors hands, who, upon complaint, and due proof thereof, ſhall reform the ſame accordingly.

Item; That no Perſon ſhall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any Faſting-day that is commanded and indicted by the Church, nor of any Prayer, or of Divine Service, otherwiſe than is ſpecified in the ſaid Injunctions, until ſuch time as the ſame ſhall be ſo ordered and tranſported by the Kings Highneſs's Authority; The Eves of ſuch Saints, whoſe Holy-days be abrogated be only excepted, which ſhall be declared henceforth to be no Faſting-days; excepted alſo the commemoration of *Thomas Becket*, ſome-time Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, which ſhall be clean omitted, and in the ſtead thereof, the Ferial Service uſed.

Item; That the knolling of the Avies after Service, and certain other times, which hath been brought in and begun by the pretence of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, leſt the People do hereafter truſt to have pardon for the ſaying of their Avies, between the ſaid knolling, as they have done in times paſt.

Item; Where in times paſt Men have uſed in divers places in their Proceſſions, to ſing *Ora pro nobis* to ſo many Saints, that they had no time to ſing the good Suffrages following, as *Parce nobis Domine*, and *Libera nos Domine*, it muſt be taught and preached, that better it were to omit *Ora pro nobis*, and to ſing the other Suffrages.

All which and ſingular Injunctions I miniſter unto you and your Succeſſors, by the King's Highneſs Authority to me committed in this part, which I charge and command you by the ſame Authority to obſerve and keep upon pain of Deprivation, Sequeſtration of your Fruits, or ſuch other coercion as to the King's Highneſs, or his Vice-gerent for the time being ſhall ſeem convenient.

Theſe are alſo in the Bp. of London's *Regiſter, Fol.* 29, 30. *with* Bonner's *Mandate to his Arch-Deacons for obſerving them*, 30 Sept. 1541. Anno Regn. 32.

XII. *Injunctions*

XII. *Injunctions given by* Thomas *Arch-Biſhop of* Canterbury, *to the Parſons, Vicars, and other Curats in his Viſitation, kept* (ſede vacante) *within the Dioceſs of* Hereford, Anno Domini 1538.

I.

FIrſt; That ye, and every one of you, ſhall, with all your diligence and faithful obedience, obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, all and ſingular the King's Highneſs Injunctions, by his Graces Commiſſaries given in ſuch places as they in times paſt have viſited.

II.

Item; That ye, and every one of you ſhall have, by the firſt day of *Auguſt* next coming, as well a whole Bible in *Latin* and *Engliſh*, or at the leaſt a *New Teſtament* of both the ſame Language, as the Copies of the King's Highneſs Injunctions.

III.

Item; That ye ſhall every day ſtudy one Chapter of the ſaid Bible, or New Teſtament, conferring the *Latin* and *Engliſh* together, and to begin at the firſt part of the Book, and ſo to continue until the end of the ſame.

IV.

Item; That ye, or none of you, ſhall diſcourage any Lay-Man from the reading of the Bible in *Engliſh* or *Latin*, but encourage them to that, admoniſhing them that they ſo read it, for reformation of their own Life, and knowledg of their Duty; and that they be not bold or preſumptuous in judging of Matters afore they have perfect knowledg.

V.

Item; That ye, both in your Preaching and ſecret Confeſſion, and all other works and doings, ſhall excite and move your Pariſhioners unto ſuch Works as are commanded expreſly of God, for the which God ſhall demand of them a ſtrict reckoning; and all other Works which Men do of their own Will or Devotion, to teach your Pariſhioners that they are not to be ſo highly eſteemed as the other; and that for the not doing of them God will not ask any accompt.

VI.

Item; That ye, nor none of you, ſuffer no Friar, or Religious Man, to have any Cure or Service within your Churches or Cures, except they be lawfully diſpenſed withal, or licenſed by the Ordinary.

VII.

Item; That ye, and every one of you, do not admit any young Man or Woman to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, which never received it before, until that he or ſhe openly in the Church, after Maſs, or evening Song, upon the Holy-day, do recite, in the vulgar Tongue, the *Pater Noſter*, the *Creed*, and the *Ten Commandments*.

VIII.

Item; That ye, and every one of you, ſhall two times in a quarter declare to your Pariſhioners the Band of Matrimony, and what great danger it is to all Men that uſeth their Bodies but with ſuch Perſons as they lawfully may by the Law of God. And to exhort in the ſaid Time

Times your Pariſhioners, that they make no privy Contracts, as they will avoid the extream pain of the Laws uſed within the King's Realm, by his Graces Authority.

XIII. *A Letter of* Cromwell's *to the Biſhop of* Landaff, *directing him how to proceed in the Reformation. An Original.*

AFter my right hearty Commendations to your Lordſhip, ye ſhall herewith receive the King's Highneſs Letters addreſſed unto you, to put you in remembrance of his Highneſs travels, and your duty touching order to be taken for Preaching, to the intent the People may be taught the Truth, and yet not charged at the beginning with over-many Novelties; the publication whereof, unleſs the ſame be tempered and qualified with much wiſdom, do rather breed Contention, Diviſion, and contrariety in Opinion in the unlearned Multitude, than either edify, or remove from them, and out of their hearts, ſuch abuſes as by the corrupt and unſavoury teaching of the Biſhop of *Rome* and his Diſciples have crept in the ſame. The effect of which Letters albeit I doubt not, but as well for the honeſty of the Matter, as for your own diſcharge, ye will ſo conſider and put in execution, as ſhall be to his Graces ſatisfaction in that behalf: Yet foraſmuch as it hath pleaſed his Majeſty to appoint and conſtitute me in the room and place of his Supream and Principal Miniſtry, in all Matters that may touch anything his Clergy, or their doings, I thought it alſo my part, for the exoneration of my Duty towards his Highneſs, and the rather to anſwer to his Graces Expectation, Opinion, and Truſt conceived in me, and in that amongſt other committed to my fidelity, to deſire and pray you, in ſuch ſubſtantial ſort and manner, to travel in the execution of the Contents of his Graces ſaid Letters; namely, for avoiding of Contrariety in preaching, of the pronunciation of Novelties, without wiſe and diſcreet qualification, and the repreſſion of the temerity of thoſe, that either privily, or apertly, directly or indirectly, would advance the pretended Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*; as I be not for my diſcharge enforced to complain further, and to declare what I have now written unto you for that purpoſe, and ſo to charge you with your own fault, and to deviſe ſuch remedy for the ſame, as ſhall appertain: deſiring your Lordſhip to accept my meaning herein, tending only to an honeſt, friendly, and Chriſtian Reformation, for avoidage of further inconvenience, and to think none unkindneſs, tho in this Matter, wherein it is almoſt more than time to ſpeak, I write frankly, compelled and enforced thereunto, both in reſpect of my private Duty, and otherwiſe, for my diſcharge; foraſmuch as it pleaſeth his Majeſty to uſe me in the lieu of a Counſellour, whoſe Office is as an Eye to the Prince, to foreſee, and in time to provide remedy for ſuch Abuſes, Enormities, and Inconveniences, as might elſe with a little ſufferance engender more evil in Publick Weal, than could be after recovered, with much labour, ſtudy, diligence,

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 4.

ligence, and travails. And thus moſt heartily fare you well. From the *Rolls*, the *6th* of *January*.

Your Lordſhip's Friend,

Thomas Cromwell.

XIV. The Commiſſion by which *Bonner* held his Biſhoprick of the King.

Licentia Regia conceſſa Domino Epiſcopo ad exercendam Juriſdictionem Epiſcopalem.

iſt. *ier. primo.* HEnricus Octavus, Dei Gratia Angliæ & Franciæ Rex, Fidei Defenſor, Dominus Hiberniæ, & in Terra Supremum Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ ſub Chriſto Caput, Reverendo in Chriſto Patri Edmundo Londonenſi Epiſcopo Salutem. Quandoquidem omnis juriſdicendi Autoritas, atq; etiam juriſdictio omnimoda, tam illa quæ Eccleſiaſtica dicitur quam Sæcularis, a Regia Poteſtate velut a Supremo Capite, & omnium infra Regnum noſtrum Magiſtratuum fonte & ſcaturigine, primitus emanavit, ſane illos qui juriſdictionem hujuſmodi antehac non niſi præcario fungebantur, beneficium hujuſmodi ſic eis ex liberalitate Regia indultum gratis animis agnoſcere, idq; Regiæ Munificentiæ ſolummodo acceptum referre, eique, quotiens ejus Majeſtati videbitur, libenter concedere convenit. Quum itaq; nos per dilectum Commiſſarium noſtrum Thomam Cromwell Nobilis Ordinis Garterii Militem, Dominum Cromwell & de Wymolden noſtri privati Sigilli Cuſtodem, noſtrumq; ad quaſcunq; cauſas Eccleſiaſticas noſtra Authoritate, uti Supremi Capitis dictæ Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, quomodolibet tractand. ſive ventiland. vicem gerentem, Vicarium Generalem & Officialem Principalem, per alias Literas Patentes ſigillo noſtro Majori communitas, conſtituerimus & præfecerimus. Quia tamen ipſe Thomas Cromwell noſtris & hujus Regni Angliæ tot & tam arduis negotiis adeo præpeditus exiſtit, quod ad omnem juriſdictionem nobis, uti Supremo Capiti hujuſmodi competentem, ubiq; locorum infra hoc Regnum noſtrum præfatum, in his quæ moram commode non patiuntur, aut ſine noſtrorum ſubditorum injuria differri non poſſunt, in ſua perſona expediend. non ſufficiet. Nos tuis in hac parte ſupplicationibus humilibus inclinati, & noſtrorum ſubditorum commodis conſulere cupientes, Tibi vices noſtras ſub modo & forma inferius deſcriptis committendas fore, Teq; licentiandum eſſe decernimus, ad ordinandum igitur quoſcunq; infra Dioc. tuam London. ubicunq; oriundos, quos moribus & literatura prævio diligenti & rigoroſo examine idoneos fore compereris, ad omnes etiam Sacros & Preſbyteratus ordines promovendum, præſentatoſq; ad beneficia Eccleſiaſtica quæcunq; infra Dioc. tuam London conſtituta, ſi ad curam beneficiis hujuſmodi imminentem ſuſtinend. habiles reperti fuerunt & idonei, admittendum ac in & de iiſdem inſtituendum & inveſtigandum; Ac etiam ſi res ita exigat deſtituendum,

tuendum, beneficiaq; Eccleſiaſtica quæcunq; ad tuam collationem ſive diſpoſitionem ſpectantia & pertinentia perſonis idoneis conferendum, atq; approbandum teſtamenta & ultimas voluntates quorumcunq; tuæ Diocæſeos, bona, jura, ſive credita non ultra ſummam centum librarum in bonis ſuis vitæ & mortis ſuarum temporibus habend. necnon adminiſtrationes quorumcunq; ſubditorum noſtrorum tuæ Dioc. ab inteſtato decedend. quorum bona, jura, ſive credita non ultra ſummam prædictam vitæ & mortis ſuarum temporibus ſeſe extendent, quatenus hujuſmodi teſtatorum approbatio atq; adminiſtrationis commiſſio ſive conceſſio per prædeceſſores tuos aut eorum alicujus reſpective Commiſſarios retroactis temporibus fiebat ac fieri & committi potuit, & non aliter committendum, Calculumq; ratiocinium & alia in ea parte expedienda, cauſaſq; lites & negotia coram te aut tuis deputatis pendend. indeciſ. necnon alias ſive alia, quaſcunq; ſive quæcunq; ad forum Eccleſiaſticum pertinentia ad te aut tuos deputatos ſive deputand. per viam querelæ aut appellationis ſive ex officio devolvend. ſive deducend. quæ extra legum noſtrarũ & ſtatutorũ Regni noſtri offenſ. coram te aut tuis Deputatis agitari, aut ad tuam ſive alicujus Commiſſariorũ per te vigore hujus Commiſſionis noſtræ deputandorum cognitionem devolvi aut deduci valeant & poſſint, examinand. & decidend. Ad viſitandum inſuper Capitulum Eccleſiæ tuæ Cathedral. London. civitatemq; London. necnon omnia & ſingula Monaſteria, Abbatias & Prioratus, Collegia & alia loca pia, tam Religioſa quam Hoſpitalia, quæcunq; clerumq; & populum dict. Dioc. London. quatenus Eccleſiæ, Monaſterii, Abbatiæ, per te ſive Prædeceſſores tuos London. Epiſcopos viſitatio hujuſmodi temporibus retroactis exerceri potuit, ac per te ſive per eoſdem de legibus & ſtatutis ac juribus Regni noſtri exerceri potuit & poteſt, & non aliter: Necnon ad inquirendũ per te, vel alium ſeu alios ad id per te deputandũ ſive deputandos, tam ex officio mero mixto quam promoto ſuper quorumcunq; exceſſibus, criminibus ſeu delictis quibuſcunq; ad forum Eccleſiaſticum ſpectantibus infra Dioc. London. ac dilinquentes ſive criminoſos, juxta comperta per te in ea parte per Licita Juris remedia pro modo culpæ, prout natura & qualitas delicti popoſcerit, coercendum & puniendum, cæteraq; omnia & ſingula in Præmiſſis ceu aliquo præmiſſorum, aut circa ea neceſſaria ſeu quomodolibet opportuna, ac alia quæcunq; Autoritatem & Juriſdictionem Epiſcopalem quoviſmodo reſpiciend. & concernend. præter & ultra ea quæ tibi ex Sacris Literis divinitus commiſſa eſſe dignoſcantur, vice, nomine, & Autoritate noſtris exequendum, Tibi, de cujus ſana doctrina, conſcientiæ puritate, vitæq; & morum integritate, ac in rebus gerendis fide & induſtria plurimum confidimus, vices noſtras cum poteſtate alium vel alios, Commiſſarium vel Commiſſarios, ad præmiſſa ſeu eorum aliqua ſurrogandi & ſubſtituendi, eoſdemq; ad placitum revocand. tenore præſentium committimus, ac liberam facultatem concedimus; Teq; licentiam per præſentes ad noſtri beneplaciti duntaxat duraturas, cum cujuſlibet congruæ & Eccleſiaſticæ coercionis poteſtate quacunq; inhibitione in te datam præſentium emanata in aliquo non obſtante Tuam Conſcientiam coram Deo ſtrictiſſime onerantes, & ut ſummo omnium judici aliquando rationem reddere, & coram nobis tuo cum periculo corporali reſpondere intendis: te admonentes ut interim tuum officium juxta Evangelii normam pie & ſancte exercere ſtudeas, & ne quem ullo tempore unquam vel ad ſacros ordines promoveas, vel ad

curam animarum gerend. quovis modo admittas, niſi eos duntaxat quos ad tanti & tam venerabilis Officii functionem vitæ & morum integritas certiſſimis teſtimoniis approbata, literarum ſcientiæ & aliæ qualitates requiſitæ ad hoc habiles & idoneos clare & luculenter oſtenderint & declaraverint; Nam ut maxime compertum cognitumq; habemus morum omnium, & Maxime Chriſtianæ Religionis corruptelam a malis Paſtoribus in populum emanaſſe, ſic ut veram Chriſti Religionem, vitæq; & morum emendationem a bonis Paſtoribus iterum delectis & aſſumptis in integrum reſtitutum iri haud dubie ſperamus. In cujus rei teſtimonium præſentes Literas noſtras inde fieri, & Sigilli noſtri quo ad Cauſas Eccleſiaſticas utimur appenſione juſſimus Communiri. Dat. 12. die menſis Novemb. Anno Dom. 1539. & Regni noſtri Anno 31.

XV. *The King's Letters Patents for printing the Bible in* Engliſh.

Rot.Pat.31. *Hen.* 8. HEnry the Eighth, *&c.* To all and ſingular Printers and Sellers of Books within this our Realm, and all other Officers, Miniſters, and Subjects, theſe our Letters hearing or ſeeing, Greeting. We let you wit, That being deſirous to have our People at all times convenient, give themſelves to the attaining the knowledg of God's Word, whereby they will the better honour him, and obſerve and keep his Commandments; and alſo do their Duties better to us, being their Prince and Sovereign Lord: And conſidering that this our Zeal and Deſire cannot by any mean take ſo good effect, as by the granting to them the free and liberal uſe of the Bible in our own natural *Engliſh* Tongue: ſo unleſs it be foreſeen that the ſame paſs at the beginning by one Tranſlation to be peruſed and conſidered; The frailty of Men is ſuch, that the diverſity thereof may breed and bring forth manifold Inconveniences; as when wilful and heady Folk ſhall confer upon the diverſity of the ſaid Tranſlations. We have therefore appointed our right truſty and well-beloved Counſellor, the Lord *Cromwell*, Keeper of our Privy-Seal, to take for us, and in our Name, ſpecial care and charge, that no manner of Perſon, or Perſons, within this our Realm, ſhall enterpriſe, attempt, or ſet in hand to print any Bible in the Engliſh Tongue of any manner of Volum, during the ſpace of five years next enſuing after the Date hereof, but only all ſuch as ſhall be deputed, aſſigned, and admitted by the ſaid Lord *Cromwell*.

The 13 *Novemb. Triceſimo primo Regni.*

XVI. The

XVI. The Attainder of *Thomas Cromwell.*

Item quædam alia petitio, formam cujuſdam actus attincturæ in ſe continens, exhibita eſt ſuæ Regiæ Majeſtati in Parliamento prædicto, cujus tenor ſequitur in hæc verba.

IN their moſt humble-wiſe ſhewing to your moſt Royal Majeſty, the Lords Spirituál and Temporal, and all your moſt loving and obedient Subjects, the Commons in this your moſt High Court of Parliament aſſembled; That where your moſt Royal Majeſty, our Natural Sovereign Lord, is juſtly, lawfully, and really entituled to be our ſole Supream Head and Governour, of this your Realm of *England*, and of the Dominions of the ſame; to whom, and to none other under God, the Kingly Direction, Order, and Governance, of your moſt loving and obedient Subjects, and People of this your Realm, only appertaineth and belongeth. And the which your moſt loving and obedient Subjects, your Highneſs prudently and quietly, without any manner of diſturbance, by a long time moſt graciouſly hath preſerved, ſuſtained, and defended: And your Highneſs, for the Quietneſs, Wealth, and Tranquillity of your ſaid humble and obedient Subjects, hath made, and ordained, divers and many moſt godly, vertuous, and wholſome Laws; and for due execution of the ſame, hath not deſiſted to travel in your own moſt Royal Perſon, to ſupport and maintain, as well the Laws of Almighty God, as the Laws by your Highneſs made and ordained, by due and condign execution of the ſame Laws upon the Tranſgreſſors offending contrary to the ſame: And your Majeſty hath always moſt vertuouſly ſtudied and laboured, by all ways, and all means, to and for the ſetting forth thereof, in ſuch wiſe as it might be moſt to the Honour, Glory, and Pleaſure of Almighty God; and for the common accord and wealth of this your Realm, and other your Dominions: And for the true execution of the ſame, hath elected, choſen, and made divers, as well of your Nobles, as others, to be of your moſt honourable Council, as to the honour of a Noble Prince appertaineth. And where your Majeſty hath had a ſpecial truſt and confidence in your ſaid moſt truſty Counſellors, that the ſame your Counſellors, and every of them, had minded and intended, and finally purpoſed to have followed and purſued your moſt Godly and Princely Purpoſe, as of truth the more number hath moſt faithfully done; Yet nevertheleſs *Thomas Cromwell*, now Earl of *Eſſex*, whom your Majeſty took and received into your truſty Service, the ſame *Thomas* then being a Man of very baſe and low degree, and for ſingular favour, truſt, and confidence, which your Majeſty bare and had in him, did not only erect and advance the ſame *Thomas* unto the State of an Earl, and enriched him with many-fold Gifts, as well of Goods, as of Lands and Offices, but alſo him, the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, did erect and make one of your moſt truſty Counſellors, as well concerning your Grace's Supream Juriſdictions Eccleſiaſtical, as your moſt high ſecret Affairs Temporal. Nevertheleſs your Majeſty now of late hath found, and tried, by a large number of Witneſſes, being your faithful Subjects, and Perſonages of great Honour,

Parliament Rolls. Act 60. *Anno Regni triceſimo ſecundo.*

Worſhip, and Diſcretion, the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, contrary to the ſingular truſt and confidence which your Majeſty had in him, to be the moſt falſe and corrupt Traitor, Deceiver, and Circumventor againſt your moſt Royal Perſon, and the Imperial Crown of this your Realm, that hath been known, ſeen, or heard of in all the time of your moſt noble Reign: Inſomuch that it is manifeſtly proved and declared, by the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes aforeſaid, That the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, uſurping upon your Kingly Eſtate, Power, Authority, and Office; without your Grace's Commandment or Aſſent, hath taken upon him to ſet at liberty divers Perſons, being convicted and attainted of Miſpriſion of High Treaſon; and divers other being apprehended, and in Priſon, for Suſpection of High Treaſon; and over that, divers and many times, at ſundry places, in this your Realm, for manifold Sums of Mony to him given, moſt traiterouſly hath taken upon him, by ſeveral Writings, to give and grant, as well unto Aliens, as to your Subjects, a great number of Licenſes for conveighing and carrying of Mony, Corn, Grain, Beans, Beer, Leather, Tallow, Bells, Mettals, Horſes, and other Commodities of this your Realm, contrary to your Highneſs's moſt Godly and Gracious Proclamations made for the Common-Wealth of your People of this your Realm in that behalf, and in derogation of your Crown and Dignity. And the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, elated, and full of pride, contrary to his moſt bounden Duty, of his own Authority and Power, not regarding your Majeſty Royal; And further, taking upon him your Power, Sovereign Lord, in that behalf, divers and many times moſt traiterouſly hath conſtituted, deputed, and aſſigned, many ſingular Perſons of your Subjects to be Commiſſioners in many your great, urgent, and weighty Cauſes and Affairs, executed and done in this your Realm, without the aſſent, knowledg, or conſent of your Highneſs. And further alſo, being a Perſon of as poor and low degree, as few be within this your Realm; pretending to have ſo great a ſtroak about you, our, and his natural Sovereign Liege Lord, that he letted not to ſay publickly, and declare, That he was ſure of you; which is deteſtable, and to be abhorred amongſt all good Subjects in any Chriſtian Realm, that any Subject ſhould enterprize or take upon him ſo to ſpeak of his Sovereign Liege Lord and King. And alſo of his own Authority and Power, without your Highneſs's conſent, hath made, and granted, as well to Strangers as to your own Subjects, divers and many Paſs-ports, to paſs over the Seas, with Horſes, and great Sums of Mony, without any ſearch. And over that, moſt Gracious Soveraign Lord, amongſt divers other his Treaſons, Deceits, and Falſhoods, the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, being a deteſtable Heretick, and being in himſelf utterly diſpoſed to ſett and ſow common Sedition and Variance among your true and loving Subjects, hath ſecretly ſet forth and diſperſed into all Shires, and other Territories of this your Realm, and other your Dominions, great numbers of falſe Erroneous Books, whereof many were printed and made beyond the Seas, and divers other within this Realm, compriſing and declaring, amongſt many other Evils and Errors, manifeſt Matters to induce and lead your Subjects to diffidence, and refuſal of the true and ſincere Faith and Belief, which Chriſtian Religion bindeth all Chriſtian People to have, in the moſt Holy and Bleſſed

Sacrament

Sacrament of the Altar, and other Articles of Chriſtian Religion, moſt graciouſly declared by your Majeſty, by Authority of Parliament: And certain Matters compriſed in ſome of the ſaid Books, hath cauſed to be tranſlated into our maternal and Engliſh Tongue: And upon report made unto him by the Tranſlator thereof, that the Matter ſo tranſlated hath expreſly been againſt the ſaid moſt Bleſſed and Holy Sacrament; Yet the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, after he had read the ſame Tranſlation, moſt heretically hath affirmed the ſame material Hereſie ſo tranſlated, to be good; and further hath ſaid, that he found no fault therein; and over that, hath openly and obſtinately holden Opinion, and ſaid, That it was as lawful for every Chriſtian Man to be a Miniſter of the ſaid Sacrament, as well as a Prieſt. And where alſo your moſt Royal Majeſty, being a Prince of Vertue, Learning, and Juſtice, of ſingular Confidence and Truſt, did conſtitute and make the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, your Highneſs's Vicegerent within this your Realm of *England*; and by the ſame, gave unto him Authority and Power, not only to redreſs and reform all, and all manner of Errors, and Erroneous Opinions, inſurging and growing among your loving and obedient Subjects of this your Realm, and of the Dominions of the ſame, but alſo to order and direct all Eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual Cauſes within your ſaid Realm and Dominions; the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, not regarding his Duty to Almighty God, and to your Highneſs, under the Seal of your Vicegerent, hath, without your Grace's aſſent or knowledg, licenſed and authorized divers Perſons, detected and ſuſpected of Hereſies, openly to teach and preach amongſt your moſt loving and obedient Subjects, within this your Realm of *England*. And under the pretence and colour of the ſaid great Authorities and Cures, which your Majeſty hath committed unto him in the Premiſſes, hath not only, of his corrupt and damnable Will and Mind, actually, at ſome time, by his own Deed and Commandment, and at many other times by his Letters, expreſly written to divers worſhipful Perſons, being Sheriffs, in ſundry Shires of this your Realm, falſly ſuggeſting thereby your Grace's Pleaſure ſo to have been, cauſed to be ſet at large many falſe Hereticks, ſome being there indicted, and ſome other being thereof apprehended, and in ward: and commonly, upon complaints made by credible Perſons unto the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, of great and moſt deteſtable Hereſies committed and ſprung in many places of this your Realm, with declaration of the Specialities of the ſame Hereſies, and the Names of the Offenders therein, the ſame *Thomas Cromwel*, Earl of *Eſſex*, by his crafty and ſubtil means and inventions, hath not only defended the ſame Hereticks from Puniſhment and Reformation; but being a fautor, maintainer, and ſupporter of Hereticks, divers times hath terribly rebuked divers of the ſaid credible Perſons being their Accuſers, and ſome others of them hath perſecuted and vexed by Impriſonment and otherwiſe. So that thereby many of your Grace's true and loving Subjects have been in much dread and fear, to detect or accuſe ſuch deteſtable known Hereticks; the particularities and ſpecialities of which ſaid abominable Hereſies, Errors, and Offences, committed and done by the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, being over-tedious, long, and of too great number here to be expreſſed, declared, or written. And to the intent to have thoſe

damnable

damnable Errors and Hereſies, to be inculcated, impreſſed, and infixed in the Hearts of your Subjects, as well contrary to God's Laws, as to your Laws and Ordinances. Moſt Gracious Soveraign Lord, the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, hath allured and drawn unto him by Retainours, many of your Subjects ſunderly inhabiting in every of your ſaid Shires and territories, as well erroneouſly perſwading and declaring to them the Contents of the falſe erroneous Books, above-written, to be good, true, and beſt ſtanding with the moſt Holy Word and Pleaſure of God; as other his falſe and heretical Opinions and Errors; whereby, and by his Confederacies therein, he hath cauſed many of your faithful Subjects to be greatly infected with Hereſies, and other Errors, contrary to the right Laws and Pleaſure of Almighty God. And the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, by the falſe and traiterous means above-written, ſuppoſing himſelf to be fully able, by force and ſtrength, to maintain and defend his ſaid abominable Treaſons, Hereſies, and Errors, not regarding his moſt bounden Duty to Almighty God, and his Laws, nor the natural Duty of Allegiance to your Majeſty, in the laſt day of *March*, in the 30 year of our moſt gracious Reign, in the Pariſh of *St. Peter the Poor*, within your City of *London*, upon demonſtration and declaration then & there made unto him, that there were certain new Preachers, as *Robert Barnes* Clerk, and other, whereof part been now committed to the *Tower* of *London* for preaching and teaching of leud Learning againſt your Highneſs's Proclamations; the ſame *Thomas* affirming the ſame preaching to be good, moſt deteſtably, arrogantly, erroneouſly, wilfully, maliciouſly, and traiterouſly, expreſly againſt your Laws and Statutes, then and there did not lett to declare, and ſay, theſe moſt traiterous and deteſtable words enſuing, amongſt other words of like matter and effect; that is to ſay, That *if the King would turn from it, yet I would not turn*; *And if the King did turn, and all his People, I would fight in the Field in mine own Perſon, with my Sword in my hand, againſt him and all others*; and then, and there, moſt traiterouſly pulled out his Dagger, and held it on high, ſaying theſe words, *Or elſe this Dagger thruſt me to the heart, if I would not die in that Quarrel againſt them all: And I truſt, if I live one year or two, it ſhall not lie in the King's Power to reſiſt or lett it if he would.* And further, then and there ſwearing by a great Oath, traiterouſly affirmed the ſame his traiterous ſaying and pronunciation of words, ſaying, *I will do ſo indeed*, extending up his Arm, as though he had had a Sword in his Hand; to the moſt perrilous, grievous, and wicked Example of all other your loving, faithful, and obedient Subjects in this your Realm, and to the peril of your moſt Royal Perſon. And moreover, our moſt Gracious Soveraign Lord, the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, hath acquired and obtained into his poſſeſſion, by Oppreſſion, Bribery, Extort, Power, and falſe Promiſes made by him, to your Subjects of your Realm, innumerable Sums of Mony and Treaſure; and being ſo enriched, hath had your Nobles of your Realm in great diſdain, deriſion, and deteſtation, as by expreſs words by him moſt opprobriouſly ſpoken hath appeared. And being put in remembrance of others, of his eſtate, which your Highneſs hath called him unto, offending in like Treaſons, the laſt day of *January*, in the 31 year of your moſt noble Reign, at the Pariſh of *St. Martin in the Field*, in the County of *Middleſex*, moſt arrogantly, willingly,

willingly, maliciouſly, and traiterouſly, ſaid, publiſhed, and declared, That *if the Lords would handle him ſo, that he would give them ſuch a Break-faſt as never was made in* England, *and that the proudeſt of them ſhould know*; to the great peril and danger, as well of your Majeſty, as of your Heirs and Succeſſors: For the which his moſt deteſtable and abominable Hereſies and Treaſons, and many other his like Offences and Treaſons, over-long here to be rehearſed and declared. Be it Enacted, Ordained, and Eſtabliſhed by your Majeſty, with the Aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority of the ſame, That the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, for his abominable and deteſtable Hereſies and Treaſons, by him moſt abominably, heretically, and traiterouſly practiſed, committed, and done, as well againſt Almighty God, as againſt your Majeſty, and this your ſaid Realm, ſhall be, and ſtand, by Authority of this preſent Parliament, convicted and attainted of Hereſie and High Treaſon, and be adjudged an abominable and deteſtable Heretick and Traitor; and ſhall have and ſuffer ſuch pains of death, loſſes, and forfeitures of Goods, Debts, and Chattels, as in caſes of Hereſie and High Treaſon, or as in caſes of either of them, at the pleaſure of your moſt Royal Majeſty. And that the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, ſhall, by Authority aboveſaid, loſe, and forfeit to your Highneſs, and to your Heirs and Succeſſors, all ſuch his Caſtles, Lordſhips, Mannors, Meſuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, Remainders, Services, Poſſeſſions, Offices, Rights, Conditions, and all other his Hereditaments, of what names, natures, or qualities ſoever they be, which he the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, or any other to his uſe had, or ought to have had, of any Eſtate of Inheritance, in Fee-Simple or Fee-Tail, in Reverſion or Poſſeſſion, at the ſaid laſt day of *March*, in the ſaid thirtieth Year of your moſt Gracious Reign, or at any time ſith or after, as in Caſes of High Treaſon. And that all the ſaid Caſtles, Lordſhips, Mannors, Lands, Meſuages, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, Remainders, Services, Poſſeſſions, Offices, and all other the Premiſſes forfeited, as is aboveſaid, ſhall be deemed, inveſted, and adjudged, in the lawful, real, and actual poſſeſſion of your Highneſs, your Heirs, and Succeſſors for ever in the ſame, and ſuch eſtate, manner, and form, as if the ſaid Caſtles, Lordſhips, Mannors, Meſuages, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, Remainders, Services, Poſſeſſions, Offices, and other the Premiſſes, with their Appurtenances, and every of them, were ſpecially or particularly founden, by Office or Offices, Inquiſition or Inquiſitions, to be taken by any Eſcheator, or Eſcheators, or any other Commiſſioner or Commiſſioners, by virtue of any Commiſſion or Commiſſions to them, or any of them, to be directed in any County or Counties, Shire or Shires, within this your Realm of *England*, where the ſaid Caſtles, and other the Premiſſes, or any of them, been, or do lay, and returned into any of your Majeſties Courts. Saving to all and ſingular, Perſon and Perſons, Bodies politick and corporate, their Heirs and Succeſſors, and their Succeſſors and Aſſignes of every of them, other than the ſaid *Thomas Cromwell*, Earl of *Eſſex*, and his Heirs, and all and every other Perſon and Perſons, claiming by the ſame *Thomas Cromwell*, and to his uſe, all ſuch Right, Title, Entrie, Poſſeſſion, Intereſt, Reverſions, Remainders,

Leaſe,

Leaſe, Leaſes, Conditions, Fees, Offices, Rents, Annuities, Commons, and all other Commodities, Profits, and Hereditaments whatſoever they or any of them might, ſhould, or ought to have had, if this Act had never been had nor made. Provided always, and be it enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, that this Act of Attainder, ne any Offence, ne other thing therein contained, extend not unto the Deanery of *Wells*, in the County of *Sommerſet*; nor to any Mannors, Lands, Tenements, or Hereditaments thereunto belonging; nor be in any wiſe prejudicial or hurtful unto the Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, nor to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of St. *Andrew* of *Wells*, nor to any of them, nor to any of their Succeſſors; but that the ſaid Biſhop, Dean, and Chapters, and their Succeſſors, and every of them, ſhall and may have, hold, uſe, occupy, and enjoy, all and ſingular their Titles, Rights, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, and Services, and all and ſingular other their Hereditaments, Commodities, and Profits, of what nature, kind, or quality, or condition ſoever they be, in as ample and large manner and form, as tho this Act of Attainder, or any Offence therein mentioned, had never been had, committed, nor made; and that from hence-forth the Dean, and his Succeſſors, Deans of the ſaid Cathedral Church that hereafter ſhall be prefected, elected, and admitted to the ſame, Shall, by the Authority aforeſaid, be Dean of the ſaid Cathedral Church, fully and wholly incorporated with the Chapter of the ſame, in as ample, large, and like manner and form, to all intents and purpoſes, as the Deans before this time hath been and uſed to be, with the ſaid Chapter of the ſaid Cathedral Church of *Wells*. And that the ſame Dean and Chapter, and their Succeſſors, ſhall have, occupy, and enjoy, all and ſingular their ſuch Poſſeſſions, Mannors, Lands, Tenements, Rents, Reverſions, and Services, and all and ſingular their Hereditaments, of what nature, kind, name or names they be called or known. And ſhall be adjudged and deemed in actual and real poſſeſſion and ſeaſon of, and in the ſame Premiſſes, to all intents and purpoſes, according to their old Corporation, as tho this Act of Attainder, or any thing, clauſe, or matter therein contained had never been had, committed, nor made. This ſaid Act of Attainder, or any other Act, Proviſion, or any thing heretofore had or made to the contrary notwithſtanding. *Cui quidem petitioni cum proviſione prædict. perlect. & intellect. per dictum Dominum Regem ex Authoritate & conſenſu Parliamenti prædicti ſic Reſponſum eſt,*

Soit faict come il eſt deſiro.

XVII.

XVII. Cromwell's *Letter to the King concerning his Marriage with* Ann *of* Cleve. *An Original.*

To the King, my moſt Gracious Sovereign Lord his Royal Majeſty.

MOſt Merciful King, and moſt Gracious Sovereign Lord, may it pleaſe the ſame to be advertiſed, That the laſt time it pleaſed your benign Goodneſs to ſend unto me the Right Honourable Lord Chancellor, the Right Honourable Duke of *Norff.* and the Lord Admiral, to examine, and alſo to declare unto me divers things from your Majeſty; among the which, one ſpecial thing they moved, and thereupon they charged me, as I would anſwer before God at the dreadful day of Judgment, and alſo upon the extreme danger and damnation of my Soul and Conſcience, to ſay what I knew in the Marriage, and concerning the Marriage, between your Highneſs and the Queen. To the which I anſwered as I knew, declaring unto them the Particulars, as nigh as I then could call to remembrance. Which when they had heard, they, in your Majeſty's Name, and upon like charge as they had given me before, commanded me to write to your Highneſs the truth, as much as I knew in that Matter; which now I do, and the very truth, as God ſhall ſave me, to the uttermoſt of my knowledg. Firſt; After your Majeſty heard of the Lady *Ann* of *Cleves* arrival at *Dover*, and that her Journies were appointed toward *Greenwich*, and that ſhe ſhould be at *Rocheſter* on New-years Even at night, your Highneſs declared to me, that you would privily viſit her at *Rocheſter*, upon New-years-day, adding theſe words, *To nouriſh love*; which accordingly your Grace did upon New-years-day, as is above-ſaid. And the next day, being *Friday*, your Grace returned to *Greenwich*, where I ſpake with your Grace, and demanded of your Majeſty, How ye liked the Lady *Ann:* your Highneſs anſwered, as me thought, heavily, and not pleaſantly, *Nothing ſo well as ſhe was ſpoken of*; ſaying further, *That if your Highneſs had known as much before as ye then knew, ſhe ſhould not have come within this Realm*; ſaying, as by the way of lamentation, *What Remedy?* Unto the which I anſwered and ſaid, I know none but was very ſorry therefore; and ſo God knoweth I was, for I thought it a hard beginning. The next day after the receipt of the ſaid Lady, and her entry made unto *Greenwich*, and after your Highneſs had brought her to her Chamber, I then waited upon your Highneſs into your Privy-Chamber; and being there, your Grace called me unto you, ſaying to me theſe words, or the like, *My Lord, is it not as I told you? ſay what they will, ſhe is nothing ſo fair as ſhe hath been reported; howbeit ſhe is well and ſeemly.* Whereunto I anſwered and ſaid, By my Faith, Sir, ye ſay truth; adding thereunto, that I thought ſhe had a Queenly manner; and nevertheleſs was ſorry that your Grace was no better content: And thereupon your Grace commanded me to call together your Council, which were theſe by name; The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*,

Cotton Libr. *Otho.* C. 10.

Suffolk, my Lord Admiral, and my Lord of *Dureſme*, and my ſelf, to commune of theſe Matters, and to know what Commiſſions the Agents of *Cleves* had brought, as well touching the performance of the Covenants ſent before from henee to Dr. *Wotton*, to have been concluded in *Cleves*, as alſo in the declaration how the Matters ſtood for the Covenants of Marriage, between the Duke of *Lorrain's* Son, and the ſaid Lady *Ann*. Whereupon *Oliſleger* and *Hogeſton* were called, and the Matters purpoſed; whereby it plainly appeared, that they were much aſtoniſhed and abaſhed, and deſired that they might make anſwer in the next morning, which was *Sunday*: And upon the *Sunday* in the morning your ſaid Counſellors and they met together early, and there eft-ſoons was propoſed unto them, as well touching the Commiſſion for the performance of the Treaty and Articles ſent to Mr. *Wotton*, as alſo touching the Contracts and Covenants of Marriage between the Duke of *Lorrain's* Son, and the Lady *Ann*, and what terms they ſtood in. To which things ſo propoſed, they anſwered as Men much perplexed, That as touching Commiſſion, they had none to treat concerning the Articles ſent to Mr. *Wotton*. And as to the Contract and Covenants of Marriage they could ſay nothing, but that a Revocation was made, and that they were but Spouſals. And finally, after much reaſoning, they offered themſelves to remain Priſoners, until ſuch time as they ſhould have ſent unto them from *Cleves* the firſt Articles ratified under the Duke their Maſters Sign and Seal, and alſo the Copy of the Revocation made between the Duke of *Lorrain's* Son and the Lady *Ann*. Upon the which Anſwers, I was ſent to your Highneſs by my Lords of your Council, to declare to your Highneſs their Anſwer; and came to you, by the Privy Way, into your Privy Chamber, and declared unto the ſame all the Circumſtances, wherewith your Grace was very much diſpleaſed, ſaying, *I am not well handled*; inſomuch that I might well perceive that your Highneſs was fully determined not to have gone through with the Marriage at that time, ſaying unto me theſe words, or the like in effect; *That if it were not that ſhe is come ſo far unto my Realm, and the great Preparations that my States and People have made for her, and for fear of making a ruffel in the World; that is, to mean to drive her Brother into the hands of the Emperor and the French King's hands, being now together, I would never have ne married her.* So that I might well perceive your Grace was neither content with the Perſon, ne yet with the Proceedings of the Agents; And at after-dinner, the ſaid *Sunday*, your Grace ſent for all your ſaid Counſellors in, repeating how your Highneſs was handled, as well touching the ſaid Articles, as alſo the ſaid Matter of the Duke of *Lorrain's* Son. It might, and I doubt not, did appear unto them how loth your Highneſs was to have married at that time. And thereupon, and upon the Conſiderations aforeſaid, your Grace thought that it ſhould be well done that ſhe ſhould make a Proteſtation before your ſaid Counſellors and Notaries to be preſent, that ſhe was free from all Contracts; which was done accordingly. And thereupon I repairing to your Highneſs, declared how that ſhe had made her Proteſtation. Whereunto your Grace anſwered in effect theſe words, or much like; *Is there none other Remedy, but that I muſt needs, againſt my Will, put my Neck in the Yoke*; and ſo departed, leaving your Highneſs in a ſtudy or penſiveneſs. And yet your Grace determined the next morning

morning to go through; and in the morning, which was *Monday*, your Majeſty preparing your ſelf towards the Ceremonies; There was one Queſtion, Who ſhould lead to the Church? And it was appointed that the Earl of *Eſſex* deceaſed, and an Earl that came with her, ſhould lead her to the Church. And thereupon one came to your Highneſs, and ſaid to you, That the Earl of *Eſſex* was not come; whereupon your Grace appointed me to be one that ſhould lead her: And ſo I went into her Chamber, to the intent to have done your Commandment; and ſhortly after I came into her Chamber, the Earl of *Eſſex* was come: Whereupon I repaired back again into your Graces Privy Chamber, and ſhewed your Highneſs how he was come; and thereupon your Majeſty advanced towards the Gallery out of your Privy Chamber; and your Grace being in and about the midſt of your Chamber of Preſence, called me unto you, ſaying theſe words, or the like in ſentence; *My Lord, if it were not to ſatisfy the World, and my Realm, I would not do that I muſt do this day for none earthly thing*; and therewith one brought your Grace Word that ſhe was coming; and thereupon your Grace repaired into the Gallery towards the Cloſet, and there pauſed for her coming, being nothing content that ſhe ſo long tarried as I judged then. And ſo conſequently ſhe came, and your Grace afterward proceeded to the Ceremonies; and they being finiſhed, travelled the day as appertained, and the night after the cuſtom. And in the morning, on *Tueſday*, I repairing to your Majeſty into your Privy-Chamber, finding your Grace not ſo pleaſant as I truſted to have done, I was ſo bold to ask your Grace how you liked the Queen? Whereunto your Grace ſoberly anſwered, ſaying, *That I was not all Men, ſurely, as ye know, I liked her before not well, but now I like her much worſe; for*, quoth your Highneſs, *I have felt her Belly, and her Breaſts, and thereby, as I can judg, ſhe ſhould be no Maid; which ſtrook me ſo to the Heart when I felt them, that I had neither will nor courage to proceed any further in other Matters*; ſaying, *I have left her as good a Maid as I found her*: Which me thought then ye ſpake diſpleaſantly, which made me very ſorry to hear; Your Highneſs alſo after *Candlemaſs*, and before *Showſtie*, once or twice ſaid, That *ye were in the ſame caſe with her, as ye were afore, and that your Heart could never conſent to meddle with her carnally.* Notwithſtanding your Highneſs alledged, that ye for the moſt part uſed to lay nightly, or every ſecond night by her, and yet your Majeſty ever ſaid, *That ſhe was as good a Maid for you, as ever her Mother bare her, for any thing ye had miniſtred to her.* Your Highneſs ſhewed to me alſo in *Lent* laſt paſſed, at ſuch time as your Grace had ſome communication with her of my Lady *Mary*, how that ſhe began to wax ſtubborn and willful, ever lamenting your fate, and ever verifying that ye never had any carnal knowledg with her: And alſo after *Eaſter*, your Grace likewiſe, at divers times, and in the *Whitſun*-week, in your Grace's Privy-Chamber at *Greenwich*, exceedingly lamented your fate, and that your greateſt grief was, That *ye ſhould ſurely never have any more Children for the comfort of this Realm, if ye ſhould ſo continue*; aſſuring me, *that before God ye thought ſhe was never your lawful Wife.* At which time your Grace knoweth what anſwer I made; which was, that I would for my part do my utmoſt to comfort and deliver your Grace of your Afflictions; and how ſorry I was both to ſee and hear your Grace God knoweth. Your Grace divers times

ſithen *Whitſuntide*, ever alleadging one thing, and alſo ſaying, That *ye had as much to do to move the conſent of your Heart and Mind as ever did Man, and that you took God to witneſs; but ever*, you ſaid, *the Obſtacle could never out of your Mind.* And, Gracious Prince, after that you had firſt ſeen her at *Rocheſter*, I never thought in my heart that ye were or would be contented with that Marriage. And, Sir, I know now in what caſe I ſtand, in which is only the Mercy of God and your Grace; if I have not, to the uttermoſt of my remembrance, ſaid the Truth, and the whole Truth in this Matter, God never help me. I am ſure there is, as I think, no Man in this your Realm that knew more in this than I did, your Highneſs only excepted. And I am ſure, my Lord Admiral calling to his remembrance, can ſhew your Highneſs, and be my Witneſs what I ſaid unto him after your Grace came from *Rocheſter*, yea, and after your Grace's Marriage: And alſo now of late, ſithence *Whitſuntide*, and I doubt not but many and divers of my Lords of your Council, both before your Marriage and ſithence, have right-well perceived that your Majeſty hath not been well pleaſed with your Marriage. And as I ſhall anſwer to God, I never thought your Grace content, after you had once ſeen her at *Rocheſter*. And this is all that I know, moſt gracious and moſt merciful Sovereign Lord, beſeeching Almighty God, who ever hath in all your Cauſes counſelled, preſerved, opened, maintained, relieved, and defended your Highneſs; So he will now vouchſafe to counſel you, preſerve you, maintain you, remedy you, relieve and defend you, as may be moſt to your Honour, with Proſperity, Health, and Comfort of your Hearts deſire. For the which, and for the long Life, and proſperous Reign of your moſt Royal Majeſty, I ſhall, during my Life, and whiles I am here, pray to Almighty God, that he of his moſt abundant Goodneſs will help, aid, and comfort you, after your continuance of *Neſtor*'s Years: that that moſt noble Imp, the Princes Grace, your moſt dear Son, may ſucceed you to Reign long, proſperouſly, and felicioufly to God's pleaſure; beſeeching moſt humbly your Grace to pardon this my rude writing, and to conſider that I a moſt woful Priſoner, ready to take the Death, when it ſhall pleaſe God and your Majeſty; and yet the frail fleſh inciteth me continually to call to your Grace for Mercy and Grace for mine Offences; and thus Chriſt ſave, preſerve, and keep you.

Written at the *Tower* this *Wedneſday*, the laſt of *June*, with the heavy Heart, and trembling hand, of your Highneſs's moſt heavy and moſt miſerable Priſoner, and poor Slave,

Thomas Cromwell.

Moſt Gracious Prince, I cry for Mercy, Mercy, Mercy.

XVIII. *The King's own Declaration concerning it. An Original.*

FIrſt; I depoſe and declare, That this hereafter written is meerly the verity intended, upon none ſiniſter affection, nor yet upon none hatred nor diſpleaſure, and herein I take God to witneſs. Now to the Matter I ſay and affirm; That when the firſt communication was had with me for the Marriage of the Lady *Ann* of *Cleves*, I was glad to hearken to it, truſting to have ſome aſſured Friend by it; I much doubting that time, both the Emperor, *France*, and the Biſhop of *Rome*; and alſo becauſe I heard ſo much, both of her excellent Beauty and vertuous Conditions. But when I ſaw her at *Rocheſter*, the firſt time that ever I ſaw her, it rejoiced my heart that I had kept me free from making any Pact or Bond before with her till I ſaw her my ſelf; for then I adſure you I liked her ſo ill, and ſo far contrary to that ſhe was praiſed, that I was woe that ever ſhe came into *England*; and deliberated with my ſelf, that if it were poſſible to find means to break off, I would never enter Yoke with her. Of which miſliking, both the great Maſter, the Admiral that now is, and the Maſter of the Horſes, can and will here record. Then after my repair to *Greenwich*, the next day after I think, and doubt not, but that the Lord of *Eſſex* well examined, can, and will, or hath declared what I then ſaid to him in that caſe; not doubting, but ſince he is a Perſon which knoweth himſelf condemned to die by Act of Parliament, will not damn his Soul, but truly declare the Truth, not only at that time ſpoken by me, but alſo continually till the day of Marriage; and alſo many times after, whereby my lack of conſent, I doubt not, doth or ſhall well appear; And alſo lack enough of the Will and Power to conſummate the ſame; wherein both he, my Phyſicians, the Lord Privy Seal that now is, *Hennage* and *Denny* can; and I doubt not will teſtify according to truth, which is, That I never for love to the Woman conſented to marry; nor yet if ſhe brought Maiden-head with her, took any from her by true Carnal Copulation. This is my brief, true, and perfect Declaration.

Cotton Libr. *Otho* C. 10.

XIX. *The Judgment of the Convocation for annulling of the Marriage with* Ann *of* Cleve.

TEnor vero Literarum Teſtimonialum hujuſmodi ſequitur; & eſt talis. Excellentiſſimo in Chriſto Principi, &c. Thomas Cantuarien. & Edwardus Eboracen. Archiepiſcopi, cæteriq; Epiſcopi & reliquus veſtri Regni Angliæ clerus, Autoritate Literarum Commiſſionalium Veſtræ Majeſtatis, Congregati ac Synodum univerſalem repræſentantes; cum obſequio, reverentia & honore debitis, ſalutem & fœlicitatem. Cum nos humillimi & Majeſtatis Veſtræ devotiſſimi ſubditi, Convocati & Congregati ſumus virtute Commiſſionis Veſtræ magno ſigillo Veſtro ſigillat.

Regiſt. *Cranmer.*

ſigillat. dat.6 Julii Anno fœliciſſimi Regni Veſtri triceſimo ſecundo, quam accepimus in hæc quæ ſequitur verba.

Henricus Octavus Dei Gratia Angliæ, &c. Archiepiſcopis Cantuarien. & Eborac. ac cæteris Regni noſtri Angliæ Epiſcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, & univerſo Clero, ſalutem. Egerunt apud nos Regni noſtri proceres & populus, ut cum nuper quædam emerſerint, quæ ut illi putant ad nos Regniq; noſtri ſucceſſionem pertineant, inter quæ præcipua eſt, cauſa & conditio Matrimonii quod cum Illuſtri & Nobili Fœmina Domina Anna Clevenſi propter externam quidem conjugii ſpeciem, perplexum alioqui etiam multis ac variis modis ambiguum videtur; Nos ad ejuſdem Matrimonii diſquiſitionem ita procedere dignaremur ut opinionem Veſtram qui in Eccleſia noſtra Anglicana ſcientiam Verbi Dei & Doctrinam profitemini exquiramus, vobiſq; diſcutiendum Autoritatem ita demandemus, ut ſi animis Veſtris fuerit perſuaſum Matrimonium cum præfata Domina Anna minime conſiſtere aut cohærere debere; nos ad Matrimonium contrahend. cum alia liberos eſſe, Veſtro, Patrum ac reliquæ deinde Eccleſiæ ſuffragio pronuncietur & confirmetur. Nos autem qui Veſtrum in reliquis Eccleſiæ hujus Anglicanæ negotiis gravioribus quæ Eccleſiaſticam Oeconomiam & Religionem ſpectant judicium amplecti ſolemus, ad veritatis explicandæ teſtimonium omnino neceſſarium rati ſumus Cauſæ hujuſmodi Matrimonialis ſeriem & circumſtantias vobis exponi & communicari curare, ut quod, vos per Dei Leges licere decreveritis id demum totius Eccleſiæ noſtræ Autoritate innixi licite facere & exequi audeamus. Vos itaq; Convocari & in Synodum Univerſalem noſtra Autoritate convenire volentes, vobis conjunctim & diviſim committimus atq; mandamus, ut inſpecta hujus negotii veritate, ac ſolum Deum præ oculis habentes, quod verum, quod juſtum, quod honeſtum, quod ſanctum eſt, id nobis de communi Concilio ſcripto annuncio renuncietis, & de communi conſenſu licere definiatis: Nempe hoc unum a vobis noſtro jure poſtulamus, ut tanquam fida & proba Eccleſiæ membra cauſæ huic Eccleſiaſticæ, quæ maxima eſt, in juſtitia & veritate adeſſe velitis, & eam maturime juxta Commiſſionem vobis in hac parte factam abſolvere & expedire. In cujus rei Teſtimonium has Literas noſtras fieri fecimus Patentes, Teſte meipſo apud Weſtmon. ſexto die Julii Anno Regni noſtri triceſimo ſecundo. Nos tenorem & effectum Veſtræ Commiſſionis per omnia ſequentes, poſtquam matura deliberatione perpendimus & conſideravimus omnes Matrimonii prætenſi inter Veſtram Majeſtatem Illuſtriſſimam & Nobilem fœminam Dominam Annam Clevenſem circumſtantias, nobis multis modis expoſitas, cognitas & perſpectas, tandem ad definitionem & determinationem ſequentem, quam communi omnium conſenſu juſtorumq; animorum noſtrorum judicio ac recto conſcientiæ dictaminæ protulimus, proceſſimus, in hunc modum & (quod tenor Veſtræ Commiſſionis exigit) Veſtræ Nobiliſſimæ Majeſtati in hoc præſenti ſcripto referend. duximus, & ſignificamus prout ſequitur.

Primum itaq; comperimus & conſideravimus Matrimonium inter Majeſtatem Veſtram & Nobilem fœminam Dominam Annam Clevenſem prætenſam præcontracto quodam ſive ſponſaliorum, ſive Matrimonii, inter dictam Dominam Annam & Marchionem Lotharingiæ concluſo ambiguum, plane impeditum & perplexum reddi; Animadvertimus enim quod quamvis Veſtra Majeſtas in prima hujus Matrimonii prætenſi

tractatione

tractatione præcontractus prædicti, & de quo tum ſermo multus habebatur, diſcuſſionem & declarationem ante ſolemnizandum cum dicta Domina Anna Matrimonium tanta inſtantia exegerit, ut pro conditione contrahendi deinde Matrimonii fuiſſe merito exiſtimari poſſit, qua conditione defecta nihil ageretur; atq; hæc cum ita ſe haberent tamen neque ante ſolemnizationem illa de præcontractu ambiguitas expedita & declarata eſt, cum idipſum tum temporis Majeſtas Veſtra denuo expoſceret & efflagitaret, cui clara jam & expedita eſſe omnia falſo renunciabatur, neq; poſtea quicquam efficax ut promiſſum ab Oratoribus fuerat, huc tranſmiſſum eſt, quo ſcrupulus ille ex præcontractu natus eximeretur, tolleretur aut amoveretur, adeo quidem ut prætenſum Matrimonium inter Majeſtatem Veſtram & Dominam Annam prædictam non modo ex conditionis defectu corruerit, ſed ſi nulla conditio hujuſmodi omnino fuiſſet, certe quidem Matrimonium hujuſmodi prætenſum ex ſola præcontractus hujuſmodi cauſa non explicata in ſuſpenſo manſerit, in eum etiam caſum nullius vigoris omnino ac valoris pronunciandum, quo præcontractum illum verbis de præſenti factum fuiſſe conſtiterit, id quod multis de cauſis eſt veriſimilius & merito ſuſpectum haberi poteſt.

Conſideravimus præterea ex his quæ allegata, affirmata & probata nobis fuerunt, quod prætenſum Matrimonium inter Majeſtatem veſtram & Dominam Annam prædictam internum, purum, perfectum & integrum conſenſum non habuit: Imo contra quemadmodum inter ipſa tractationis initia, cum de hoc Matrimonio ageretur, plurimus illecebrarum fucus adhibitus eſt, & magnus laudationum acervus ſupra fidem cumulatus, ut hic perduceretur & obtruderetur ignota, ita ſolemnizationis actus qui inſtabat a Majeſtate Veſtra animo reluctante & diſſentiente exortus eſt, cauſis maximis & graviſſimis urgentibus & prementibus quæ animum invitum & alienum perpellere merito poſſent.

Conſideravimus etiam carnalem Copulam inter Majeſtatem Veſtram & prædictam Dominam Annam minime ſecutam eſſe, nec cum ea juſto impedimento intercedente conſequi deinde poſſe. Quæ omnia ex his quas audivimus probationibus vera & certa eſſe exiſtimamus. Poſtremo illud quoq; Conſideramus, quod & nobis ab aliis propoſitum etiam nos verum eſſe fatemur, agnoſcimus & approbamus, viz. ut ſi Majeſtas Veſtra (modo ne fiat divinæ juſſioni præjudicium) in libertate contrahendi Matrimonii cum alia eſſe declaretur, maxime totius Regni beneficio id futurum. Cum quidem Regni fœlicitas omnis & conſervatio, tum in Regia Veſtra perſona ad Dei honorem & divinarum legum executionem conſervandam conſiſtit, tum in vitandis etiam ſiniſtris omnibus opinionibus & ſcandalis quæ de Majeſtatis Veſtræ progenie poſt natam nobis ex prætenſo Matrimonio ſobolem ſuborirentur, ſi præcontractus ille de quo diximus, & cujus declaratio nulla ſecuta eſt, prædictæ Dominæ Annæ objiceretur. His itaq; de cauſis & conſiderationibus aliiſq; multis non neceſſariis quæ exprimantur, cum ſeparatim ſingulis, tum conjunctim omnibus conſideratis & perpenſis, Nos Archiepiſcopi & Epiſcopi, cum Decanis, Archiadiaconis, & reliquo hujus Regni Clero nunc congregato, circumſtantias facti ejuſq; veritatem ut antedictum eſt conſiderantes, tum vero quid Eccleſia in hujuſmodi caſibus & poſſit facere & ſæpenumero antehac fecerit perpendentes, tenore præſentium declaramus & definimus, Majeſtatem Veſtram prædicto Matrimonio prætenſo, utpote nullo & invalido, non alligari, ſed alio deſuper judicio non expectato

Eccleſiæ

Eccleſiæ ſuæ Autoritate fretam poſſe arbitrio ſuo ad contrahend. & conſummand. Matrimonium cum quavis fœmina, divino jure vobiſcum contrahere non prohibita, procedere, prætenſo illo cum Domina Anna prædicta Matrimonio non obſtante.

Similiter Dominam Annam prædictam non obſtante Matrimonio prætenſo cum Majeſtate Veſtra, quod nullo pacto obſtare debere Decernimus, poſſe arbitrio ſuo cum quavis alia perſona divino jure non prohibita Matrimonium contrahere. Hæc Nos Clerum & doctam Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ partem repræſentantes, tum vera, juſta, honeſta & ſancta eſſe Affirmamus, tum eiſdem qui perfectiſſime, integerrime & efficaciſſime ad omnem intentionem, propoſitum & effectum a nobis exigi poteſt, Conſentimus & Aſſentimur per præſentes. In quorum omnium & ſingulorum teſtimonium hæc ſcripta manuum noſtrarum ſubſcriptione, communimus, utriuſq; etiam Archiepiſcopi ſigillo appoſito. Dat. Weſtmon. nono die menſis Julii Anno Dom. 1540.

XX. Ann *of* Cleve's *Letter to her Brother.*

BROTHER,

Cotton Libr. *Otho.* C. 10.

BEcauſe I had rather ye knew the Truth by mine Advertiſement, than for want thereof ye ſhould be deceived by vain Reports, I write theſe preſent Letters unto you, by which ye ſhall underſtand, That being advertiſed how the Nobles and Commons of this Realm deſired the King's Highneſs here to commit the examination of the Matter of Marriage, between me and his Majeſty, to the determination of the Clergy: I did the more willingly conſent thereunto, and ſince the determination made, have alſo allowed, approved, and agreed unto the ſame, wherein I have more reſpect, as becometh me, to Truth and good Pleaſure, than any worldly Affection that might move me to the contrary. I account God pleaſed with that is done, and know my ſelf to have ſuffered no wrong or injury; but being my Body preſerved in the integrity which I brought into this Realm, and I truly diſcharged from all band of Conſent, I find the King's Highneſs, whom I cannot juſtly have as my Huſband, to be nevertheleſs as a moſt kind, loving, and friendly Father and Brother, and to uſe me as honourably, and with as much humanity and liberality as you, I my ſelf, or any of our Kin or Allies could wiſh or deſire; wherewith I am, for mine own part, ſo well content and ſatisfied, that I much deſire my Mother, You, and other mine Allies ſo to underſtand it, accept, and take it; and ſo to uſe your ſelf towards this Noble and Vertuous Prince, as he may have cauſe to continue his friendſhip towards you, which on his behalf ſhall nothing be empaired or altered for this Matter; for ſo hath it pleaſed his Highneſs to ſignify unto me, that like as he will ſhew me always a moſt fatherly and brotherly kindneſs, and has ſo provided for me; ſo will he remain with you, and other, according to ſuch terms as have paſſed in the ſame knot of Amity which between you hath been concluded, this Matter notwithſtanding, in ſuch wiſe as neither I, ne you, or any of our Friends ſhall have juſt cauſe of miſcontentment. Thus much I have thought

thought neceſſary to write unto you, leſt for want of true knowledg ye might otherwiſe take this Matter than ye ought, and in other ſort care for me than ye ſhould have cauſe. Only I require this of you, That ye ſo uſe your ſelf, as for your untowardneſs in this Matter, I fare not the worſe; whereunto I truſt you will have regard.

XXI. *The Reſolutions of ſeveral Biſhops and Divines, of ſome Queſtions concerning the* Sacraments; *by which it will appear with what maturity and care they proceeded in the Reformation, taken from the Originals, under their own hands. Only in copying them, I judged it might be more acceptable to the Reader to ſee every Man's Anſwer ſet down after every Queſtion; and therefore they are publiſhed in this method.* Ex MSS. D. *Stillingfleet.*

The firſt Queſtion.

What a Sacrament is by the Scripture?

THe Scripture ſheweth not what a Sacrament is, nevertheleſs where in the Latin Text we have *Sacramentum*, there in the Greek we have *Myſterium*; and ſo by the Scripture, *Sacramentum* may be called *Myſterium, id eſt, res occulta ſive arcana.* *Canterbury.*

To the firſt; In Scripture we neither find Definition nor Deſcription of a Sacrament. *York.*

Without prejudice to the Truth, and ſaving always more better Judgment, *Cum facultate etiam melius deliberandi in hac parte.* *London.*

To the firſt Queſtion; I think that the Scriptures do uſe this word *Sacrament*, in divers places, according to the Matter it treateth upon, *Tobi.* 12. *Rev.* 1. *Wiſd.* 2. 6. 12. *Dan.* 2. *Epheſ.* 1. 3, 5. *Col.* 1. 1 *Tim.* 10. *Rev.* 17. as alſo it doth divers other words: Yet, what a *Sacrament* is by definition, or deſcription of Scripture, I cannot find it explicated openly. Likewiſe as I cannot find the definition or deſcription of the *Trinity*, nor yet ſuch-like things. Mary what other Men can find, being daily and of long ſeaſon exerciſed in Scripture, I cannot tell, referring therefore this thing to their better knowledg.

I think that where this word, *Sacramentum*, is found in the Scripture in the Latin Tranſlation, there in the Greek is found this word μυστήριον, that is to ſay, a Myſtery, or a ſecret thing. *Rocheſter.*

What the word *Sacrament* betokeneth, or what is the definition, deſcription, or notification thereof, I have found no ſuch plainly ſet out by Scripture. But this I find, that it ſhould appear by the ſame Scripture, that the Latin word *Sacramentum*, and the Greek word *Myſterium*, *Carlile.*

be in manner always uſed for one thing; as much to ſay as, *Abſconditum; Occultatum, vel in occulto.*

Dr. *Robertſon.* *Thomas Robertſon.* Ad Quæſtiones.

Ad primam Reſpondeo, vocem Sacramenti, mihi in Sacris Literis non reperiri in hac ſignificatione, niſi quatenus ad Matrimonium applicatur a Paulo, ubi tamen Græce habetur Myſterium: & proinde ex meris Scripturis expreſſe definiri non poſſe.

Dr. *Cox.* I find not in Scripture, the definition of a *Sacrament*, nor what a *Sacrament* is.

Dr. *Day.* I find no definition in Scripture of this word *Sacramentum*; howbeit whereſoever it is found in Scripture, the ſame is in the Greek *Myſterium*, which ſignifieth a Secret, or Hid thing.

Dr. *Ogleſthorp.* Non habetur in Scripturis, quid Sacramentum proprie ſit, niſi quod ſubinde Myſterium dicitur: varia enim, & in Scripturis, & in Eccleſiaſticis Scriptoribus reperitur ejus nominis ſignificatio; ideoq; definiri non poteſt.

Dr. *Redmayn.* I find no definition of this word *Sacrament*, in the Scripture; nor likewiſe of this word *Gratia*, or *Lex*, with innumerable more; and yet what they ſignify, it is known; ſo the ſignification of this word *Sacrament* is plain, it is nothing elſe but a ſecret Hid thing, or any Myſtery.

Dr. *Edgeworth* Like as *Angelus*, *Cœlum*, *Terra*, be ſpoken of in Scripture, yet none of them defined: So altho *Sacrumentum* be ſpoken of in Scripture, yet it hath no definition there, but is taken divers ways, and in divers ſignifications.

Dr. *Symmons.* This word, *Sacrament*, in Scripture is not defined.

Dr. *Treſham.* I ſay this word, *Sacrament*, taken in his common ſignification, betokeneth a Myſtery, and hid, or a ſecret thing: But if ye underſtand it, in his proper ſignification, as we uſe to apply it only to the Seven Sacraments, the Scripture ſheweth not what a Sacrament is. And yet leſt any Man might be offended, thinking, that becauſe the Scripture ſheweth not what a Sacrament is, therefore the ſame is a light thing, or little to be eſteemed: Here may be remembred, that there are ſome weighty and godly things, being alſo of our Belief, which the Scripture ſheweth not expreſly what they are. As for Example; We believe the Son is conſubſtantial to the Father: *Item*; that the Father is unbegotten, yet the Scripture ſheweth not what is conſubſtantial, nor what is unbegotten, neither maketh any mention of the words. Likewiſe it is true, Baptiſm is a Sacrament, Pennance is a Sacrament, *&c.* yet the Scripture ſheweth not what a Sacrament is.

Edwardus Leyghton. Dr. *Leyghton.*

Reſponſions unto the Queſtions.

To the firſt Queſtion, I ſay; That in Holy Scripture I never found, and I think there is no Man that will find a definition or deſcription of this word *Sacramentum*; which is as much to ſay in Engliſh, as, a Myſtery, a ſecret, or a hid thing.

I do read no definition of this word, *Sacramentum*, in Scripture; but ſometimes it is uſed in Scripture, to ſignify a thing ſecret or hid. Dr. *Coren.*

In primo articulo conveniunt omnes, non ſatis conſtare ex Scriptura, quid ſit Sacramentum; Pleriq; tamen dicunt Græce appellari, Myſterium, (i. e.) a ſecret, or a hid thing. *Conveniunt.*

In the Anſwer unto the firſt Queſtion, They do all agree, that it is not evident by Scripture, what a *Sacrament* is, but *Myſterium*, that is, a ſecret, or a hid thing. *Agreement.*

2. Queſtion.

What a Sacrament is by the Ancient Authors?

Anſwers.

THe Ancient Doctors call a Sacrament, *Sacræ rei Signum, viz. viſibile Verbum, Symbolum, atque pactio qua ſumus conſtricti.* *Canterbury.*

To the ſecond; Of St. *Auguſtin's* words, this Deſcription following of a *Sacrament* may be gathered; *Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis gratiæ, viſibilis forma.* And this thing, that is ſuch viſible form or ſign of inviſible Grace in Sacraments, we find in Scripture, altho we find not the word *Sacrament*, ſaving only in the Sacrament of Matrimony. *York.*

To the ſecond; I find in Authors this Declaration, *Sacramentum eſt Sacræ rei ſignum.* Alſo; *Inviſibilis Gratiæ Viſibilis Forma.* Alſo, *Viſibilis Forma Inviſibilis Gratiæ imaginem gerens & cauſa exiſtens.* And of the verity and goodneſs of this Deſcription or Declaration, I refer me to the Divines, better acquainted with this Matter than I am. *London.*

I think that this word *Sacrament*, as it is taken of the Old Authors, hath divers and ſundry ſignifications, for ſometimes it is extended to all holy Signs, ſometimes to all Myſteries, ſometimes to all Allegories, *&c.* *Rocheſter.*

Thomas Waldenſis, who writeth a ſolemn Work *de Sacramentis*, cauſeth me to ſay, that this word, *Sacramentum in Communi*, is defined of of the Ancient Authors; who after that he had ſhewed how that *Wycliff*, and before him *Berengarius* hath ſaid, that *Auguſtine* defineth *Sacramentum* thus; *Sacramentum eſt ſacrum Signum*; and *Signum* in this wiſe, *Carlile.*

De Doctrina Chriſtiana. *Signum eſt res præter ſpeciem quam ſenſibus ingerit aliquid aliud ex ſe faciens in cogitationem venire.* He himſelf, with Ancient Authors, as he ſaith, defineth it thus; *Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis Forma, vel, Sacramentum eſt Sacræ rei Signum:* Both theſe Deſcriptions (ſaith he) be of the Ancient Fathers.

Dr. *Robertſon.* Sacramentum a vetuſtioribus, quemadmodum fert Hugo de S. Victore, & Thomas Aquinas, nondum reperiri definitum, niſi quod Auguſtinus interdum vocet Sacramenta, Sacra ſigna aut ſignacula, interdum ſimilitudines earum rerum, quarum ſunt Sacramenta. Et Rabanus, Sacramentum dicitur, quod ſub tegumento rerum corporalium, virtus Divina ſecretius ſalutem eorundem Sacramentorum operatur, unde & a ſecretis virtutibus vel Sacris, Sacramenta dicuntur.

Dr. *Cox.* The Ancient Authors commonly ſay, That a Sacrament is, *Sacræ rei Signum*, or *Sacroſanctum Signaculum*; but they do not utterly and properly define what it is.

Dr. *Day:* The Ancient Doctors take this word, *Sacramentum*, diverſly, and apply it to many things.

Dr. *Oglethorpe.* Ex Auguſtino & aliis colligitur, Sacramentum poſſe dici, Sacræ rei Signum, vel, inviſibilis gratiæ viſibilis Forma, quanquam hæc poſterior definitio non conveniat omnibus Sacramentis, ſciz. tantum ſeptem iſtis uſitatis; ſed nec his quoq; ex æquo, cum non æqualem conferant gratiam.

Dr. *Redmayn.* Generally it is taken to ſignify every ſecret Myſtery, and *Sacramenta* be called, *Sacrarum rerum ſigna*, or, *Sacra ſignacula:* And as this word *Sacrament* particularly is attributed to the chief Sacraments of the Church, this definition of a Sacrament may be gathered of St. *Auguſt. Inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis Forma.* And alſo that a Sacrament, is a myſtical or ſecret Work which conſiſteth *ex Verbo & elemento.* And *Cyprian* ſaith, *Verborum ſolennitas & ſacri invocatio nominis, & ſigna inſtitutionibus Apoſtolicis Sacerdotum Miniſteriis Attributa, viſibile celebrant Sacramentum, rem vero ipſam Spiritus Sanctus format & efficit.*

Dr. *Edgeworth* By the Ancient Authors, *Sacramentum* hath many ſignifications, ſometimes it is called a Secret Counſel. *Tob.* 12. *Sacramentum Regis abſcondere bonum eſt. Nebuchadnezar's* Dream was called *Sacramentum*, Dan. 2. The Myſtery of Chriſt's Incarnation, and of our Redemption, is ſo called, *Epheſ.* 3. and 1 *Tim.* 3. So that every ſecret thing having ſome privy ſenſe or ſignification, is called *Sacramentum*, generally extending the Vocable: Notwithſtanding in one ſignification, *Sacramentum* accordeth properly to them that be commonly called the *Seven Sacraments*; and hath this definition taken of St. *Auguſt.* and others, *Inviſibilis gratiæ viſibilis Forma, ut ipſius imaginem gerat & quodammodo cauſa exiſtat.*

Dr. *Symmons.* The Ancient Authors of Divinity uſe this word *Sacrament* in divers ſignifications, for they call it *Myſterium*; and ſo the Scripture uſeth

it

it in many places, as 1 *Tim.* 3. *Tobie* 12. *Wiſd.* 2. *Dan.* 2. *Eph.* 1. & 3. The word *Sacrament* is alſo uſed for a Figure or a Sign of the Old Teſtament, ſignifying *Chriſt*, as the *Paſchal Lamb*, and the *Braſen Serpent*, and divers other Holy Signs. It is alſo taken of the Holy Authors, to be an Holy Sign, which maketh to the ſanctification of the Soul, given of God againſt ſin for our Salvation, as it may be gathered of them; for this word *Sacrament* is called by them, *Sacrum Signum*; but I have not read any expreſs definition common to all Sacraments.

This word *Sacrament*, in the Ancient Authors, is oft-times uſed in this general ſignification, and ſo (as is before-ſaid) it is a Myſtery, or ſecret thing; and ſometimes the ſame word is uſed as appliable only unto the Seven Sacraments; and is thus deſcribed, A viſible Form of an inviſible Grace: and thus alſo, a thing by the which, under the covering of viſible things, the godly Power doth work our health. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the ſecond, I ſay; That *Hugo de Sancto Victore*, is one of the moſt Ancient Authors that I ever could perceive, took upon him to define or deſcribe a *Sacrament*: Howbeit, I ſuppoſe, that this common deſcription which the Schoolmen uſe, after the Maſter of the Sentences, *viz. Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis ſeu ſenſibilis Forma*, may be gathered of St. *Auſtin*, and divers other Ancient Author's words in many places of their Works. Dr. *Leyghton.*

I do find no definition plainly ſet forth in old Authors, notwithſtanding this definition, *Inviſibilis Gratiæ viſibilis Forma*, may be gathered out of St. *Auguſtine*. Dr. *Coren.*

In ſecundo Articulo conveniunt omnes, Sacramentum eſſe ſacræ rei ſignum. Treſham, Oglethorpus, & Edgworth, dicunt hanc definitionem, Sacramentum eſt inviſibilis gratiæ viſibilis Forma, his ſeptem convenire. Thurlebeus ait, non convenire omnibus ſeptem, & æque pluribus poſſe attribui atq; ſeptem. *Con.*

In the ſecond they put many Deſcriptions of a *Sacrament*, as the ſign of a holy Thing, a viſible Word, *&c.* But upon this one definition, a Sacrament is a viſible Form of inviſible Grace, they do not all agree: for Doctors, *Edgworth*, *Treſham*, and *Oglethorpe* ſay, That *it is applicable only and properly unto the word* Sacrament, *as it ſignifieth the Seven Sacraments uſually received.* My Lord Elect of *Weſtminſter* ſaith, That *it agreeth not unto all the Seven, nor yet more ſpecially unto the Seven, than unto any other.* *Agreem.*

3. Queſtion.

How many Sacraments there be by the Scripture?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. THe Scripture ſheweth not how many Sacraments there be, but *Incarnatio Chriſti* and *Matrimonium*, be called in the Scripture *Myſteria*, and therefore we may call them by the Scripture *Sacramenta*. But one *Sacramentum* the Scripture maketh mention of, which is hard to be revealed fully, as would to God it were, and that is *Myſterium Iniquitatis*, or *Myſterium Meretricis magnæ & Beſtiæ*.

York. To the third; In Scripture we find no preciſe number of Sacraments.

London. To the third; I find not ſet forth the expreſs number, with expreſs declaration of this many and no more; nor yet of theſe expreſly by Scripture which we uſe, eſpecially under the name of *Sacraments*, ſaving only of Matrimony.

Rocheſter. I think that in the Scripture be innumerable Sacraments, for all Myſteries, all Ceremonies, all the Facts of Chriſt, the whole Story of the *Jews*, and the Revelations of the *Apocalypſe*, may be named Sacraments.

Carlile. The certain number of Sacraments, or Myſteries, contained within Scripture, cannot be well expreſſed or aſſigned; for Scripture containeth more than infallibly may be rehearſed.

Dr. *Robertſon.* De iſtis ſeptem, quæ uſitate vocamus Sacramenta, nullum invenio nomine Sacramenti appellari, niſi Matrimonium. Matrimonium eſſe Sacramentum, probat Eckius, Homi. 73. & conferre gratiam, ibid.

Dr. *Cox.* There be divers Sacraments by the Scripture, as in *Tobie* 12. *Sacramentum Regis*, the King's Secret. Alſo *Nebuchadnezars* Dream, *Dan.* 2. is called, *Sacramentum. Incarnatio Chriſti*, *Sacramentum*, Epheſ. 3. *Matrimonium*, *Sacramentum*.

Dr. *Day.* Taking for Sacraments any thing, that this word, *Sacramentum*, doth ſignify, there be in Scripture a great number of Sacraments more than Seven.

Dr. *Oglethorpe.* Non habetur determinatus Sacramentorum numerus in Scripturis, ſunt enim innumera fere illic, quæ paſſim vocantur Sacramenta; cum omnis allegoria, omneq; Myſterium, dicatur Sacramentum. Quin et ſomnia, ac ſecreta, ſubinde Sacramenta vocantur. Tobiæ 2. Sacramentum Regis abſcondere bonum eſt; & Dan. 2. Imploremus miſericordias Dei Cœli ſuper Sacramento iſto, & ſomnio. Paulus etiam Epiſt. 2. vocat Myſterium Incarnationis Chriſti Sacramentum: Et in Apoc. 1. vocat Sacramentum ſeptem Stellarum. Ac hoc præcipue obſervandum venit, nullum

nullum a ſeptem Sacramentis receptis, hoc nomine appellari, præter ſolum Matrimonium.

As many as there be Myſteries, which be innumerable; but by Scripture, I think, the Seven which be named Sacraments, may principally bear the name. — Dr. *Redmayn.*

Speaking of Sacraments generally, they be innumerable ſpoken of in Scripture; but properly to ſpeak of Sacraments, there be but Seven that may be ſo called, of which Matrimony is expreſly called *Sacramentum*, Epheſ. 5. and as I think, in the germane and proper ſignification of a Sacrament; ſo that the indiviſible knot of the Man and his Wife in one Body, by the Sacrament of Matrimony, is the Matter of this Sacrament; upon which, as on the literal verity the Apoſtle foundeth this allegorical ſaying, *Ego autem dico in Chriſto & in Eccleſia*; for the myſtical ſenſe preſuppoſeth a verity in the Letter on which that is taken. Six more there be to which the definition doth agree, as manifeſtly doth appear by the Scriptures with the expoſition of the Ancient Authors. — Dr. *Edgewoath*

In the Scripture there is no certain number of Sacraments. — Dr. *Symmons.*

I find no more of the ſeven, called expreſly Sacraments, but only Matrimony, but extending the name of Sacrament in his moſt general acception; there are in Scripture a great number of Sacraments, whereof the Apoſtle ſaith, *Si noverint Myſteria omnia, &c.* — Dr. *Treſham.*

To the third; I ſay, that I find not in Scripture any of theſe ſeven which we commonly call Sacraments, called *Sacramentum*, but only *Matrimonium.* But I find divers and many other things called Sacraments in Scripture, as in the 21 of *Tobie*, *Sacramentum Regis abſcondere bonum eſt. Item Apoc.* 17. *Dicamus tibi Sacramentum. Item*, 1 *Tim.* 3. *Magnum eſt pietatis Sacramentum, &c.* — Dr. *Leyghton.*

I cannot tell how many Sacraments be, by Scripture, for they be above one hundred. — Dr. *Coren.*

In tertio conveniunt ſatis: non eſſe certum numerum Sacramentorum per Scripturas. Redmaynus addit, But by Scripture I think the ſeven which be named Sacraments, may principally bear the name. *Idem ſentit Edgworth, & ſeptem tantum. Matrimonium in Scripturis haberi ſub nomine Sacramenti pleriq; dicunt.* — *Con.*

In the third they do agree, That there is no certain number of Sacraments by Scripture, but even as many as there be Myſteries; and none of theſe ſeven called Sacraments, but only Matrimony in Scripture. — *Agreement.*

4. Queſtion.

How many Sacraments there be by the Ancient Authors?

Anſwers.

Canterbury BY the Ancient Authors there be many Sacraments more than ſeven, for all the Figures which ſignifie Chriſt to come, or teſtifie that he is come, be called Sacraments, as all the Figures of the Old Law, and in the New Law; *Euchariſtia, Baptiſmus, Paſcha, Dies Dominicus, lotio pedum, ſignum Crucis, Chriſma, Matrimonium, Ordo, Sabbatum, Impoſitio manuum, Oleum, Conſecratio Olei, Lac, Mel, Aqua, Vinum, Sal, Ignis, Cinis, Adapertio Aurium, veſtis candida*, and all the Parables of Chriſt, with the Propheſies of the *Apocalyps*, and ſuch others, be called by the Doctors, *Sacramenta.*

York. To the fourth; There is no preciſe number of Sacraments mentioned by the Ancient Authors, taking the word *Sacrament*, in his moſt general ſignification.

London. To the fourth; I find that St. *Auſtine* ſpeaketh *de Baptiſmo, de Euchariſtia, de Matrimonio, de Ordinatione clericorum, de Sacramento Chriſmatis & Unctionis:* Alſo I find in the ſaid St. *Auſtine*, that in the Old Law there were many Sacraments, and in the New Law few.

Rocheſter. I think that in the Doctors be found many more Sacraments than ſeven, *viz. Panis Catechumenorum, ſignum Crucis, Oleum, Lac, Sal, Mel, &c.*

Carlile. That Scripture containeth, by the ſame Holy Ghoſt which is Author thereof, the Holy Doctors, and Ancient Fathers expoundeth; So that where in Scripture the number of Sacraments is uncertain, it cannot be among them certain.

Dr. *Robertſon.* Apud Auguſtinum lego Sacramentum Nuptiarum, Sacramentum Baptiſmi, Sacramentum Euchariſtiæ, quod & altaris ſive panis vocat; Sacramentum Ordinationis; Sacramentum Chriſmatis, quod datur per manus impoſitionem Baptizatis; Sacramentum Unctionis.

Dr. *Cox.* I find in the Ancient Authors, that *Baptiſm* is called *Sacramentum, Euchariſtia, Sacramentum, Matrimonium Sacramentum, Ordo Sacramentum, Chriſma Sacramentum, Impoſitio Manuum per Baptiſmum Sacramentum, Dilectio Sacramentum, Lotio pedum Sacramentum, Oleum, Mel, Lac, Sacramenta*; and many others.

Dr. *Day.* There be a great ſort of Sacraments found in the Doctors, after the acception above-ſaid, more than ſeven.

Dr. *Oglethorp.* Apud Scriptores Eccleſiaſticos reperiuntur multo plura Sacramenta quam hæc ſeptem.

Taking

Taking this word Sacrament univerſally for Myſteries, or all ſecret Tokens, there be more Sacraments than can be reckoned; but the ſeven by old Authors may ſpecially obtain the name. *Lotio pedum* is ſpoken of in old Authors as a ſpecial Sacrament uſed then in the Church, and as it appeareth, having a great ground in the Scripture; and I think it were better to renew that again, and ſo to have eight Sacraments, rather than to diminiſh the number of the ſeven now uſed. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Even like as to the next Queſtion before. Dr. *Edgeworth*

The ancient Authors acknowledg many more than ſeven; for they call in their Writings all Rites and Ceremonies, Sacraments. Dr. *Symmons.*

Generally, as many as Myſteries, ſpecially ſeven, and no more of like nature to them; for although I find not expreſs mention where Penance is called a Sacrament, yet I think it may be deduced and proved by *Cyprian*, in his Sermon *de Paſſione Chriſti*, in theſe words. *Deniq; quicunq; fiunt Sacramentorum Miniſtri, per operationem authoritas in figura Crucis omnibus Sacramentis largitur effectum, & cuncta peragit nobis quod omnibus nominibus eminet a Sacramentorum vicariis invocatum: At licet indigni ſint qui accipiunt, Sacramentorum tamen reverentia & propinquiorem ad Deum parat acceſſum, & ubi redierint ad cor conſtat ablutionis donum, & redit effectus munerum, nec alias quæri aut repeti neceſſe eſt ſalutiferum Sacramentum*; in theſe words, *redit effectus munerum*; and, *nec alias repeti neceſſe eſt ſalutiferum Sacramentum*, muſt needs be underſtood Penance, and alſo that Penance is a Sacrament: For as our firſt acceſs to God is by the Sacrament *Baptiſm*, which *Cyprian* there following called *Ablutionem primam*; ſo if we fall by deadly ſin, we cannot *repetere* God again, but by Penance; which repeting (*i. e.*) Penance, *Cyprian* calleth *Salutiferum Sacramentum.* Dr. *Treſham.*

To the fourth, I ſay; That I find in ancienter Authors, every one of theſe ſeven, which we call commonly Sacraments, called *Sacramentum*; as in *Auſtin* every one of them is called *Sacramentum* but only Penance, which *Cyprian* calleth *Sacramentum.* Alſo I find in the ancienter Authors divers other things (beſides the ſeven) called Sacraments, as *Lotio pedum* in *Cyprian*, &c. Dr. *Leyghton.*

More Sacraments be found in old Authors than Seven. Dr. *Coren.*

In quarto conveniunt, plura eſſe Sacramenta quam ſeptem apud Authores: Redman addit; But the ſeven, by old Authors, may ſpecially obtain the name. *Idem putat Edgworth*, and *Treſham. Lotio pedum*, he thinketh were better to be renewed, and ſo made 8. Sacraments, than the number of the ſeven to be diminiſhed. *Treſhamus citat Cyprianum in Serm. de Paſſione Chriſti pro pœnitentia, quod dicatur Sacramentum, cum alii fere omnes nuſquam appellari aiunt Sacramentum apud Authores, & hic locus aperte agit de Baptiſmo, quod vocat donum ablutionis, & Sacramentum Salutiferum.* Con.

In the fourth they agree, That there is no determinate number of Sacraments ſpoken of in the old Authors; but that my Lord of *York*, *Agreement.*

and *Edgworth*, *Treſham*, *Redman*, *Crayford*, and *Simmons*, ſay, That thoſe ſeven, by old Authors, may ſpecially obtain the name of Sacraments. The Biſhop of St. *Davids* ſaith, That there be but four Sacraments in the old Doctors moſt chiefly ſpoken of, and they be *Baptiſm*, the Sacrament of the *Altar*, *Matrimony*, and *Pennance*.

5. Queſtion.

Whether this word Sacrament, *be and ought to be attributed to the ſeven only? and whether the ſeven Sacraments be found in any of the old Authors?*

Anſwers.

Canterbury I Know no cauſe why this word, *Sacrament*, ſhould be attributed to the ſeven only; for the old Authors never preſcribed any certain number of Sacraments, nor in all their Books I never read theſe two words joined together, *viz. ſeptem Sacramenta.*

York. To the fifth; To the firſt part of this Queſtion, this word, *Sacrament*, is uſed and applied in Scripture, to ſome things that be none of the ſeven Sacraments. To the ſecond part; The ſeven Sacraments be found in ſome of the ancient Authors.

London. To the fifth, I anſwer; That this word, *Sacrament*, in our Language commonly hath been attributed to the ſeven cuſtomably called Sacraments, not for that yet, that the word Sacrament cannot be applied to any more, but for that the ſeven have been ſpecially of very long and ancient ſeaſon received, continued and taken for things of ſuch ſort.

Rocheſter. I think that the name of a Sacrament, is and may be attributed to more than ſeven, and that all the ſeven Sacraments be found in the old Authors, tho all peradventure be not found in one Author. But I have not read Pennance called by the name of a Sacrament in any of them.

Carlile. Certain it is, that this word Sacrament, neither is nor ought to be attributed to ſeven only, for both Scripture and ancient Authors otherwiſe applieth it, but yet nothing letteth, but that this word Sacrament may moſt eſpecially, and in a certain due preheminence, be applied to the ſeven Sacraments, of moſt ancient name and uſage among Chriſtian Men. And that the ancient Authors have ſo uſed and applied it, affirmeth the ſaid *Thomas Walden*, convincing *Wycliffe* and *Berengarius* who enforced the contrary, from *Cyprian*, and alſo *Auguſtine*, with other holy Doctors, they may ſo well be gathered.

Dr. *Robertſon.* Vocabulum, Sacramenti, in Sacris Literis, nulli Sacramentorum quod ſciam tribuitur, niſi Matrimonio: a vetuſtis Scriptoribus tribuitur Ceremoniis & umbris legis, Incarnationi Chriſti, figuris, allegoriis, & feſtivitatibus:

vi[illegible]atibus: Apud Paulum legitur divinitatis, voluntatis divinæ, & pietatis Sacramentum. Cæterum loquendo de Sacramentis his, quæ ſunt inviſibilis gratiæ collatæ in Eccleſia Chriſti viſibilia ſigna, opinor non plura quam ſeptem inveniri, hiſq; magis proprie quam reliquis, ſub hac ratione, tribui nomen Sacramenti.

This word Sacrament is not, nor ought not to be attributed to theſe ſeven only. Thoſe that we call ſeven Sacraments, be found in old Authors, although ſome of them be ſeldom found called by this name Sacrament. Dr. *Cox.*

This word, *Sacramentum*, neither is, nor ought to be ſo attributed unto theſe ſeven, but that it is, and may be attributed to many more things, and ſo the ancienter Doctors uſe it. The ſeven Sacraments be found in ancient Doctors under the name of Sacrament, ſaving that I remember not that I have read in them *Pennance* called a Sacrament. Dr. *Day.*

Nomen commune eſt multis aliis rebus, quam ſeptem iſtis uſitatis Sacramentis. Septem Sacramenta, ſeorſim & ſparſim reperiuntur in veterum monumentis. Dr. *Ogleſthorpe.*

To the ſeven ſpecially and principally, and in general to innumerable more. But I cannot tell whether in any old Author might be found theſe two words, *ſeven Sacraments*, or this number limited; but every one of the ſeven Sacraments, one by one, be found in the old Authors. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Sacramentum in his proper ſignification, is and ought to be attributed to the ſeven only; and they be all ſeven found in the Authors. Dr. *Edgeworth*

This word, Sacrament, is not only to be attributed to the ſeven, but that the ſeven Sacraments eſpecially conferreth Grace, the old Authors eſpecially accounteth them by the number of ſeven; and theſe ſeven are found in Authors and Scriptures, altho they be not found by the name of *ſeven*. Dr. *Symmons.*

I ſay, This word, Sacrament, is attributed to the ſeven; and that the ſeven Sacraments are found in the ancient Authors. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the fifth I ſay, firſt, (as before) that this word, *Sacramentum*, is not applied or attributed in Holy Scripture to any of the ſeven, but only to *Matrimony*. But it is attributed in Scripture and ancient Authors to many other things beſides theſe: Howbeit, taking this word, *Sacramentum*, for a ſenſible ſign of the inviſible Grace of God given unto Chriſtian People, as the Schoolmen and many late Writers take it; I think that theſe ſeven commonly called Sacraments, are to be called only and moſt properly Sacraments. Dr. *Leyghton.*

This word, Sacrament, may well be attributed to the ſeven; and ſo it is found in old Authors, ſaving that I do not read expreſly in old Doctors, *Pennance* to be under the name of a Sacrament, unleſs it be in *Chryſoſtome*, in the Expoſition *ad Hebræ. Homil.* 20. *ſect.* 1. *cap.* 10. *in principio.* Dr. *Coren.*

Non.Con. In quinto præter Herfordenſ. Roffenſ. Dayium. Oglethorpum, Menevenſ. & Coxum, putant omnes nomen Sacramenti præcipue his ſeptem convenire. Symons addit, *The ſeven Sacraments ſpecially confer Grace:* Eboracenſ. Curren, Treſham, Symons, aiunt ſeptem Sacramenta inveniri apud veteres, quanquam Curren & Symons mox videntur iterum negare.

Diſſent. In the fifth; The Biſhops of *Hereford* and St. *David*, Dr. *Day*, Dr. *Cox*, ſay, That this word, Sacrament, in the old Authors, is not attributed unto the ſeven only, and ought not to be attributed. The Biſhop of *Carlile* alledging *Waldenſis*. Doctors *Curren*, *Edgworth*, *Symons*, *Treſham* ſay, That it is and may be attributed. And Dr. *Curren*, and Mr. *Symmons*, ſeem to vary againſt themſelves each in their own Anſwers; for Dr. *Curren* ſaith, That this word, Sacrament, is attributed unto the ſeven in the old Doctors, and yet he cannot find that it is attributed unto *Pennance*. Dr. *Symons* ſaith, That the old Authors account them by the number of ſeven; and yet he ſaith, That they be not found there by the name of *ſeven*.

6. Queſtion.

Whether the determinate number of ſeven Sacraments be a Doctrine, either of the Scripture, or of the old Authors, and ſo to be taught?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. THe determinate number of ſeven Sacraments is no Doctrine of the Scripture, nor of the old Authors.

York. To the ſixth; The Scripture maketh no mention of the Sacraments determined to ſeven preciſely; but the Scripture maketh mention of ſeven Sacraments, which be uſed in Chriſt's Church, and grounded partly in Scripture; and no more be in uſe of the ſaid Church but ſeven ſo grounded; and ſome of the ancient Doctors make mention of ſeven, and of no more than ſeven, as uſed in Chriſt's Church ſo grounded; wherefore a Doctrine may be had of ſeven Sacraments preciſely uſed in Chriſt's Church, and grounded in Scripture.

London. To the ſixth; I think it be a Doctrine ſet forth by the ancient Fathers, one from another, taking their matter and ground out of Scripture, as they underſtood it; tho Scripture for all that doth not give unto all the ſeven, the ſpecial names by which now they are called, nor yet openly call them by the name of Sacrament, except only (as is before-ſaid) the Sacrament of *Matrimony*.

Rocheſter. Albeit the ſeven Sacraments be in effect found both in the Scripture, and in the old Authors, and may therefore be ſo taught; yet I have not read this preciſe and determinate number of ſeven Sacra-

Sacraments, neither in the Scripture, nor in the ancient Writers.

By what is here before-ſaid, I think it doth well appear, that both the Scripture of God, and holy Expoſitors of the ſame, would have the ſeven Sacraments both taught, and in due form exhibited to all Chriſtian People, as it ſhall alſo better appear by what followeth. *Carlile.*

In Scriptura tantum unum ex iſtis ſeptem Sacramentum vocari invenio, nimirum Matrimonium: apud veteres reperiuntur omnia hæc ſeptem, à nullo tamen, quod ſciam, nomine 7. Sacramentorum celebrari, niſi quod Eraſ. ait 7. a veteribus recenſeri: Auguſt. loquens de Sacramentis ad Januarium Ep. 118. ait numerum ſeptenarium tribui Eccleſiæ proprie inſtar univerſitatis; Item objectum fuiſſe Huſſo in Concilio Conſtantienti quod infideliter ſenſerit de 7. Sacramentis. De perfectione Num. Septenarii, vide Auguſt. lib. 1. de Civ. cap. 31. Dr. *Robertſon.*

This determinate number of ſeven Sacraments, is no Doctrine of Scripture, nor of the old Authors, nor ought not to be taught as ſuch a determinate number by Scripture and old Authors. Dr. *Cox.*

Neither the Scripture, nor the ancient Authors, do recite the determinate number of the ſeven Sacraments; but the Doctrine of the ſeven Sacraments is grounded in Scripture, and taught by the ancient Authors, albeit not altogether. Dr. *Day.*

Septenarius Sacramentorum numerus, Doctrina eſt recentium Theologorum; quam illi partim ex Scriptura, partim ex veterum ſcriptis, argute in ſacrum hunc (ut aiunt) numerum, collegerunt. Dr. *Ogleſthorpe.*

I think, as I find by old Authors, the ancient Church uſed all theſe ſeven Sacraments; and ſo I think it good to be taught. Dr. *Redmayn.*

The determinate number of ſeven Sacraments, is not taught in any one Proceſs of the Scripture, nor of any one of the old Authors of purpoſe ſpeaking of them altogether, or in one Proceſs, as far as I can remember; albeit they all ſeven be there, and there ſpoken of in Scripture manifeſtly, and ſo have the old Authors left them in ſundry places of their Writings; and ſo it ought to be taught. Dr. *Edgworth.*

Foraſmuch as the Scripture teacheth theſe ſeven, and ſheweth ſpecial Graces given by the ſame, the which are not ſo given by others, called *Sacraments*, the old Authors perceiving the ſpecial Graces, have accounted them in a certain number, and ſo have been uſed by Doctors to be called *ſeven*, and without inconvenience may ſo be taught. Dr. *Symmons.*

I ſay, The determinate number of ſeven is not expreſly mentioned in the Scripture, like as the determinate number of the ſeven Petitions of the Prayer is not expreſly mentioned; and as I think the ſeven Petitions to have their ground in Scripture, even ſo do I think of the ſeven Sacraments, to be grounded in Scripture. Dr. *Treſham.*

To

Dr. *Leyghton.* To the ſixth I ſay as before, That the old Authors call each of theſe ſeven, Sacraments; but be it, I cannot remember that ever I read the determinate, preciſe, and expreſs number of ſeven Sacraments in any of the ancient Authors, nor in Scripture. Howbeit we may find in Scripture, and the old Authors, alſo mention made, and the doctrine of each of theſe ſeven, commonly called *Sacraments.*

Dr. *Coren.* The determinate number of ſeven, is a Doctrine to be taught, for every one of them be contained in Scripture, tho they have not the number of ſeven ſet forth there, no more than the Petitions of the *Pater Noſter* be called ſeven, nor the Articles of the Creed be called twelve.

Con. Priori parti Quæſtiones negative Reſpondent. Herfordenſ. Menevenſ. Roffenſ. Dayus, Dunelmenſ. Oglethorpus, Thurleby: Poſteriori parti quod ſit Doctrina conveniens reſpondent affirmative, Eboracen. Roffen. Carliolen. Londinen. Dayus, Edgworth, Redmayn, Symmons, Curren: Londinen. & Redmanus non reſpondent priori parti Quæſtionis, nec Oglethorpus, Treſham, Robinſonus Poſteriori. Eboracen. Londin. Symmons, Curren, volunt è Scripturis peti Doctrinam Septem. Sacramentorum.

Agreement. In the ſixth, touching the determinate number of the ſeven Sacraments, the Biſhop of *Dureſme, Hereford, St. David,* and *Rocheſter;* the Elect of *Weſtminſter,* Dr. *Day,* and Dr. *Oglethorpe* ſay, *This preſcribed number of Sacraments is not found in the old Authors.* The Biſhop of *York,* Drs. *Curren, Treſham,* and *Symmons,* ſay the contrary. Concerning the ſecond part, Whether it be a Doctrine to be taught? The Biſhops of *Hereford, St. Davids,* and Dr. *Cox, Think it ought not to be ſo taught as ſuch a determinate number by Scripture.* The Biſhops of *York, London, Carlile*; Drs. *Day, Curren, Treſham, Symmons, Crayford, Think it a Doctrine meet to be taught:* And ſome of them ſay, That *it is founded on Scripture.*

7. Queſtion.

What is found in Scripture of the Matter, Nature, Effect, and Vertue of ſuch as we call the ſeven Sacraments; ſo as altho the Name be not there, yet whether the thing be in Scripture or no, and in what wiſe ſpoken of?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. I Find not in the Scripture, the Matter, Nature, and Effect of all theſe which we call the ſeven Sacraments, but only of certain of them, as of *Baptiſm,* in which we be regenerated and pardoned of our ſin by the Blood of Chriſt: Of *Euchariſtia,* in which we be concorporated unto Chriſt, and made lively Members of his Body, nouriſhed and

and fed to the Everlasting Life, if we receive it as we ought to do, and else it is to us rather Death than Life. Of *Pennance* also I find in the Scripture, whereby Sinners after Baptism returning wholly unto God, be accepted again unto God's Favour and Mercy. But the Scripture speaketh not of *Pennance*, as we call it a Sacrament, consisting in three parts, *Contrition*, *Confession*, and *Satisfaction*; but the Scripture taketh *Pennance* for a pure conversion of a sinner in heart and mind from his sins unto God, making no mention of private Confession of all deadly sins to a Priest, nor of Ecclesiastical satisfaction to be enjoined by him. Of *Matrimony* also I find very much in Scripture, and among other things, that it is a mean whereby God doth use the infirmity of our Concupiscence to the setting forth of his Glory, and encrease of the World, thereby sanctifying the Act of Carnal Conjunction between the Man and the Wife to that use; yea, altho one party be an Infidel: and in this *Matrimony* is also a Promise of Salvation, if the Parents bring up their Children in the Faith, Love, and Fear of God. Of the Matter, Nature, and Effect of the other three, that is to say, *Confirmation*, *Order*, and extream *Unction*, I read nothing in the Scripture as they be taken for Sacraments.

To the seventh; Of *Baptism*, we find in Scripture the Justification by the Word of Christ; we find also that the Matter of *Baptism* is Water, the Effect and Vertue is Remission of Sins. Of *Confirmation*, we find that the Apostles did confirm those that were baptized, by laying their hands upon them, and that the Effect then was the coming of the Holy Ghost into them, upon whom the Apostles laid their hands, in a visible sign of the Gift of divers Languages, and therewith of ghostly strength to confess Christ, following upon the same. Of the Sacrament of the *Altar*, we find the Institution by Christ, and the Matter thereof, Bread and Wine, the Effect, Increase of Grace. Of the Sacrament of *Pennance*, we find the Institution in the Gospel, the Effect, Reconciliation of the sinner, and the union of him to the Mystical Body of Christ. Of the Sacrament of *Matrimony*, we find the Institution both in the Old and New Testament, and the Effect thereof, Remedy against Concupiscence and discharge of sin, which otherwise should be in the Office of Generation. Of the Sacrament of *Order*, we find, that our Saviour gave to his Apostles power to baptize, to bind and to loose sinners, to remit sins, and to receive them, to teach and preach his Word, and to consecrate his most precious Body and Blood, which be the highest offices of Order; and the effect thereof Grace, we find in Scripture. Of extream *Unction*, we find in the Epistle of the Holy Apostle St. *James*, and of the Effects of the same. *York.*

To the seventh, I find, that St. *Austin* is of this sentence, That *the Sacraments of the Old Law did promise Grace and Comfort, the Sacraments of the New Law do give it indeed.* And moreover he saith, That *that the Sacraments of the New Law are*, factu faciliora, pauciora, salubriora, & fœliciora, *more easier, more fewer, more wholsomer, and more happy.* *where London.*

The

Rocheſter. The Scripture teacheth of *Baptiſm*, the Sacrament of the *Altar*, *Matrimony* and *Pennance* manifeſtly: There be alſo in the Scripture manifeſt examples of Confirmation, *viz.* That it was done after Baptiſm by the Apoſtles, *per manuum Impoſitionem.* The Scripture teacheth alſo of *Order*, that it was done, *per manuum Impoſitionem cum oratione & jejunio.* Of the Unction of ſick Men, the Epiſtle of St. *James* teacheth manifeſtly.

Carliſle. I think verily, That of the Subſtance, Effect, and Vertue of theſe ſeven uſual Sacraments, that are to be taken and eſteemed above others, we have plainly and expreſly by Holy Scripture. Of *Baptiſm*, That whoſoever believeth in Chriſt, and is Chriſtned, ſhall be ſaved; and except that one be born again of Water and the Holy Ghoſt, he cannot come within the Kingdom of God. Of *Matrimony*, we have in Scripture, both by name, and in effect, in the Old and New Teſtament, both by Chriſt and his Apoſtle *Paul.* Of the Sacrament of the *Altar*, I find plainly expreſly, both in the Holy Goſpels, and other places of Scripture. Of *Pennance* in like manner. Of *Confirmation* we have in Scripture, that when the *Samaritans*, by the preaching of *Philip*, had received the Word of God and were Chriſtened; the Apoſtles hearing of the ſame, ſent *Peter* and *John* unto them; who when they came thither, they prayed for them that they might receive the Holy Ghoſt: then they laid their hands upon them, and ſo they received the Holy Ghoſt; *This*, ſaith *Bede*, *is the Office and Duty only of Biſhops.* And *this manner and form* (ſaith St. *Hierom*) *as it is written in the* Acts, *the Church hath kept, That the Biſhop ſhould go abroad to call for the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, and lay his hands upon them, who had been Chriſtened by Prieſts and Deacons.* Of the Sacrament of *Orders*, we have, That Chriſt made his Apoſtles the Teachers of his Law, and Miniſters of his Sacraments, that they ſhould duly do it, and make and ordain others likewiſe to do it after them. And ſo the Apoſtles ordained *Matthias* to be one of their number, St. *Paul* made and ordained *Timothy* and *Titus*, with others likewiſe. Of the Sacrament of *Extream Unction*, we have manifeſtly in the Goſpel of *Mark*, and Epiſtle of St. *James.*

Dr. *Robertſon.* Materia Sacramentorum eſt Verbum & Elementum, virtus quam Deus per illa digne ſumentibus conferat gratiam, juxta ſuam promiſſionem, nimirum quod ſint Sacra Signacula, non tantum ſignantia ſed etiam ſignificantia. Unde opinor conſtare hanc Sacramentorum vim eſſe in Sacris Literis.

Dr. *Cox.* I find in Scripture, of ſuch things as we uſe to call *Sacraments.* Firſt, Of *Baptiſm* manifeſtly. Of *Euchariſtia* manifeſtly. Of *Pennance* manifeſtly. Of *Matrimony* manifeſtly. Of *Ordering*, *per manus Impoſitionem & Orationem* manifeſtly. It is alſo manifeſt, that the Apoſtles laid their hands upon them that were Chriſtened. Of the *Unction* of the Sick with Prayer manifeſtly.

Dr. *Day.* Albeit the ſeven Sacraments be not found in Scripture expreſſed by name, yet the thing it ſelf, that is, the Matter, Nature, Effect and Vertue of

of them is found there. Of *Baptiſm* in divers places; of the moſt Holy Communion; of Matrimony; of Abſolution; of Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons, how they were ordained *per manuum Impoſitionem cum Oratione*; Of laying the Apoſtles hands on them that were Chriſtened, which is a part of Confirmation; of Unction of them that were ſick, with Prayer joined withal.

Natura, vis, effectus, ac uniuſcujuſq; Sacramenti proprietas, ſeorſim in Scriptura reperitur, ut veteres eam interpretati ſunt. Dr. *Oglethorp.*

As it appeareth in the Articles which be drawn of the ſaid ſeven Sacraments. Dr. *Redmayn.*

In Scripture we find of the Form of the Sacraments, as the words *Sacramental*; and the Matter, as the *Element*, *Oil*, *Chriſm*; and the Patient receiving the Sacrament; and of Grace and encreaſe of Vertue given by them, as the Effects. Dr. *Edgeworth*

The things are contained in Scripture, as *Baptiſm*, *Confirmation*, *Euchariſtia*, *Pœnitentia*, *Extrema Unctio*, *Ordo*, altho they have not there this name *Sacramentum*, as Matrimony hath; and every one of them hath his Matter, Nature, Effect and Vertue. Dr. *Symmons.*

I think the Thing, the Matter, the Nature, the Effect, and Vertue of them all be in the Scripture, and all there inſtitute by God's Authority, for I think that no one Man, neither the whole Church hath power to Inſtitute a Sacrament, but that ſuch Inſtitution pertaineth only to God. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the ſeventh, I ſay, That we may evidently find in Scripture, the ſubſtance of every one of the ſeven Sacraments, the Nature, Effect, and Vertue of the ſame; as of *Baptiſm*, *Confirmation*, *Pennance*, *Matrimony*, and ſo forth of the reſt. Dr. *Leyghton.*

Of the Matter, Nature, Vertue, and Effect, of ſuch as we call *Sacraments*, Scripture maketh mention: Of *Baptiſm* manifeſtly; of the moſt *Holy Communion* manifeſtly; of *Abſolution* manifeſtly; of *Matrimony* manifeſtly; of *Biſhops*, *Prieſts*, and *Deacons*, Scripture ſpeaketh manifeſtly; for they were ordered, *per Impoſitiones manuum Presbyterii cum Oratione & jejunio.* Dr. *Coren.*

Conveniunt præter Menevenſ. naturam ſeptem Sacramentorum nobis tradi in Scripturis. Eboracenſ. effectus ſingulorum enumerat, item Carliolenſ. *Con.*

Londinenſ. non Reſpondet Quæſtioni. Treſhamus ait ideo ê Scripturis tradi nobis Sacramenta, quoniam tota Eccleſia non habet Authoritatem Inſtituendi Sacramenta.

In the ſeventh they do agree, ſaving this, That the Biſhop of St. *David* ſays, That *the Nature, Effect, and Vertue of theſe ſeven Sacraments, only Baptiſm, the Sacrament of the Altar, Matrimony, Pennance, are contained* *Agreement.*

tained in the Scripture. The other ſay, That *the Nature and the Vertue of all the ſeven, be contained in the Scripture.*

8. Queſtion.

Whether Confirmation, cum Criſmate, *of them that be Baptized, be found in Scripture?*

Anſwers.

Canterbury OF *Confirmation* with *Chriſm*, without which it is counted no Sacrament, there is no mention in the Scripture.

York. To the eighth; We find Confirmation, *cum Impoſitione manuum* in Scripture, as before; *cum Chriſmate* we find not in the Scripture, but yet we find Chriſmation with Oil uſed even from the time of the Apoſtles, and ſo taken as a Tradition Apoſtolick.

London. To the eighth; I find in Scripture, in many places, *de Impoſitione manuum*, which I think (conſidering the uſage commonly and ſo long withal uſed) to be Confirmation; and that with Chriſm, to ſupply the viſible appearance of the Holy Ghoſt, which Holy Ghoſt was ſo viſibly ſeen in the Primitive Church; nevertheleſs for the perfect declaration of the verity hereof, I refer it to the judgment of Men of higher knowledg in this Faculty.

Rocheſter. Altho Confirmation be found in the Scripture, by Example, as I ſaid before, yet there is nothing written *de Chriſmate.*

Carlile. The Impoſition of Hands, the Holy Doctors take for the ſame which we call Confirmation, done upon them which were chriſtened before, whereof is written in the *Acts.* And as for *Chriſma*, it ſhould ſeem by *Cyprian*, both as touching the confection and uſage thereof, that it hath a great ground to be derived out of Scripture, tho it be not manifeſtly therein ſpoken of.

Dr. *Robertſon.* Res & Effectus Confirmationis continentur in Scriptura, nempe, Impoſitio manuum per Apoſtolos Baptizatis, per quam dabatur Spiritus Sanctus. De Chriſmate nihil illic legimus, quia per id tempus Spiritus Sanctus ſigno viſibili deſcenderit in Baptizatos. Quod ubi fieri deſierit, Eccleſia Chriſmate ſigni externi loco uti cœpit.

Dr. *Cox.* I find not in Scripture that the Apoſtles laying their hands upon them that were baptized, did anoint them *Chriſmate.*

Dr. *Day.* Confirmation *cum Chriſmate* I read not in Scripture, but *Impoſitionem manuum ſuper Baptizatos* I find there is, which ancient Authors call *Confirmation*; and Inunction with *Chriſma* hath been uſed from the Primitive Church.

De

De Impoſitione manuum cum Oratione, expreſſa mentio eſt in Scripturis, quæ nunc uſitato nomine, a Doctoribus dicitur, Confirmatio. Sacrum Chriſma, traditio eſt Apoſtolica, ut ex veteribus liquet. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

The Queſtion is not ſimple, but as if it were asked, Whether *Euchariſtia in infermentato*, be in the Scripture, or, *baptiſmus cum ſale*. Impoſition of the Apoſtles hands, in which was conferred the Holy Ghoſt for Confirmation of them who were baptized, is found in Scripture. *Chriſma* is a Tradition deduced from the Apoſtles, as may be gathered by Scripture, and by the Old Authors, and the Myſtery thereof is not to be deſpiſed. Dr. *Redmayn.*

This Sacrament is one, *unitate integritatis*, as ſome others be: Therefore it hath two parts; of which one, that is, *Impoſitio manuum*, is taken *Heb.* 6. & *Act.* 8. The other part, that is, *Chriſme*, is taken of the Tradition of the Fathers, and ſo uſed from the Primitive Church. *vid. Cyp. Epiſt. lib.* 1. *Ep.* 12. Dr. *Edgeworth*

Confirmation is found in Scripture, and Confirmation *cum Chriſmate*, is gathered from the old Authors. Dr. *Symmons.*

I ſay Confirmation is found in Scripture, but this additament, *cum Chriſmate*, is not of the Scripture, yet is it a very ancient Tradition, as appeareth by *Cyp. de Unct. Chriſm.* Dr. *Treſham.*

To the eighth Queſtion, I ſay, That Confirmation of them that be baptized, is found in Scripture, but *cum Chriſmate* it is not found in Scripture, but it was uſed *cum Chriſmate* in the Church ſoon after the Apoſtles time, as it may evidently appear by the cited Authors. Dr. *Leyghton.*

The laying of the Biſhops hands upon them that be chriſtened, which is a part of Confirmation, is plainly in Scripture; and the Unction with *Chriſme*, which is another part, hath been obſerved from the Primitive Church, and is called of St. *Auſtin*, *Sacramentum Chriſmatis*. Unction of the Sick with Oil, and the Prayer, is grounded expreſly in Scripture. Dr. *Coren.*

Conveniunt omnes Confirmationem cum Chriſmate non haberi in Scripturis. Eboracenſ. Treſham, Coren, Day, Oglethorpe, Edgworth, Leighton, Symmons, Redman, Robinſonus, Confirmationem in Scripturis eſſe contendunt; cæterum Chriſma eſſe traditionem Apoſtolicam: addit Robertſonus, & ubi fieri deſierat miraculum Conſecrandi Spiritus Sancti, Eccleſia Chriſmate ſigni externi loco uti cœpit; Convenit illi Londinenſ. *Con.*

Carliolenſ. putat uſum Chriſmatis ex Scripturis peti poſſe; Putant omnes tum in hoc Articulo, tum ſuperiori, Impoſitionem manuum eſſe Confirmationem.

In the eighth they do agree all, except it be the Biſhop of *Carlile*, That *Confirmatio cum Chriſmate* is not found in Scripture, but only *Confirmatio cum manuum Impoſitione*. And that alſo my Lord of St. *Davids* denieth *Agreem.*

denieth to be in Scripture, as we call it a *Sacrament*. My Lord of *Carlile* ſaith, That *Chriſma, as touching the confection and uſage thereof, hath a ground to be derived out of Scripture.* The other ſay, That *it is but a Tradition.*

3. Queſtion.

Whether the Apoſtles lacking a higher Power, as in not having a Chriſtian King among them, made Biſhops by that neceſſity, or by Authority given by God?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. ALL Chriſtian Princes have committed unto them immediately of God the whole Cure of all their Subjects, as well concerning the Adminiſtration of God's Word, for the Cure of Souls, as concerning the miniſtration of things Political and Civil Governance: And in both theſe Miniſtrations, they muſt have ſundry Miniſters under them to ſupply that, which is appointed to their ſeveral Offices. The Civil Miniſters under the King's Majeſty, in this Realm of *England*, be thoſe whom it ſhall pleaſe his Highneſs for the time to put in Authority under him: As for Example; The Lord Chancellor, Lord Treaſurer, Lord Great Maſter, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Admiral, Majors, Sheriffs, *&c.* The Miniſters of God's Word, under his Majeſty, be the Biſhops, Parſons, Vicars, and ſuch other Prieſts as be appointed by his Highneſs to that Miniſtration: As for Example, The Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhop of *Dureſme*, the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, the Parſon of *Winwick*, &c. All the ſaid Officers and Miniſters, as well of that ſort as the other, be appointed, aſſigned, and elected, and in every place, by the Laws and Orders of Kings and Princes. In the admiſſion of many of theſe Officers, be divers comely Ceremonies and Solemnities uſed, which be not of neceſſity, but only for a good order and ſeemly faſhion; for if ſuch Offices and Miniſtrations were committed without ſuch ſolemnity, they were nevertheleſs truly committed: And there is no more Promiſe of God, that Grace is given in the committing of the Eccleſiaſtical Office, than it is in the committing of the Civil Office. In the Apoſtles time, when there was no Chriſtian Princes, by whoſe Authority Miniſters of God's Word might be appointed, nor Sins by the Sword corrected, there was no Remedy then for the correction of Vice, or appointing of Miniſters, but only the conſent of Chriſtian Multitude among themſelves, by an uniform conſent, to follow the advice and perſwaſion of ſuch Perſons whom God had moſt endued with the Spirit of Counſel and Wiſdom: And at that time, foraſmuch as the Chriſtian People had no Sword, nor Governour amongſt them, they were conſtrained of neceſſity to take ſuch Curats and Prieſts, as either they knew themſelves to be meet thereunto, or elſe as were commended unto them by others, that were ſo replete with the Spirit of God, with ſuch knowledg in the profeſſion of Chriſt, ſuch Wiſdom, ſuch Converſation and Counſel,

ſel, that they ought even of very Conſcience to give credit unto them, and to accept ſuch as by them were preſented: and ſo ſometimes the Apoſtles and others, unto whom God had given abundantly his Spirit, ſent or appointed Miniſters of God's Word; ſometimes the People did chooſe ſuch, as they thought meet thereunto; and when any were appointed or ſent by the Apoſtles or others, the People of their own voluntary Will with thanks did accept them: nor for the Supremity, Empire, or Dominion, that the Apoſtles had over them to command, as their Princes and Maſters, but as good People ready to obey the advice of good Counſellors, and to accept any thing that was neceſſary for their edification and benefit.

To the ninth; We find in Scripture, that the Apoſtles uſed the Power to make Biſhops, Prieſts, and Deacons; which Power may be grounded upon theſe words; *Sicut miſit me vivens Pater, ſic ego mitto vos, &c.* And we verily think, that they durſt not have uſed ſo high Power, unleſs they had had Authority from Chriſt; but that their Power to ordain Biſhops, Prieſts, or Deacons, by Impoſition of Hands requireth any other Authority, than Authority of God, we neither read in Scripture, nor out of Scripture. *York.*

To the ninth; I think the Apoſtles made Biſhops by the Law of God, becauſe, *Acts* 22. it is ſaid, *In quo vos Spiritus Sanctus poſuit:* Nevertheleſs, I think if Chriſtian Princes had been then, they ſhould have named by Right, and appointed the ſaid Biſhops to their Rooms and Places. *London.*

I think that the Apoſtles made Biſhops by Authority given them from God. *Rocheſter.*

That Chriſt made his Apoſtles, Prieſts, and Biſhops, and that he gave them Power to make others like, it ſeemeth to be the very trade of Scripture. *Carlile.*

Opinor Apoſtolos Authoritate Divina creaſſe Epiſcopos & Preſbyteros, ubi Publicus Magiſtratus permittit. Dr. *Robertſon.*

Altho the Apoſtles had no authority to force any Man to be Prieſt, yet (they moved by the Holy Ghoſt) had authority of God to exhort and induce Men to ſet forth God's Honour, and ſo to make them Prieſts. Dr. *Cox.*

The Apoſtles made, that is to ſay, ordained Biſhops by authority given them by God; *Joh.* 20. *Sicut miſit me vivens Pater, ita & ego mitto vos. Item Joan. ult. & Act.* 20. and 1 *Tim.* 4. *Paulus ordinavit Timotheum & Titum, & præſcribit quales illi debeant ordinare.* 1 *Tim.* 1. *Tit.* 1. Dr. *Day.*

Apoſtoli autoritate & mandato Dei, ordinabant ac inſtituebant Epiſcopos, petita ac obtenta prius facultate a Principe ac Magiſtratu (ut opinor) qui tum præerat. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

Chriſt

Dr. *Redmayn.* Chriſt gave his Apoſtles authority to make other Biſhops and Miniſters in his Church, as he had received authority of the Father to make them Biſhops; but if any Chriſtian Prince had then been, the Apoſtles had been, and ought to have been obedient Subjects, and would nothing have attempted, but under the permiſſion and aſſent of their Earthly Governors: yet was it meet that they which were ſpecial and moſt Elect Servants of our Saviour Chriſt, and were ſent by him to convert the World, and having moſt abundantly the Holy Ghoſt in them, ſhould have ſpecial ordering of ſuch Miniſtry as pertained to the planting and encreaſing of the Faith; whereunto I doubt not, but a Chriſtian Prince, of his godly mind, would moſt lovingly have condeſcended. And it is to be conſidered, that in this Queſtion, with other like, this word, *making of a Biſhop, or Prieſt*, may be taken two ways: for underſtanding the Word, to ordain or conſecrate, ſo it is a thing which pertaineth to the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors only; but if by this word (*Making*) be underſtood the appointing or naming to the Office; ſo, it pertaineth ſpecially to the Supream Heads and Governours of the Church, which be Princes.

Dr. *Edgworth.* The Apoſtles made Biſhops and Prieſts by authority given them of God, and not for lack of any higher Power: Notwithſtanding where there is a Chriſtned King or Prince, the Election, Deputation and Aſſignation of them, that ſhall be Prieſts or Biſhops, belongeth to the King or Prince, ſo that he may forbid any Biſhop within his Kingdom, that he give no orders, for Conſiderations moving him, and may aſſign him a time when he ſhall give Orders, and to whom: Example of King *David*, 1 Chron. 24. dividing the *Levites* into 24 Orders, deputing over every Order one chief Biſhop, preſcribing an Ordinal and Rule how they ſhould do their Duties, their Courſes; and what Sacrifices, Rites, and Ceremonies, they ſhould uſe every day, as the day and time required. And his Son, King *Solomon*, diligently executed, and commanded the ſame uſages to be obſerved in the Temple, after he had erected and finiſhed it, 2 *Chron.* 8.

Dr. *Symmons.* The Apoſtles made Biſhops and Prieſts, by authority given them of God.

Dr. *Treſham.* I ſay, That the Apoſtles had authority of God to make Biſhops; yet if there had been a Chriſtian King in any place where they made Biſhops, they would, and ought, to have deſired authority alſo of him, for the executing of ſuch their godly Acts, which no Chriſtian King would have denied.

Dr. *Leyghton.* To the ninth, I ſay, That the Apoſtles (as I ſuppoſe) made Biſhops by authority given unto them of Chriſt: Howbeit I think they would and ſhould, required the Chriſtian Princes conſent and licenſe thereto, if there had been any Chriſtian Kings or Princes.

Dr. *Coren.* The Apoſtles made Biſhops and Prieſts by authority given them of God: Notwithſtanding if there had been a Chriſtian King at that time,

it

it had been their Duties, to have had his Licenſe and Permiſſion to do the ſame.

Omnes Conveniunt Apoſtolos Divinitus accepiſſe Poteſtatem creandi Epiſcopos; Eboracenſ. addit, non opus fuiſſe alia authoritate Apoſtolis quam divina: Sic Thirleby & Edgworth, Redmanus diſtinguit de Inſtitutione Preſbyteri, Ordinationem & Conſecrationem tribuit tantum Apoſtolicis & eorum Succeſſoribus, nominationem & electionem Magiſtratibus: Sic Londinenſ. Leightonus, Redman, Treſham, Curren, aiunt petendam fuiſſe Poteſtatem a Magiſtratu Chriſtiano, ſi tum fuiſſet. Robertſonus non reſpondet Quæſtioni, concedit enim datam eſſe Apoſtolis Poteſtatem creandi Epiſcopos ubi Magiſtratus permittit. Oglethorpus putat eos impetraſſe poteſtatem a principibus: Carliolenſ. Roffenſ. Dayus, non reſpondent ultimæ Parti. *Con.*

In the ninth, touching the Authority of the Apoſtles in making Prieſts, the Biſhop of *York*, the Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Edgeworth*, ſay, That *the Apoſtles made Prieſts by their own Power, given them by God, and that they had no need of any other Power.* The Biſhop of St. *David* ſaith, That *becauſe they lacked a Chriſtian Prince, by that neceſſity they Ordained other Biſhops.* Dr. *Leighton*, *Curren*, *Treſham*, and *Redmayn*, ſuppoſe, That *they ought to have asked licenſe of their Chriſtian Governours, if then there had been any.* *Agreement.*

10. Queſtion.

Whether Biſhops or Prieſts were firſt? and if the Prieſts were firſt, then the Prieſt made the Biſhop.

Anſwers.

THe Biſhops and Prieſts were at one time, and were no two things, but both one Office in the beginning of Chriſt's Religion. *Canterbury.*

To the tenth; We think that the Apoſtles were Prieſts before they were Biſhops; and that the Divine Power which made them Prieſts, made them alſo Biſhops; and altho their Ordination was not by all ſuch Courſe as the Church now uſeth, yet that they had both Viſible and Inviſible Sanctification, we may gather of the Goſpel, where it is written, *Sicut miſit me Pater vivens, & ego mitto vos: & cum hæc dixit, inſufflavit in eos & dixit, accipite Spiritum Sanctum: Quorum remiſeritis, &c.* And we may well think, that then they were made Biſhops, when they had not only a Flock, but alſo Shepherds appointed to them to overlook, and a Governance committed to them by the Holy Ghoſt to overſee both; for the name of a Biſhop, is not properly a name of Order, but a name of Office, ſignifying an Overſeer. And altho the inferior Shepherds have alſo Cure to over-ſee their Flock, yet forſomuch as the *York.*

Biſhops

Biſhops Charge is alſo to overſee the Shepherds, the name of Overſeer is given to the Biſhops, and not to the other; and as they be in degree higher, ſo in their Conſecration we find difference even from the Primitive Church.

London. To the tenth; I think the Biſhops were firſt, and yet I think it is not of importance, whether the Prieſt then made the Biſhop, or elſe the Biſhop the Prieſt; conſidering (after the Sentence of St. *Jerome*) *that in the beginning of the Church there was none (or if it were, very ſmall) difference, between a Biſhop and a Prieſt, eſpecially touching the ſignification.*

Rocheſter. I find in Scripture, That Chriſt being both a Prieſt and a Biſhop, ordained his Apoſtles, who were both Prieſts and Biſhops; and the ſame Apoſtles did afterwards ordain Biſhops, and commanded them to ordain others.

Carliſle. Chriſt made his Apoſtles Exorciſts, as it appeareth in the 10. *Mat.* Deacons, Prieſts, and Biſhops, as partly there, and after, in the 20 of St. *John*, *Quorum Remiſeritis, &c.* and where he ſaid, *Hoc facite in meam Commemorationem.* In the *Acts*, *Cæterorum nemo audebat ſe conjungere illis.* So that they were all theſe together; and ſo being according to the Ordinance of Chriſt, who had made after them 72 other Prieſts, as it appeareth in the 10 of St. *Luke*: They made and ordained alſo others the ſeven principal Deacons, as it is ſhewed in the 6 of the *Acts*; where it is ſaid, That they praying laid their hands upon them. In the 13 of the *Acts*, certain there named at the commandment of the Holy Ghoſt, ſevered *Saul* and *Barnabas* to that God had taken them, Faſting, Praying, and laying their hands upon them; the which *Saul*, *Ananias* the Diſciple had baptized, laying his hand upon him, that he might be repleniſhed with the Holy Ghoſt. And *Paul* ſo made, ordained *Timothy* and *Tite*, willing them to do likewiſe as he had done, and appointed to be done from City to City. *James* was ordained the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem*, by *Peter*, *John*, and *James*. So that Example otherwiſe we read not.

Dr. *Robertſon.* Incertus ſum utri fuere priores, at ſi Apoſtoli in prima profectione Ordinati erant, apparet Epiſcopos fuiſſe priores, nempe Apoſtolos, nam poſtea deſignavit Chriſtus alios ſeptuaginta duos. Nec opinor abſurdum eſſe, ut Sacerdos Epiſcopum Conſecret, ſi Epiſcopus haberi non poteſt.

Dr. *Cox.* Although by Scripture (as St. *Hierome* ſaith) Prieſts and Biſhops be one, and therefore the one not before the other: Yet Biſhops, as they be now, were after Prieſts, and therefore made of Prieſts.

Dr. *Day.* The Apoſtles were both Biſhops and Prieſts, and they made Biſhops, and Biſhops, as *Titus* and *Timotheus* made Prieſts. *Epiſcopatum ejus accipiat alter* Act. 1. *Presbyteros qui in vobis ſunt, obſecro & ego Compresbyter*, 1 Pet. 5. And in the beginning of the Church, as well that word *Epiſcopus* as *Presbyter*, was common and attributed both to Biſhops and Prieſts.

Utrique

Utrique primi a Deo facti, Apoſtoli, Epiſcopi; Septuaginta diſcipuli (ut conjectura ducor) Sacerdotes. Unde veriſimile eſt Epiſcopos præceſſiſſe, Apoſtoli enim prius vocati erant. Dr. *Oglethorp.*

They be of like beginning, and at the beginning were both one, as St. *Hierome* and other old Authors ſhew by the Scripture, wherefore one made another indifferently. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Chriſt our chief Prieſt and Biſhop, made his Apoſtles Prieſts and Biſhops all at once; and they did likewiſe make others, ſome Prieſts, and ſome Biſhops: and that the Prieſts in the Primitive Church made Biſhops, I think no inconvenience; (as *Jerome* ſaith) in an *Epiſt. ad Enagrium.* Even like as Souldiers ſhould chooſe one among themſelves to be their Captain: So did Prieſts chooſe one of themſelves to be their Biſhop, for conſideration of his learning, gravity, and good living, *&c.* and alſo for to avoid Schiſms among themſelves by them, that ſome might not draw the People one way, and others another way, if they lacked one Head among them. Dr. *Edgeworth*

Chriſt was and is the great High Biſhop, and made all his Apoſtles Biſhops; and they made Biſhops and Prieſts after him, and ſo hath it ever-more continued hitherto. Dr. *Symmons.*

I ſay, Chriſt made the Apoſtles firſt Prieſts, and then Biſhops, and they by this Authority made both Prieſts and Biſhops; but where there had been a Chriſtian Prince, they would have deſired his Authority to the ſame. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the Tenth. ——— Dr. *Leyghton.*

The Apoſtles were made of Chriſt Biſhops and Prieſts, both at the firſt; and after them, *Septuaginta duo Diſcipuli*, were made Prieſts. Dr. *Coren.*

Menevenſ. Therleby, Redmanus, Coxus, aſſerunt in initio eoſdem fuiſſe Epiſcopos & Preſbyteros. Londinenſ. Carliolenſ. Symmons, putant Apoſtolos fuiſſe inſtitutos Epiſcopos a Chriſto, & eos poſtea inſtituiſſe alios Epiſcopos & Preſbyteros, & 72 Preſbyteros poſtea fuiſſe Ordinatos: Sic Oglethorpus, Eboracenſ. & Treſham aiunt Apoſtolos primo fuiſſe Preſbyteros, deinde Epiſcopos, cum aliorum Preſbyterorum credita eſſet illis cura. Robertſonus incertus eſt utri fuere priores, non abſurdum tamen eſſe opinatur, ut Sacerdos conſecret Epiſcopum, ſi Epiſcopus haberi non poteſt. Sic Londinenſ. Edgworth, Dayus, putant etiam Epiſcopos, ut vulgo de Epiſcopis loquimur, fuiſſe ante Preſbyteros. Leightonus nihil Reſpondet. *Con.*

In the tenth; Where it is asked, Whether Biſhops or Prieſts were firſt? The Biſhop of St. *David*, my Lord Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *Redmayn*, ſay, That *at the beginning they were all one.* The Biſhops of *Agreement.*

York, *London*, *Rocheſter*, *Carliſle*; Drs. *Day*, *Treſham*, *Symmons*, *Oglethorp*, be in other contrary Opinions. The Biſhop of *York*, and Doctor *Treſham*, think, *That the Apoſtles firſt were Prieſts, and after were made Biſhops, when the overſeeing of other Prieſts was committed to them.* My Lords of *Dureſme*, *London*, *Carliſle*, *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Symmons* and *Crayford*, think, *That the Apoſtles firſt were Biſhops, and they after made other Biſhops and Prieſts.* Dr. *Goren* and *Oglethorp*, ſay, *That the Apoſtles were made Biſhops, and the 72 were after made Prieſts.* Dr. *Day* thinks, *That Biſhops, as they be now-a-days called, were before Prieſts.* My Lord of *London*, Drs. *Edgworth* and *Robertſon*, think *it no inconvenience, if a Prieſt made a Biſhop in that time.*

11. Queſtion.

Whether a Biſhop hath Authority to make a Prieſt by the Scripture, or no? And whether any other but only a Biſhop may make a Prieſt?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. A Biſhop may make a Prieſt by the Scripture, and ſo may Princes and Governours alſo, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the People alſo by their Election; for as we read that Biſhops have done it, ſo Chriſtian Emperors and Princes uſually have done it, and the People before Chriſtian Princes were, commonly did Elect their Biſhops and Prieſts.

York. To the eleventh; That a Biſhop may make a Prieſt, may be deduced of Scripture; for ſo much as they have all Authority neceſſary for the ordering of Chriſt's Church, derived from the Apoſtles, who made Biſhops and Prieſts, and not without Authority, as we have ſaid before to the ninth Queſtion; and that any other than Biſhops or Prieſts may make a Prieſt, we neither find in Scripture nor out of Scripture.

London. To the eleventh, I think, That a Biſhop duly appointed, hath authority, by Scripture, to make a Biſhop, and alſo a Prieſt: becauſe Chriſt being a Biſhop did ſo make himſelf; and becauſe alive, his Apoſtles did the like.

Rocheſter. The Scripture ſheweth by example, that a Biſhop hath authority to make a Prieſt; albeit no Biſhop being ſubject to a Chriſtian Prince, may either give Orders or Excommunicate, or uſe any manner of Juriſdiction, or any part of his Authority, without Commiſſion from the King, who is Supream Head of that Church whereof he is a Member; but that any other Man may do it beſides a Biſhop, I find no example, either in Scripture, or in Doctors.

Carliſle. By what is ſaid before, it appeareth, that a Biſhop by Scripture may make Deacons and Prieſts, and that we have none example otherwiſe.

Opinor Epiſcopum habere Authoritatem creandi Sacerdotem, modo id Magiſtratus publici permiſſu fiat. An vero ab alio quam Epiſcopo id rite fieri poſſit, haud ſcio, quamvis ab alio factum non memini me legiſſe. Ordin. conferr. gratiam. vid. Eck. homil. 6. Dr. *Robertſon.*

Biſhops have authority, as is afore-ſaid, of the Apoſtles, in the tenth Queſtion, to make Prieſts, except in caſes of great neceſſity. Dr. *Cox.*

Biſhops have authority by Scripture to ordain Biſhops and Prieſts; Joh. 20. *Hujus rei gratia reliqui te Cretæ ut conſtituas oppidatim Presbyteros,* Tit. 1. Act. 14. Dr. *Day.*

Autoritas ordinandi Preſbyteros data eſt Epiſcopis per verbum, multiſq; aliis quos lego. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

To the firſt part, I anſwer, Yea; for ſo it appeareth *Tit.* 1. and 1 *Tim.* 5. with other places of Scripture. But whether any other but only a Biſhop may make a Prieſt, I have not read, but by ſingular priviledg of God; as when *Moſes* (whom divers Authors ſay was not a Prieſt) made *Aaron* a Prieſt. Truth it is, that the Office of a Godly Prince is to over-ſee the Church, and the Miniſters thereof; and to cauſe them do their duty, and alſo to appoint them ſpecial Charges and Offices in the Church, as may be moſt for the Glory of God, and edifying of the People: and thus we read of the good Kings in the Old Teſtament, *David, Joas, Ezekias, Joſias.* But as for *Making*, that is to ſay, Ordaining and Conſecrating of Prieſts, I think it ſpecially belongeth to the Office of a Biſhop, as far as can be ſhewed by Scripture, or any Example, as I ſuppoſe from the beginning. Dr. *Redmayn.*

A Biſhop hath authority by Scripture to make a Prieſt, and that any other ever made a Prieſt ſince Chriſt's time I read not. Albeit *Moſes* who was not anointed Prieſt, made *Aaron* Prieſt and Biſhop, by a ſpecial Commiſſion or Revelation from God, without which he would never ſo have done. Dr. *Edgeworth*

A Biſhop placed by the Higher Powers, and admitted to miniſter, may make a Prieſt; and I have not read of any other that ever made Prieſts. Dr. *Symmons.*

I ſay, a Biſhop hath authority by Scripture to make a Prieſt, and other than a Biſhop, hath not power therein, but only in caſe of neceſſity. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the eleventh; I ſuppoſe that a Biſhop hath authority of God, as his Miniſter, by Scripture to make a Prieſt; but he ought not to admit any Man to be Prieſt, and conſecrate him, or to appoint him unto any miniſtry in the Church, without the Princes licenſe and conſent, in a Chriſtian Region. And that any other Man hath authority to make a Prieſt by Scripture, I have not read, nor any example thereof. Dr. *Leyghton.*

Dr. *Coren.* A Biſhop being licenſed by his Prince and Supream Governour, hath authority to make a Prieſt by the Law of God. I do not read that any Prieſt hath been ordered by any other than a Biſhop.

Con. Ad primam partem Quæſtionis reſpondent omnes, & convenit omnibus præter Menevenſ. Epiſcopum habere autoritatem inſtituendi Presbyteros. Roffenſ. Leighton, Curren, Roberſonus, addunt, Modo Magiſtratus id permittat. Ad ſecundam partem Reſpondent Coxus & Treſham in neceſſitate concedi poteſtatem Ordinandi aliis. Eboracen. videtur omnino denegare aliis hanc autoritatem. Redmayn, Symmons, Robertſon, Leighton, Thirleby, Curren, Roffen, Edgworth, Oglethorp, Carliolen, nuſquam legerunt alios uſos fuiſſe hac Poteſtate, quanquam (privilegio quodam) data ſit Moyſi, ut Redmanus arbitratur & Edgeworth. Nihil reſpondent ad ſecundam partem Quæſtionis Londinenſis & Dayus.

Agreem. In the eleventh; To the former part of the Queſtion, the Biſhop of St. *Davids* doth anſwer, That *Biſhops have no authority to make Prieſts, without they be authorized of the Chriſtian Prince.* The others, all of them do ſay, That *they be authorized of God.* Yet ſome of them, as the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Curren*, *Leighton*, *Robertſon*, add, That *they cannot uſe this authority without their Chriſtian Prince doth permit them.* To the ſecond part, the anſwer of the Biſhop of St. *Davids* is, That *Laymen have other-whiles made Prieſts.* So doth Dr. *Edgworth* and *Redman* ſay, *That* Moſes *by a priviledg given him of God, made* Aaron *his Brother Prieſt.* Dr. *Treſham*, *Crayford*, and *Cox* ſay, That *Laymen may make Prieſts in time of Neceſſity.* The Biſhops of *York*, *Dureſme*, *Rocheſter*, *Carliſle*, Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Curren*, *Leighton*, *Symmons*, ſeem to deny this thing; for they ſay, *They find not, nor read not any ſuch example.*

12. Queſtion.

Whether in the New Teſtament *be required any Conſecration of a Biſhop and Prieſt, or only appointing to the Office be ſufficient?*

Anſwers.

Canterbury. IN the *New Teſtament*, he that is appointed to be a Biſhop, or a Prieſt, needeth no Conſecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is ſufficient.

York. To the twelfth Queſtion; The Apoſtles ordained Prieſts by Impoſition of the Hand with Faſting and Prayer; and ſo following their ſteps, we muſt needs think, that all the foreſaid things be neceſſarily to be uſed by their Succeſſors: and therefore we do alſo think, that Appointment only without viſible Conſecration and Invocation for the aſſiſtance and power of the Holy Ghoſt, is neither convenient nor ſufficient; for without

without the ſaid Invocation, it beſeemeth no Man to appoint to our Lord Miniſters, as of his own authority: whereof we have example in the *Acts of the Apoſtles*; where we find, that when they were gathered to chooſe one in the place of *Judas*, they appointed two of the Diſciples, and commended the Election to our Lord, that he would chooſe which of them it pleaſed him, ſaying and praying, *Lord, thou that knoweſt the hearts of all Men, ſhew whether of theſe two thou doſt chooſe to ſucceed in the place of* Judas. And to this purpoſe in the *Acts* we read, *Dixit Spiritus Sanctus ſegregate mihi Barnabam, &c.* And again, *Quos poſuit Spiritus Sanctus regere Eccleſiam Dei.* And it appeareth alſo that in the *Old Teſtament*, in the ordering of Prieſts, there was both Viſible and Inviſible Sanctification; and therefore in the *New Teſtament*, where the Prieſthood is above compariſon higher than in the *Old*, we may not think that only appointment ſufficeth without Sanctification, either Viſible or Inviſible.

To the twelfth; I think Conſecration of a Biſhop and Prieſt be re- *London.*
quired, for that in the Old Law (being yet but a ſhadow and figure of the New) the Conſecration was required, as appears *Levit.* 8. yet the truth of this I leave to thoſe of higher Judgments.

The Scripture ſpeaketh, *de Impoſitione manus & de Oratione:* and of *Rocheſter.*
other manner of Conſecrations, I find no mention in the *New Teſtament* expreſly; but the Old Authors make mention alſo of Inunctions.

Upon this Text of *Paul* to *Timothy*; *Noli negligere gratiam quæ in te* *Carliſle.*
eſt, quæ data eſt tibi per prophetiam cum Impoſitione manuum Presbyterii; St. *Anſelm* ſaith, This *Grace to be the Gift of the Biſhops Office, to the which God of his meer goodneſs had called and preferred him. The Propheſy* (he ſaith) *was the inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, by the which he knew what he had to do therein. The Impoſition of the hands is that by the which he was ordained and received that Office: And therefore* (ſaith St. *Paul*) *God is my Witneſs, that I have diſcharged my ſelf, ſhowing you as I ought to have done. Now look you well upon it whom that ye take to Orders, leſt ye loſe your ſelf thereby. Let Biſhops therefore, who* (as ſaith St. *Hierome*) *hath power to make Prieſts, conſider well under what Law the order of Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution is bounden; and let them not think thoſe words of the Apoſtle to be his, but rather the words of Chriſt himſelf.*

Opinor requiri Conſecrationem quandam, hoc eſt, impoſitionem ma- Dr.
nuum, Orationem, jejunium, &c. tamen nuſquam hoc munere fungi *Robertſon.*
poſſe, niſi ubi Magiſtratus invitet, jubeat, aut permittat.

By Scripture there is no Conſecration of Biſhops and Prieſts required, Dr. *Cox.*
but only the appointing to the Office of a Prieſt, *cum Impoſitione manuum.*

Conſecration of Biſhops and Prieſts I read not in the *New Teſtament*, Dr. *Day.*
but *Ordinatio per manuum Impoſitionem cum Oratione* is read there, as in the places above; and the only appointment, as I think, is not ſufficient.

Præter

Dr. *Oglethorpe.* Præter vocationem, ceu deſignationem externam, quæ vel a Principe ſit, vel a populo per electionem & ſuffragia, requiritur Ordinatio alia per manuum impoſitionem, idque per Verbum Dei.

Dr. *Redmayn.* Beſides the appointing to the Office, it appeareth that in the Primitive Church, the Apoſtles uſed certain Conſecration of the Miniſters of the Church, by impoſition of Hands and Prayer, *Acts* 6. and with Faſting, *Acts* 14, *&c.* The Office of Prieſthood is too dangerous to ſet upon, when one is but appointed only: Therefore for the confirmation of their Faith, who take in hand ſuch charge, and for the obtaining of farther Grace requiſite in the ſame, Conſecration was ordained by the Holy Ghoſt, and hath been always uſed from the beginning.

Dr. *Edgworth.* Deputation to the Office, is not ſufficient to make a Prieſt or a Biſhop, as appeareth by *David* and *Solomon*, who deputed the 24 abovementioned to their Offices, yet they made none of them Prieſts, nor any other.

Dr. *Symmons.* The appointing to the Office *per manuum Impoſitionem*, is in Scripture, and the Conſecration of them hath of long time continued in the Church.

Dr. *Treſham.* There is a certain kind of Conſecration required, which is impoſition of the Biſhops hands with Prayer, and the appointing only is not ſufficient.

Dr. *Leyghton.* To the twelfth; I ſuppoſe that there is a Conſecration required, as by Impoſition of Hands; for ſo we be taught by the enſample of the Apoſtles.

Dr. *Coren.* In the *New Teſtament* is required to the making of a Biſhop; *Impoſitio manuum cum Oratione*, which I take for Conſecration, and Appointment unto the Office is not ſufficient; for King *David*, 1 *Chron.* 24. did appoint 24 to be Biſhops, who after were conſecrated; ſo that both the Appointment and the Conſecration be requiſite.

Con. Reſpondent Eboracenſ. Londinenſ, Carliolenſ. Leighton, Treſham, Robertſonus, Edgeworth, Curren, Dayns, Oglethorp, Conſecrationem eſſe requiſitam. Redmanus ait eam receptam eſſe ab Apoſtolis, atque a Spiritu Sancto inſtitutam ad conferendam gratiam. Dayus, Roffenſ. Symmons, aiunt Sacerdotium conferri per manuum impoſitionem, idq; ê Scripturis; Conſecrationem vero diu receptam in Eccleſia: Coxus Inſtitutionem cum manuum impoſitione ſufficere, neq; per Scripturam requiri Conſecrationem. Robertſonus addit ſupra alios nuſquam hoc munere fungi poſſe quempiam, niſi ubi Magiſtratus invitet, jubeat aut permittat.

Agreem. In the twelfth Queſtion, where it is asked, Whether in the *New Teſtament* be required any Conſecration of a Biſhop, or only appointing to the Office be ſufficient? The Biſhop of St. *Davids* ſaith, That *only the appointing*. Dr. *Cox*, That *only appointing*, cum manuum Impoſitione,

is

is ſufficient without Conſecration. The Biſhops of *York*, *London*, *Dureſme*, *Carliſle*, Drs. *Day*, *Curren*, *Leighton*, *Treſham*, *Edgworth*, *Oglethorp*, ſay, That *Conſecration is requiſite.* Dr. *Redmayn* ſaith, That *Conſecration hath been received from the Apoſtles time, and inſtitute of the Holy Ghoſt to confer Grace.* My Lord of *Rocheſter*, Dr. *Day*, and *Symmons*, ſay, That *Prieſthood is given* per manuum impoſitionem, *and that by Scripture; and that Conſecration hath of long time been received in the Church.*

13. Queſtion.

Whether (if it fortuned a Chriſtian Prince Learned, to conquer certain Dominions of Infidels, having none but temporal learned Men with him) if it be defended by God's Law, that he and they ſhould Preach and Teach the Word of God there, or no? And alſo make and conſtitute Prieſts, or no?

Anſwers.

IT is not againſt God's Law, but contrary they ought indeed ſo to do; and there be Hiſtories that witneſſeth, that ſome Chriſtian Princes, and other Laymen unconſecrate have done the ſame. *Canterbury*

To the thirteenth; To the firſt part of this Queſtion, touching Teaching and Preaching the Word of God in caſe of ſuch need; we think that Laymen not ordered, not only may, but muſt preach Chriſt and his Faith to Infidels, as they ſhall ſee opportunity to do the ſame, and muſt endeavour themſelves to win the Miſcreants to the Kingdom of God, if that they can; for as the Wiſe Man ſaith, *God hath given charge to every Man of his Neighbour*; and the Scripture of God *chargeth every Man to do all the good that he can to all Men:* And ſurely this is the higheſt Alms to draw Men from the Devil the Uſurper, and bring them to God the very Owner. Wherefore in this caſe every Man and Woman may be an Evangeliſt, and of this alſo we have example. But touching the ſecond part, for caſe of Neceſſity; As we neither find Scripture, nor Example, that will bear, that any Man, being himſelf no Prieſt, may make, that is to ſay, may give the Order of Prieſthood to another, and authority therewith to miniſter in the ſaid Order, and to uſe ſuch Powers and Offices, as appertaineth to Prieſthood grounded in the Goſpel: So we find in ſuch caſe of need, what hath been done in one of the ancient Writers; altho this authority to ordain, after form afore-mentioned, be not to Laymen expreſly prohibited in Scripture; yet ſuch a prohibition is implied, in that there is no ſuch authority given to them, either in Scripture or otherways; for ſo much as no Man may uſe this or any other authority which cometh from the Holy Ghoſt, unleſs he hath either Commiſſion grounded in Scripture, or elſe Authority by Tradition, and ancient uſe of Chriſt's Church univerſally received over all. *York*

To

London. To the thirteenth and fourteenth following; I think that neceſſity herein, might either be a ſufficient Rule and Warrant to determine and order ſuch Caſes, conſidering that *tempore neceſſitatis mulier baptizat, & laicus idem facit, & audit confeſſionem:* or elſe that God would inſpire in the Princes heart, to provide the beſt and moſt handſome Remedy therein: And hard were it peradventure to find ſuch great neceſſity, but either in the train of the ſaid Prince, or in the Regions adjoining thereunto, there might be had ſome Prieſts for the ſaid purpoſes; or, finally, That the Prince himſelf, godlily inſpired in that behalf, might, for ſo good purpoſes and intents, ſet forth the Act indeed, referring yet this thing to the better judgment of others.

Rocheſter. To the thirteenth and fourteenth following; I never read theſe caſes, neither in Scripture, nor in the Doctors, and therefore I cannot anſwer unto them by Learning, but think this to be a good Anſwer for all ſuch Queſtions, *viz. Neceſſitas non habet Legem.*

Carlile. It is to be thought, that Chriſt may call, as it pleaſeth him, inwardly, outwardly, or by both together: So that if no Prieſt might be had, it cannot be thought, but that a Chriſtian Prince, with others learned, inwardly moved and called, might moſt charitably and godlily proſecute that ſame their Calling in the moſt acceptable Work, which is to bring People from the Devil to God, from Infidelity to true Faith, by whatſoever means God ſhall inſpire.

Dr. *Robertſon.* In hoc caſu exiſtimarem accerſendos verbi & Sacramentorum Miniſtros, ſi qui forent vicini; quin ſi nulli invenirentur, Principem illum Chriſtianum haberemus pro Apoſtolo, tanquam miſſum a Deo, licet externo Sacramento non eſſet commendatus, quum Deus Sacramentis ſuis non ſit alligatus.

Dr. *Cox.* To the thirteenth, and fourteenth following; It is not againſt God's Law, that the Prince, and his learned temporal Men, may Preach and Teach, and in theſe caſes of extream Neceſſity, make and inſtitute Miniſters.

Dr. *Day.* In this caſe (as I think) the Prince and other temporal learned Men with him, may by God's Law, Teach and Preach the Word of God, and Baptize; and alſo (the ſame Neceſſity ſtanding) elect and appoint Men to thoſe Offices.

Dr. *Ogleſthorp.* In ſumma neceſſitate Baptizare & prædicare poſſunt & debent, hæc etenim duo, neceſſaria ſunt media ad ſalutem; at ordinare (ut conjectura ducor) non debent, ſed aliunde Sacrificos accerſire, quos ſi habere nequeant, Deus ipſe (cujus negotium agitur) vel oraculo admonebit, quid faciendum erit, vel neceſſitas ipſa (quæ ſibiipſi eſt Lex) modum Ordinandi ſuggeret ac ſuppeditabit.

Dr. *Redmayn.* I think they might, in ſuch caſe of Neceſſity; for in this caſe the Laymen made the whole Church there, and the authority of preaching and miniſtring the Sacraments, is given immediately to the Church; and the

the Church may appoint Miniſters, as is thought convenient. There be two Stories good to be conſidered for this Queſtion, which be written in the 10*th* Book, of the *Hiſtory Eccleſiaſtick*; the one of *Frumentius*, who preached in *India*, and was after made Prieſt and Biſhop by *Athanaſius*. And the other Story is of the King of the *Iberians*, of whom *Ruffine* the writer of the Story ſaith thus; *Et nondum initiatus Sacris ſit ſuæ gentis Apoſtolus.* Yet nevertheleſs it is written there, That *an Ambaſſad was ſent to* Conſtantine *the Emperor, that he would ſend them Prieſts for the further eſtabliſhment of the Faith there.*

The Prince and his temporal learned Men, might and ought, in that neceſſity, to inſtruct the People in the Faith of Chriſt, and to baptize them, *ut idem rex ſit, & ſuæ gentis Apoſtolus*, and theſe be ſufficient for the Salvation of his Subjects. But as concerning other Sacraments, he ought to abide and look for a ſpecial Commiſſion from Almighty God, as *Moſes* had, or elſe to ſend unto other Regions where Prieſts or Biſhops may be had, and elſe not to meddle. Examples in *Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib.* 10. *cap.*1. *de Frumentio. & cap.*2. *de Ancilla captiva quæ convertit gentem Hiberorum cujus captivæ monitis ad Imperatorem Conſtantinum totius gentis legatio mittitur, res geſta exponitur, Sacerdotes mittere exorantur qui cœptum erga ſe Dei munus implerent, &c.* Dr. *Edgeworth*

I think that in ſuch a neceſſity, a learned Chriſtian Prince, and alſo temporal Men learned, be bound to preach and miniſter either Sacraments, ſo that the ſame Miniſters be orderly aſſigned by the High Power and the Congregation. Dr. *Symmons.*

I ſay, to the firſt part, That ſuch a King, and his temporal learned Men, not only might, but were alſo bound to preach God's Word in this caſe. And as to the ſecond part, I ſay, That if there could no Biſhop be had to Inſtitute, the Prince might in that of neceſſity do it. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the thirteenth; I ſuppoſe the Affirmative thereof to be true; *Quamvis poteſtas clavium reſidet præcipue in Eccleſia.* Dr. *Leyghton.*

In ſuch a caſe, I do believe that God would illuminate the Prince; ſo that either he himſelf ſhould be made a Biſhop, by internal working of God (as *Paul* was) or ſome of his Subjects, or elſe God would ſend him Biſhops from other parts. And as for preaching of the Word of God, the Prince might do it himſelf, and other of his learned Subjects, altho they were no Prieſts. Dr. *Coren.*

In prima parte Quæſtionis Conveniunt omnes, etiam laicos, tali rerum ſtatu, non ſolum poſſe ſed debere docere. Menevenſ. Thirlebeus, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Treſham, Redmanus, Robertſonus, etiam poteſtatem Miniſtrandi Sacramenta, & Ordinandi Miniſtros, concedunt illis. Eboracenſ. hanc prorſus poteſtatem denegat, Coren credit Principem Divinitus illuminandum & conſecrandum fore in Epiſcopum interne, aut aliquem ex ſuis, Pauli exemplo. Simile habet Herefordenſis & Carliolenſis. *Con.*

Dayus nihil reſpondet de Ordinandis Preſbyteris in hac neceſſitate.

Agreement. In the thirteenth; Concerning the firſt part, Whether Laymen may Preach and Teach God's Word? They do all agree, in ſuch a caſe, *That not only they may, but they ought to teach.* But in the ſecond part, touching the Conſtituting of Prieſts of Laymen, my Lord of *York*, and Doctor *Edgworth*, doth not agree with the other; they ſay, That *Laymen in no wiſe can make Prieſts, or have ſuch Authority.* The Biſhops of *Dureſme*, St. *Davids*. *Weſtminſter*, Drs. *Treſham*, *Cox*, *Leighton*, *Crayford*, *Symmons*, *Redmayn*, *Robertſon*, ſay, *That Laymen in ſuch caſe have authority to miniſter the Sacraments, and to make Prieſts.* My Lords of *London*, *Carliſle*, and *Hereford*, and Dr. *Coren*, think, *That God in ſuch a caſe would give the Prince authority, call him inwardly, and illuminate him or ſome of his, as he did St.* Paul.

14. Queſtion.

Whether it be forefended by God's Law, that (if it ſo fortune that all the Biſhops and Prieſts of a Region were dead, and that the Word of God ſhould remain there unpreached, and the Sacrament of Baptiſm, *and others unminiſtred) that the King of that Region ſhould make Biſhops and Prieſts to ſupply the ſame, or no?*

Anſwers.

Canterbury. IT is not forbidden by God's Law.

York. To the fourteenth; In this caſe, as we have ſaid in the next Article afore, Teaching of the Word of God may be uſed by any that can and would uſe it, to the Glory of God; and in this caſe alſo the Sacrament of Baptiſm may be miniſtred by thoſe that be no Prieſts; which things altho we have not of Scripture, yet the univerſal Tradition and practice of the Church, doth teach us: And peradventure contract of Matrimony might alſo be made, the Solemnization thereof being only ordained by Law poſitive, and not by any ground, either of Scripture, or of Tradition; altho for very urgent cauſes, the ſaid Solemnization is to be obſerved when it may be obſerved; but that the Princes may not Make, that is, may not Order Prieſts nor Biſhops not before Ordered to miniſter the other Sacraments, the miniſtry whereof in Scripture is committed only to the Apoſtles, and from them derived to their Succeſſors, even from the Primitive Church hitherto, and by none other uſed, we have anſwered in the thirteenth Article.

London. *Ut ſupra*, Quæſt. 13.—

Rocheſter. *Ut ſupra*, Quæſt. 13.—

Not

Not only it is given of God to Supream Governours, Kings and Princes immediate under them, to ſee, cauſe, and compel all their Subjects, Biſhops, Prieſts, with all others, to do truly and uprightly their bounden Duties to God, and to them, each one according to his Calling: but alſo if it were ſo, that any-where ſuch lacked to do and fulfil that God would have done, right-well they might, by the inward moving and calling of God, ſupply the ſame. *Carlile.*

Huic Quæſtioni idem Reſpondendum, quod priori, arbitror. Dr. *Robertſon.*

Ut ſupra, Quæſt. 13.— Dr. *Cox.*

To this caſe, as to the firſt, I anſwer; That if there could no Biſhops be had to order new Prieſts there, by the Princes aſſignation and appointment; then the Prince himſelf might ordain and conſtitute, with the conſent of the Congregation, both Prieſts and Miniſters, to Preach and Baptize, and to do other Functions in the Church. Dr. *Day.*

Si ab aliis Regionibus Sacerdotes haberi non poterint, opinor ipſum Principem deputare poſſe etiam Laicos ad hoc Sacrum Officium; ſed omnia prius tentanda eſſent, ut ſupra. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

To this, I think, may be anſwered, as to the laſt Queſtion before; howbeit the ſureſt way, I think, were to ſend for ſome Miniſters of the Church dwelling in the next Regions, if they might be conveniently had. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Likewiſe as to the next Queſtion afore. Dr. *Edgworth.*

If the King be alſo a Biſhop, as it is poſſible, he may appoint Biſhops and Prieſts to miniſter to his People: but hitherto I have not read that ever any Chriſtian King, made Biſhop or Prieſt. Dr. *Symmons.*

I make the ſame anſwer, as to the 13th Queſtion is made. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the fourteenth; I ſuppoſe the Affirmative to be true, in caſe that there can no Biſhops nor Prieſts be had forth of other Countries, conveniently. Dr. *Leyghton.*

In this caſe I make anſwer as before, That God will never ſuffer his Servants to lack that thing that is neceſſary: for there ſhould, either from other parts, Prieſts and Biſhops be called thither, or elſe God would call inwardly ſome of them that be in that Region to be Biſhops and Prieſts. Dr. *Coren.*

Fatentur ut prius omnes, Laicos poſſe Docere. Eboracenſ. Symmons, Oglethorp negant poſſe Ordinare Preſbyteros, tamen concedit Eboracenſ. baptizare & contrahere Matrimonia, Edgworth tantum baptizare poſſe; nam ſufficere dicit ad ſalutem. Alii omnes eandem poteſtatem concedunt, quam prius. Roffenſ. non aliud *Con.*

respondet his duabus Quæstionibus, quam quod necessitas non habeat Legem.

Agreem. In the fourteenth they agree for the most part as they did before, That *Lay-men in this case may teach and minister the Sacraments.* My Lord of *York*, Dr. *Symmons*, and *Oglethorp* say, *They can make no Priests, altho* Symmons *said they might minister all Sacraments, in the Question before.* Yet my Lord of *York*, and *Edgworth*, do grant, That *they may Christen.* The Bishops of *London*, *Rochester*, and Dr. *Crayford*, say, That *in such a case*, Necessitas non habet Legem.

15. Question.

Whether a Man be bound by Authority of this Scripture, (Quorum Remiseritis) *and such-like, to confess his secret deadly sins to a Priest, if he may have him, or no?*

Answers.

Canterbury. A Man is not bound, by the authority of this Scripture, *Quorum Remiseritis*, and such-like, to confess his secret deadly Sins to a Priest, although he may have him.

York. To the fifteenth; This Scripture is indifferent to secret and open Sins; nor the authority given in the same is appointed or limited, either to the one, or to the other, but is given commonly to both: And therefore seeing that the Sinner is in no other place of Scripture discharged of the confession of his secret Sins, we think, that this place chargeth him to confess the secret Sins, as well as the open.

London. To the fifteenth; I think that as the Sinner is bound by this authority to confess his open sins, so also is he bound to confess his secret sins, because the special end is, to wit, *Absolutionem a peccato cujus fecit se servum*, is all one in both cases: And that all sins as touching God are open, and in no wise secret or hid.

Rochester. I think that confession of secret deadly sins is necessary for to attain absolution of them; but whether every Man that hath secretly committed deadly sin, is bound by these words to ask Absolution of the Priest therefore, it is an hard Question, and of much controversy amongst learned Men, and I am not able to define betwixt them; but I think it is the surest way, to say that a Man is bound to Confess, *&c.*

Carlile. I think that by the mind of most ancient Authors, and most holy Expositors, this Text, *Quorum Remiseritis peccata, &c.* with other-like, serveth well to this intent; That Christian Folk should confess their secret deadly sins to a Priest there to be assoiled, without which mean, there can be none other like Assurance.

Opinor

Opinor obligare, modo aliter conſcientiæ illius ſatisfieri nequeat. Dr. *Robertſon.*

I cannot find that a Man is bound by Scripture to confeſs his ſecret deadly ſins to a Prieſt, unleſs he be ſo troubled in his Conſcience, that he cannot be quieted without godly Inſtruction. Dr. *Cox.*

The Matter being in controverſy among learned Men, and very doubtful, yet I think rather the truth is, That by authority of this Scripture, *Quorum Remiſeritis, &c.* and ſuch-like, a Man is bound to confeſs his ſecret deadly ſins, which grieve his Conſcience, to a Prieſt, if he may conveniently have him. Foraſmuch as it is an ordinary way ordained by Chriſt in the Goſpel, by Abſolution to remit ſins; which Abſolution I never read to be given, *ſine Confeſſione prævia.* Dr. *Day.*

Confitenda ſunt opinor, etiam peccata abdita ac ſecreta propter Abſolutionem ac conſcientiæ tranquillitatem, & præcipue pro vitanda deſperatione, ad quam plerumq; adiguntur multi in extremis, dum ſibi ipſis de remiſſione peccatorum nimium blandiuntur, nullius (dum ſani ſunt) cenſuram ſubeuntes niſi propriam. Dr. *Ogletborpe.*

I think, that altho in theſe words Confeſſion of privy Sins, is not expreſly commanded; yet it is inſinuated and ſhewed in theſe words, as a neceſſary Medicine or Remedy, which all Men that fall into deadly ſin ought, for the quieting of their Conſciences ſeek, if they may conveniently have ſuch a Prieſt as is meet to hear their Confeſſion. Dr. *Redmayn.*

Where there be two ways to obtain remiſſion of Sin, and to recover Grace, a Man is bound by the Law of Nature to take the ſurer way, or elſe he ſhould ſeem to contemn his own Health, which is unnatural. Alſo becauſe we be bound to love God above all things, we ought by the ſame Bond to labour for his Grace and Favour: So that becauſe we be bound to love God, and to love our ſelves in an Order to God, we be bound to ſeek the beſt and ſureſt Remedy to recover Grace for our ſelves. Contrition is one way; but becauſe a Man cannot be well aſſured, whether his Contrition, Attrition, or Diſpleaſure for his ſin be ſufficient to ſatisfie or content Almighty God, and able or worthy to get his Grace: Therefore it is neceſſary to take that way that will not fail, and by which thou mayeſt be ſure, and that is Abſolution of the Prieſt, which by Chriſt's promiſe will not deceive thee, ſo that thou put no ſtep or bar in the way; as, if thou do not then actually ſin inwardly nor outwardly, but intend to receive that the Church intendeth to give thee by that Abſolution, having the efficacity of Chriſt's promiſe, *Quorum Remiſeritis*, &c. Now the Prieſt can give thee no Abſolution from that ſin that he knoweth not: therefore thou art bound, for the cauſes aforeſaid, to confeſs thy ſin. Dr. *Edgeworth*

This Scripture, as Ancient Doctors expound it, bindeth all Men to confeſs their ſecret deadly ſins. Dr. *Symmons.*

Dr. *Treſham.* I ſay, That ſuch Confeſſion is a thing moſt conſonant to the Law of God, and it is a wiſe point, and a wholſome thing ſo for to do, and God provoketh and allureth us thereto, in giving the active Power to Prieſts to abſoil in the words, *Quorum Remiſeritis.* It is alſo a ſafer way for Salvation to confeſs, if we may have a Prieſt: Yet I think that confeſſion is not neceſſarily deduced of Scripture, nor commanded as a neceſſary precept of Scripture, and yet is it much conſonant to the Law of God, as a thing willed, not commanded.

Dr. *Leyghton.* To the fifteenth; I think that only ſuch as have not the knowledg of the Scripture, whereby they may quiet their Conſciences, be bound to confeſs their ſecret deadly ſins unto a Prieſt: Howbeit no Man ought to contemn ſuch Auricular Confeſſion, for I ſuppoſe it to be a Tradition Apoſtolical, neceſſary for the unlearned Multitude.

Dr. *Coren.* A Man whoſe Conſcience is grieved with mortal ſecret ſins, is bound by theſe words, *Quorum Remiſeritis, &c.* to confeſs his ſin to a Prieſt, if he may have him conveniently.

Con. Eboracenſ. Londinenſ. Dayus, Oglethorpus, Coren, Redmayn, aſſerunt obligari. Coxus, Treſham, & Robertſonus dicunt non obligari, ſi aliter Conſcientiæ illorum ſatisfieri queat; Menevenſ. nullo modo obligari. Carliolenſ. & Symmons aiunt, ſecundum veterum interpretationem, hac Scriptura quemvis obligari peccatorem. Roffenſ. Herefordenſ. & Thirliby non reſpondent; ſed dubitant. Leightonus ſolum indoctos obligari ad Confeſſionem. Edgeworth tradit duplicem modum remiſſionis peccatorum, per Contritionem ſive Attritionem, & per Abſolutionem: & quia nemo poteſt certus eſſe, num attritio & dolor pro peccato ſufficiat ad ſatisfaciendum Deo & obtinendam gratiam, ideo tutiſſimam viam deligendam, ſcilicet, Abſolutionem a Sacerdote, quæ per promiſſionem Chriſti eſt certa; Abſolvere non poteſt niſi cognoſcat peccata; Ergo peccata per Confeſſionem ſunt illi revelanda.

Agreem. In the eleventh; Concerning Confeſſion of our ſecret deadly ſins. The Biſhops of *York*, *Dureſme*, *London*, Drs. *Day*, *Curren*, *Oglethorp*, *Redmayn*, *Crayford*, ſay, That *Men be bound to confeſs them of their ſecret Sins.* Drs. *Cox*, *Treſham*, *Robertſon*, ſay, *They be not bound, if they may quiet their Conſciences otherwiſe.* The Biſhop of St. *Davids* alſo ſaith, That *this Text bindeth no Man.* Dr. *Leighton* ſaith, That *it bindeth only ſuch as have not the knowledg of Scripture.* The Biſhop of *Carliſle* and *Symmons* ſay, That *by ancient Doctors expoſition, Men be bound, by this Text, to confeſs their deadly ſins.*

16. Queſtion.

Whether a Biſhop or a Prieſt may excommunicate, and for what Crimes? And whether they only may Excommunicate by God's Law?

Anſwers.

A Biſhop or a Prieſt by the Scripture, is neither commanded nor forbidden to Excommunicate, but where the Laws of any Region giveth him authority to Excommunicate, there they ought to uſe the ſame in ſuch Crimes, as the Laws have ſuch authority in; and where the Laws of the Region forbiddeth them, there they have no authority at all; and they that be no Prieſts may alſo Excommunicate, if the Law allow thereunto. *Canterbury*

To the ſixteenth; The power to Excommunicate, that is, to diſſever the Sinner from the communion of all Chriſtian People, and ſo put them out of the Unity of the Myſtical Body for the time, *donec reſipiſcat*, is only given to the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors in the Goſpel, but for what Crimes, altho in the Goſpel doth not appear, ſaving only for diſobedience againſt the Commandment of the Church, yet we find example of Excommunication uſed by the Apoſtles in other caſes: As of the Fornicator by *Paul*, of *Hymeneus* and *Alexander* for their Blaſpemy by the ſame; and yet of other Crimes mentioned in the Epiſtle of the ſaid *Paul* writing to the *Corinthians*. And again of them that were diſobedient to his Doctrine, 2 *Theſſ.* 3. We find alſo charge given to us, by the Apoſtle St. *John*, that we ſhall not commune with them, nor ſo much as ſalute him with *Ave*, that would not receive his Doctrine. By which it may appear that Excommunication, may be uſed for many great Crimes, and yet the Church at this day, doth not uſe it, but only for manifeſt diſobedience. And this kind of Excommunication, whereby Man is put out of the Church, and diſſevered from the Unity of Chriſt's Myſtical Body, which Excommunication toucheth alſo the Soul, no Man may uſe, but they only, to whom it is given by Chriſt. *York.*

To the ſixteenth; I think that a Biſhop may Excommunicate, taking example of St. *Paul* with the *Corinthian*; and alſo of that he did to *Alexander* and *Hymeneus*. And with the Lawyers it hath been a thing out of Queſtion, That to Excommunicate ſolemnly, appertaineth to a Biſhop, altho otherwiſe, both inferior Prelates and other Officers, yea and Prieſts too in notorious Crimes, after divers Mens Opinions, may Excommunicate ſemblably, as all others that be appointed Governors and Rulers over any Multitude, or Spiritual Congregation. *London.*

I anſwer affirmatively to the firſt part, in open and manifeſt Crimes, meaning of ſuch Prieſts and Biſhops as be by the Church authorized to uſe that power. To the ſecond part, I anſwer, That it is an hard Queſtion, wherein I had rather hear other Men ſpeak, than ſay my own Sentence, *Rocheſter.*

Sentence; for I find not in Scripture, nor in the old Doctors, that any Man hath given Sentence of Excommunication, ſave only Prieſts; but yet I think, that it is not againſt the Law of God, that a Lay-man ſhould have authority to do it.

Carlile. Divers Texts of Scripture ſeemeth, by the Interpretation of ancient Authors, to ſhew, that a Biſhop or a Prieſt may Excommunicate open deadly ſinners continuing in obſtinacy with contempt. I have read in Hiſtories alſo, that a Prince hath done the ſame.

Dr. *Robertſon.* Opinor Epiſcopum aut Preſbyterum Excommunicare poſſe, tanquam miniſtrum & os Eccleſiæ, ab eadem mandatum habens. Utrum vero id juris nulli niſi Sacerdotibus in mandatis dari poſſit, non ſatis ſcio. Excommunicandum eſſe opinor pro hujuſcemodi criminibus, qualia recenſet Paulus, 1 *Cor.* 5. ſi, is qui frater nominatur, eſt fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis ſerviens, aut maledicus, aut ebrioſus, aut rapax, cum hujuſmodi ne cibum ſumere, &c.

Dr. *Cox.* A Biſhop or a Prieſt as a publick Perſon appointed to that Office, may excommunicate for all publick Crimes: And yet it is not againſt God's Law, for others than Biſhops or Prieſts to Excommunicate.

Dr. *Day.* A Biſhop or a Prieſt may Excommunicate by God's Law for manifeſt and open Crimes: Alſo others appointed by the Church, tho they be no Prieſts, may exerciſe the power of Excommunication.

Dr. *Ogletborp.* Non ſolum Epiſcopus Excommunicare poteſt, ſed etiam tota Congregatio, idq; pro lethalibus criminibus ac publicis, ê quibus ſcandalum Eccleſiæ provenire poteſt. Non tamen pro re pecuniaria uti olim ſolebant.

Dr. *Redmayn.* They may Excommunicate, as appeareth 1 *Cor.* 5. 1 *Tim.* 1. and that for open and great Crimes, whereby the Church is offended; and for ſuch Crimes as the Prince and Governours determine, and thinketh expedient, Men to be excommunicate for, as appeareth *in nonnullis Conſtitutionibus Juſtiniani.* Whether any other may pronounce the Sentence but a Biſhop or a Prieſt I am uncertain.

Dr. *Edgeworth* A Biſhop, or a Prieſt only, may excommunicate a notorious and grievous Sinner, or obſtinate Perſon from the Communion of Chriſtian People, becauſe it pertaineth to the Juriſdiction which is given to Prieſts, *Jo.* 26. *Quorum Remiſeritis, &c. et Quorum retinetis, &c.* There is one manner of Excommunication ſpoken of 1 *Cor.* 5. which private Perſons may uſe. *Si is qui frater nominatur inter vos eſt fornicator, aut avarus, aut idolis ſerviens, &c. cum hujuſmodi ne cibum quidem capiatis.* Excluding filthy Perſons, covetous Perſons, Braulers and Quarrellers, out of their Company, and neither to eat nor drink with them.

Dr. *Symmons.* Whoſoever hath a place under the Higher Power, and is aſſigned by the ſame to execute his Miniſtry given of God, he may Excommunicate for

for any Crime, as it ſhall be ſeen to the High Power, if the ſame Crime be publick.

A Biſhop and Prieſt may Excommunicate by Scripture: as touching, for what Crimes; I ſay, for every open deadly ſin and diſobedience. And as touching, Whether only the Prieſt may Excommunicate? I ſay, not he only, but ſuch as the Church authorizes ſo to do. Dr. *Treſham.*

To the ſixteenth, I ſay, that a Biſhop or a Prieſt having Licenſe and Authority of the Prince of the Realm, may excommunicate every obſtinate and inobedient Perſon, for every notable and deadly ſin. And further, I ſay, That not only Biſhops and Prieſts may Excommunicate, but any other Man appointed by the Church, or ſuch as have authority to appoint Men to that Office may Excommunicate. Dr. *Leyghton.*

A Biſhop or a Prieſt may Excommunicate an obſtinate Perſon for publick Sins. Forſomuch as the Keys be given to the whole Church, the whole Congregation may Excommunicate, which Excommunication may be pronounced by ſuch a one as the Congregation does appoint, altho he be neither Biſhop nor Prieſt. Dr. *Coren.*

Menevenſ. Herefordenſ. Thirleby, Dayus, Leightonus, Coxus, Symmons, Coren, concedunt authoritatem excommunicandi etiam Laicis, modo a Magiſtratu deputentur. Eboracenſ. & Edgworth prorſus negant datum Laicis, ſed Apoſtolis & eorum ſucceſſoribus tantum. Roffenſis, Redmanus, & Robertſonus ambigunt, num detur Laicis. Londinenſ. non reſpondet Quæſtioni: Oglethorpus & Thirliby aiunt, Eccleſiæ datam eſſe poteſtatem Excommunicandi; Idem Treſhamus. *Con.*

In the ſixteenth, Of Excommunication, they do not agree. The Biſhops of *York*, *Dureſme*, and Dr. *Edgworth* ſay, That *Lay-men have not the authority to Excommunicate, but that it was given only unto the Apoſtles and their Succeſſors.* The Biſhops of *Hereford*, *St. Davids*, *Weſtminſter*, Doctors, *Day*, *Coren*, *Leighton*, *Cox*, *Symmons*, ſay, That *Lay-men may Excommunicate, if they be appointed by the High Ruler.* My Lord Elect of *Weſtminſter*, Dr. *Treſham*, and Dr. *Oglethorp*, ſay further, That *the Power of Excommunication was given to the Church, and to ſuch as the Church ſhall inſtitute.*

17. Queſtion.

Whether Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Venial Sins, as it is now uſed, be ſpoken of in the Scripture, or in any ancient Authors?

Anſwers.

Canterbury. UNction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Venial Sins, as it is now uſed, is not ſpoken of in the Scripture, nor in any ancient Authors.

Theſe are the Subſcriptions which are at the end of every Man's Paper.

T. Cantuarien. This is mine Opinion and Sentence at this preſent, which I do not temeriouſly define, but do remit the judgment thereof wholly unto your Majeſty.

York. To the ſeventeenth; Of Unction of the Sick with Oil and that Sins thereby be remitted, St. *James* doth teach us; but the Holy Prayers, and like Ceremonies uſed in the time of the Unction, we find no ſpecial mention in Scripture, albeit the ſaid St. *James* maketh alſo mention of Prayer to be uſed in the Miniſtry of the ſame.

Edward. Ebor.

London. To the ſeventeenth; I think that albeit it appeareth not clearly in Scripture, whether the uſage in extream Unction now, be all one with that which was in the beginning of the Church: Yet of the Unction in time of Sickneſs, and the Oil alſo with Prayers and Ceremonies, the ſame is ſet forth in the Epiſtle of St. *James*, which place commonly is alledged, and ſo hath been received, to prove the Sacrament of extream Unction.

Ita mihi *Edmundo Londinenſi* Epiſcopo pro hoc tempore dicendum videtur, ſalvo judicio melius ſentientis, cui me prompte & humiliter ſubjicio.

Rocheſter. In Unction of them that be Sick with Oil, and praying for them for remiſſion of Sins, is plainly ſpoken of in the Epiſtle of St. *James*, but after what form or faſhion the ſaid Inunction was then uſed, the Scripture telleth not.

Written on the back of the Paper,
The Biſhop of *Rocheſter*'s Book.

Carlile. Extream Unction is plainly ſet out by St. *James*, with the which maketh alſo that is written in the *6th* of St. *Mark*, after the mind of right good ancient Doctors.

Robert Carliolen.

De

De Unctione Infirmorum nihil reperio in Scripturis, præter id quod ſcribitur, Marc. 6. & Jacob. 5. Dr. *Robertſon.*

Thomas Robertſon.

T. Cantuarien.

Unction of the Sick with Oil conſecrat, as it is now uſed, is not ſpoken of in Scripture. Dr. *Cox.*

Richardus Cox.

Unction of the Sick with praying for them is found in Scripture. Dr. *Day.*

George Day.

Opiniones non Aſſertiones.

De Unctione Infirmorum cum oleo, adjecta Oratione, expreſſa mentio eſt in Scripturis, quanquam nunc addantur alii ritus, honeſtatis gratiâ (ut in aliis Sacramentis) de quibus in Scripturis nulla mentio. Dr. *Oglethorpe.*

Owinus Oglethorpus.

Unction with Oil, adjoined with Prayer, and having promiſe of Remiſſion of Sins, is ſpoken of in St. *James*, and ancient Authors; as for the uſe which now is, if any thing be amiſs, it would be amended. Dr. *Redmayn.*

J. Redmayn.

It is ſpoken of, in *Mark* 6. and *James* 5. *Auguſtine* and other ancient Authors ſpeaketh of the ſame. Dr. *Edgeworth*

Edgeworth.

The Unction of the Sick with Oil, to remit Sins, is in Scripture, and alſo in ancient Authors. Dr. *Symmons.*

Symon Matthew.

Unction with Oil is grounded in the Scripture, and expreſly ſpoken of; but with this Additament (as it is now uſed) it is not ſpecified in Scripture, for the Ceremonies now uſed in Unction, I think meer Traditions of Man. Dr. *Treſham.*

William Treſham.

To the ſeventeenth, I ſay, That Unction of the Sick with Oil and Prayer to remit Sins, is manifeſtly ſpoken of in St. *James* Epiſtle, and ancient Authors, but not with all the Rites and Ceremonies as be now commonly uſed. Dr. *Leyghton.*

T. Cantuarien. Per me *Edwardum Leyghton.*

Unction with Oil to remit Sins is ſpoken of in Scripture. Dr. *Coren.*

Richard Coren.

Con. Menevenſ. & Coxus negant Unctionem Olei (ut jam eſt recepta) ad remittenda peccata contineri in Scripturis. Eboracenſ. Carliolenſ. Edgworth, Coren, Redmayn, Symmons, Leightonus, Oglethorp aiunt, haberi in Scripturis. Roffenſ. Thirleby, Robertſonus, præterquam illud Jacobi 5. & Marci 6. nihil proferunt. Herefordenſis ambigit. Treſham vult Unctionem Olei tradi nobis ê Scripturis, ſed Unctionis Cæremonias traditiones eſſe humanas.

Agreem. In the laſt; The Biſhop of St. *Davids*, and Dr. *Cox*, ſay, That *Unction of the Sick with Oil conſecrate, as it is now uſed to remit Sin, is not ſpoken of in Scripture.* My Lords of *York*, *Dureſme*, *Carlile*, Drs. *Coren*, *Edgworth*, *Redman*, *Symmons*, *Leyghton*, and *Oglethorp*, ſay, That it is found in Scripture.

XXII. *Dr.* Barnes's *Renunciation of ſome Articles informed againſt him.*

BE it known to all Men, that I *Robert Barnes*, Doctor of Divinity, have as well in Writing, as in Preaching, over-ſhot my ſelf, and been deceived, by truſting too much to mine own heady Sentence, and giving judgment in and touching the Articles hereafter enſuing; whereas being convented, and called before the Perſon of my moſt gracious Soverain Lord King *Henry* the Eighth, of *England* and of *France*, Defenſor of the Faith, Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth Supream Head immediately under God of the Church of *England*; It pleaſed his Highneſs, of his great clemency and goodneſs, being aſſiſted with ſundry of his moſt diſcreet and learned Clergy, to enter ſuch Diſputation and Argument with me, upon the Points of my over-ſight, as by the ſame was fully and perfectly confuted by Scriptures, and enforced only for Truths ſake, and for want of defence of Scriptures to ſerve for the maintenance of my part, to yeeld, confeſs, and knowledg my ignorance, and with my moſt humble ſubmiſſion, do promiſe for ever from henceforth to abſtain and beware of ſuch raſhneſs: And for my further declaration therein, not only to abide ſuch order for my doings paſſed, as his Grace ſhall appoint and aſſign unto me, but alſo with my heart to advance and ſet forth the ſaid Articles enſuing, which I knowledg and confeſs to be moſt Catholick, and Chriſtian, and neceſſary to be received, obſerved, and followed of all good Chriſtian People. Tho it ſo be, that Chriſt by the Will of his Father, is he only which hath ſuffered Paſſion and Death for redemption of all ſuch as will and ſhall come unto him, by perfect Faith and Baptiſm; and that alſo he hath taken upon him *gratis* the burden of all their ſins, which as afore will, hath, or ſhall come to him, paying ſufficient Ranſom for all their ſins, and ſo is becomed their only Redeemer and Juſtifier; of the which number I truſt and doubt not but that many of us now-adays be of: yet I in heart do confeſs, that after, by the foreſaid means we become right Chriſtian Folks, yet then by not following our Maſter's Commandments and Laws, we do looſe the

the benefits and fruition of the ſame, which in this caſe is irrecuperable, but by true Penance, the only Remedy left unto us by our Saviour for the ſame; wherefore I think it more than convenient and neceſſary, that whenſoever Juſtification ſhall be preached of, that this deed be joined with all the fore-part, to the intent that it may teach all true Chriſtian People a right knowledg of their Juſtification.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

Alſo I confeſs with my heart, That Almighty God is in no wiſe Author, cauſer of Sin, or any Evil; and therefore whereas Scripture ſaith, *Induravit Dominus Cor Pharaonis, &c.* and ſuch other Texts of like ſenſe, they ought to underſtand them, *quod Dominus permiſit eum indurari*, and not otherwiſe; which doth accord with many of the ancient Interpreters alſo.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

Further I do confeſs with my heart, That whenſoever I have offended my Neighbours, I muſt firſt reconcile my ſelf unto him, e're I ſhall get remiſſion of my ſins, and in caſe he offend me, I muſt forgive him, e're that I can be forgiven; for this doth the *Pater Noſter*, and other places of Scripture teach me.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

I do alſo confeſs with my heart, That good Works limited by Scripture, and done by a penitent and true reconciled Chriſtian Man, be profitable and allowable unto him, as allowed of God for his benefit, and helping to his Salvation.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

Alſo do confeſs with my heart, That Laws and Ordinances made by Chriſtian Rulers, ought to be obeyed by the Inferiors and Subjects, not only for fear, but alſo for Conſcience, for whoſo breaketh them, breaketh God's Commandments.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

All and ſingular the which Articles before written, I the foreſaid *Robert Barnes* do approve and confeſs to be moſt true and Catholick, and promiſe with my heart, by God's Grace, hereafter to maintain, preach, and ſet forth the ſame to the People, to the uttermoſt of my power, wit, and cunning.

By me *Robert Barnes.*

By me *William Jerome.*

By me *Thomas Gerarde.*

XXIII. *The*

XXIII. *The Foundation of the Biſhoprick of* Weſtminſter.

REx omnibus ad quos, &c. ſalutem. Cum nuper cænobium quoddam ſive Monaſterium, quod (dum extitit) Monaſterium Sancti Petri Weſtmon. vulgariter vocabatur, omnia & ſingula ejus Maneria, Dominia, Meſuagia, Terræ, Tenementa, Hæreditamenta, Dotationes & Poſſeſſiones, certis de cauſis ſpecialibus & urgentibus, per Willielmum ipſius nuper Cænobii ſive Monaſterii Abbatem, & ejuſdem loci Conventum, nobis & hæredibus noſtris in perpetuum jamdudum data fuerunt & conceſſa, prout per ipſorum nuper Abbatis & Conventus cartam ſigillo ſuo communi ſive conventuali ſigillatam & in Cancellar. noſtram irrotulat. manifeſte liquet; quorum prætextu nos de ejuſdem nuper Cænobii ſive Monaſterii ſitu, ſeptu & præcinctu, ac de omnibus & ſingulis prædict. nuper Abbatis & Conventus Maneriis, Dominiis & Meſuagiis, Terris, Tenementis, Hæreditamentis, Dotationibus & Poſſeſſionibus, ad præſens pleno jure ſeiſiti ſumus in dominico noſtro, ut de feodo. Nos utiq; ſic de eiſdem ſeiſiti exiſten. divinaq; nos clementia inſpirante nihil magis ex animo affectantes, quam ut vera religio veruſq; Dei cultus inibi non modo aboleatur ſed in integrum potius reſtituatur, & ad primitivam ſive genuinæ ſinceritatis normam reformetur, correctis enormitatibus in quas monachorum vita & profeſſio longo temporum lapſu deplorabiter exorbitaverit, operam dedimus, quatenus humana perſpicere poteſt infirmitas, ut impoſterum ibidem ſacrorum eloquiorum documenta & noſtræ ſalutiferæ Redemptionis ſacramenta pure adminiſtrentur, bonorum morum diſciplina ſincere obſervetur, Juventus in literis liberaliter inſtituatur, ſenectus viribus defectis, eorum præſertim qui circa perſonam noſtram, vel alioquin circa Regni noſtri negotia publice bene & fideliter nobis ſervierunt, rebus ad victum neceſſariis condigne foveatur, & deniq; eleemoſinarum in pauperes Chriſti elargitiones, viarum pontiumque reparationes, & cætera omnis generis pietatis officia illinc exuberanter in omnia vicina loca longe lateq; dimaneant, ad Dei omnipotentis gloriam, & ad ſubditorum noſtrorum communem utilitatem felicitatemque: Idcirco nos conſiderantes quod ſitus dicti nuper Monaſterii Sancti Petri Weſtmon. in quo multa tum perchariſſimi patris noſtri, tum aliorum Inclitorum, quondam Regum Angliæ, præclara monumenta conduntur, ſit locus aptus, conveniens & neceſſarius inſtituendi, erigendi, ordinandi & ſtabiliendi ſedem Epiſcopalem, & quandam Eccleſiam Cathedralem de uno Epiſcopo, de uno Decano, Preſbytero, & duodecem Præbendariis Preſbyteris, ibidem, Omnipotenti Deo & in perpetuum ſervitium, ipſum ſitum dicti nuper Monaſt. Sancti Petri Weſtmon. ac locum & Eccleſiam ipſius in ſedem Epiſcopalem ac in Eccleſiam Cathedral. creari, erigi, fundari & ſtabiliri decrevimus, prout per præſentes decernimus, & eandem Eccleſiam Cathedral. de uno Epiſcopo, de uno Decano Preſbytero, & duodecim Præbendariis Preſbyteris, tenore præſentium, realiter & ad plenum creamus, erigimus, fundamus, ordinamus, facimus, conſtituimus & ſtabilimus, perpetuis futuris temporibus duraturam, & ſic ſtabiliri ac in perpetuum inviolabiliter obſervari volumus & jubemus per præſentes. Volumus itaq; & per præſentes Ordinamus quod Eccleſia Cathedralis prædicta ſit, & deinceps in perpetuum

tuum erit Eccleſia Cathedralis & Sedes Epiſcopalis, ac quod tota villa noſtra Weſtmon. ex nunc & deinceps in perpetuum ſit Civitas, ipſamq; civitatem Weſtm. vocari & nominari volumus & decernimus, ac ipſam Civitatem & totum Comit. noſtrum Midd. prout per metas & limites dignoſcitur, & limitatur, tota Parochia de Fulham in eodem Comit. de Midd. tantummodo except. ab omni Juriſdictione, Autoritate & Dioc. Epiſcopi London. & ſucceſſorum. ſuorum pro tempore exiſten. ſeparamus, dividimus, eximimus, exoneramus, & omnino per præſentes liberamus: ac omnem juriſdictionem Epiſcopalem infra eandem Civitatem & Comit. Midd. exceptis præexceptis, Epiſcopo Weſtmon. a nobis per has Literas noſtras Patentes nominand. & eligend. & Succeſſoribus ſuis Epiſcopis Weſtm. ac prædict. Epiſcopat. Weſtm. adjungimus & unimus, ac ex dictis Civitate & Com. Dioceſim facimus & Ordinamus per præſentes, illamq; Dioceſim Weſtm. in perpetuum ſimiliter vocari, appellari, nuncupari & nominari volumus & ordinamus. Et ut hæc noſtra intentio debitum & uberiorem ſortiatur effectum, Nos de ſcientia, moribus, probitate & virtute dilecti noſtri Conſiliarii Thomæ Thyrlebei Clerici, Decani Capellæ noſtræ plurimum confidentes, eundem Thomam Thyrleby ad Epiſcopatum dictæ Sedis Weſtm. nominamus & eligimus, ac ipſum Thomam Epiſcopum Weſtm. per præſentes eligimus, nominamus, facimus, & creamus, & volumus; ac per præſentes Concedimus & Ordinamus, quod idem Epiſcopatus ſit corpus corporatum in re & nomine, ipſumq; ex uno corpore declaramus & acceptamus, Ordinamus, facimus & conſtituimus in perpetuum, habeatq; ſucceſſionem perpetuam, ac quod ipſe & ſucceſſores ſui per nomen & ſub nomine Epiſcopi Weſtm. nominabitur & vocabitur, nominabuntur & vocabuntur in perpetuum, & quod ipſe & ſucceſſores ſui per idem nomen & ſub eo nomine proſequi, clamare & placitare, ac placitari, defendere & defendi, reſpondere & reſponderi, in quibuſcunq; Curiis & locis legum noſtrarum, ac hæredum & ſucceſſorum noſtrorum, & alibi, in & ſuper omnibus & ſingulis cauſis, actionibus, ſectis, brevibus, demand. & querelis, realibus, perſonalibus & mixtis, tam temporalibus quam ſpiritualibus, ac in omnibus aliis rebus, cauſis & materiis quibuſcunque, & per idem nomen Maneria, Dominia, Terræ, Tenementa, Rectorias, Penſiones, Portiones, & alia quæcunq; Hæreditamenta, Poſſeſſiones, proficua, & emolumenta, tam ſpiritualia ſive Eccleſiaſtica, quam temporalia, ac alia quæcunq; per Literas Patentes præfato Epiſcopo & Succeſſoribus ſuis, per nos ſeu hæredes noſtros debito modo fiend. vel per quamcunq; aliam perſonam ſeu quaſcunq; alias perſonas ſecundum leges noſtras & hæredum ſive ſucceſſorum noſtrorum dand. ſeu concedend. capere, recipere, gaudere & perquirere ac dare, alienare & dimittere poſſit & poſſint, valeat & valeant, & generaliter omnia alia & ſingula recipere, gaudere, & facere, prout & eiſdem modo & forma quibus cæteri Epiſcopi infra Regnum noſtrum Angliæ recipere aut facere poſſint, aut aliquis Epiſcopus infra Regnum noſtrum Angliæ recipere aut facere poſſit, & non aliter nec ullo alio modo. Et ulterius volumus & ordinamus, quod Eccleſia Cathedralis prædicta ſit, & deinceps in perpetuum erit Eccleſia Cathedralis & Sedes Epiſcopalis dicti Thomæ & ſucceſſorum ſuorum Epiſcoporum Weſtm. ipſamq; Eccleſiam Cathedralem honoribus, dignitatibus, & inſigniis Sedis Epiſcopalis per præſentes decoramus, eandemq; Sedem Epiſcopalem præfato Thomæ & ſucceſſoribus ſuis Epiſcopis Weſtm. damus

&c

& concedimus per præſentes habend. & gaudend. eidem Thomæ & ſucceſſoribus ſuis in perpetuum. Ac etiam volumus & ordinamus per præſentes, quod præfatus Thomas & ſucceſſores ſui Epiſcopi Weſtm. prædict. omnimodam juriſdictionem, poteſtatem & autoritatem ordinarias & Epiſcopales, infra Eccleſiam Cathedralem Weſtm. & prædict. Dioceſ. exercere, facere, & uti poſſit, & debeat, poſſint & debeant, in tam amplis modo & forma, prout Epiſcopus London. infra Dioceſ. London. ſecundum leges noſtras exercere, facere, & uti ſolet, poſſit aut debet. Et quod dictus Thomas Epiſcopus Weſtm. & ſucceſſores ſui Epiſcopi Weſtm. deinceps in perpetuum habeat ſigillum authenticum, ſeu ſigilla authentica pro rebus & negotiis ſuis agendis ſervitur. ad omnem juris effectum ſimili modo & forma, & non aliter nec aliquo alio modo, prout Epiſcopus London. habet aut habere poteſt. Et ut Eccleſia Cathedralis prædict. de perſonis congruis in ſingulis locis & gradibus ſuis perimpleatur & decoretur, dilectum nobis Willielmum Benſon Sacræ Theologiæ profeſſorem primum & originalem, & modernum Decanum dictæ Eccleſiæ Cathedralis, ac Simonem Haynes Sacræ Theologiæ profeſſorem primum, & præſent. Preſbyterum Præbendarium, ac Joannem Redman ſecundum Preſbyterum Præbendarium, ac Edwardum Leyghton tertium Preſbyterum Præbendarium, ac Antonium Belaſys quartum Preſbyterum Præbendarium, ac Willielmum Britten quintum Preſbyterum Præbendarium, ac Dionyſium Dalyon ſextum Preſbyterum Præbendarium, ac Humphredũ Perkins ſeptimum Preſbyterum Præbendarium, ac Thomam Eſſex octavum Preſbyterum Præbendarium, ac Thomam Ellforde nonum Preſbyterum Præbendarium, ac Joannem Malvern decimum Preſbyterum Præbendarium, ac Willielmum Harvye undecimum Preſbyterum Prebendarium, ac Gerardum Carleton duodecimum Preſbyterum Præbendarium, tenore præſentium facimus & ordinamus. Per præſentes volumus etiam & ordinamus, ac eiſdem Decano & Præbendariis concedimus per præſentes, quod prædictus Decanus & duodecem Præbendarii dicti ſint de ſe in re & nomine unum corpus corporatum, habeantq; ſucceſſionem perpetuam, & ſe gerent, exhibebunt, & occupabunt Sedem, ordinationem, regulas & ſtatuta, eis per nos in quadam Indentũra in poſterum fiend. ſpecificand. & declarand. Et quod idem Decanus & Præbendarii & ſucceſſores ſui, Decanus & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Sancti Petri Weſtm. in perpetuum vocabuntur, appellabuntur; Et quod præfatus Decanus & Præbendarii Eccleſiæ Cathedralis prædictæ & ſucceſſores ſui ſint & in perpetuum erunt Capitulum Epiſcopatus Weſtm. ſitq; idem Capitulum præfat. Thomæ & ſucceſſoribus ſuis Epiſcopis Weſtm. perpetuis futuris temporibus annexum, incorporatum & unitum, eiſdem modo & forma quibus Decanus & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Sancti Pauli in Civitate noſtra London. Epiſcopo London. aut ſedi Epiſcopali London. annexa, incorporata & unit. exiſt. ipſoſq; Decanum & Præbendarios unum corpus corporatum in re & nomine facimus, creamus & ſtabilimus, & eos pro uno corpore facimus, declaramus, ordinamus & acceptamus, habeantq; ſucceſſionem perpetuam; Et quod ipſe Decanus & Capitulum eorumq; ſucceſſores, per nomen Decani & capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis Beati Petri Weſtm. proſequi, clamare, placitare poſſint & implacitare, defendere & defendi, reſpondere & reſponderi, in quibuſcunq; tempore & Curiis legum noſtrarum & alibi, in & ſuper omnibus & ſingulis cauſis, actionibus Sectis, demand. brevibus & querelis, realibus, ſpiri-

ſpiritualibus, perſonalibus & mixtis, & in omnibus aliis rebus, cauſis & materiis, prout Decanus & Capitulum Sancti Pauli London. agere aut facere poſſunt: Et per idem nomen Maneria, Dominia, Terræ, Tenementa, & cætera quæcunq; Hæreditamenta, poſſeſſiones, proficua, & emolumenta tam Spiritualia ſive Eccleſiaſtica quam temporalia, & alia quæcunq; per nos per literas noſtras Patentes, hæredũ vel ſucceſſorũ noſtrorũ, ſeu per aliquam perſonam vel perſonas quaſcunq; eis & ſucceſſoribus ſuis vel aliter ſecundũ leges noſtras, vel hæredũ ſeu ſucceſſorũ noſtrorũ, dand. ſeu concedend. capere, recipere, & perquirere, dare, alienare, & dimittere poſſint & valeant, & generaliter omnia alia & ſingula capere, recipere, perquirere, dare, alienare, & demittere, ac facere & exequi, prout & eiſdem modo & forma, quibus Decanus & Capitulum prædict. Cathedralis Eccleſiæ Sancti Pauli in prædicta civitate noſtra London. capere, recipere perquirere, dare, alienare, & dimittere, ac facere aut exequi poſſint, & non aliter, neq; aliquo alio modo: Et quod Decanus & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis beati Petri Weſtm. & ſucceſſores ſui in perpetuum habebunt commune Sigillum, ad omnimodas cartas, evidentias, & cætera ſcripta, vel facta ſua fiend. eos vel Eccleſiam Cathedralem prædict. aliquo modo tangen. ſive continend. ſigilland. Et inſuper volumus & per præſentes concedimus & ordinamus, quod prædict. Epiſcopus Weſtm. & quilibet ſucceſſorum ſuorum pro tempore exiſten. & prædictus Decanus & Capitulum Eccleſiæ Cathedralis beati Petri Weſtm. & quilibet ſucceſſorum ſuorum habeant plenam poteſtatem & facultatem faciendi, recipiendi, dandi, alienandi, dimittendi, exequendi & agendi omnia & ſingula quæ Epiſcopus London. & Decanus & Capitulum Sancti Pauli London. conjunctim & diviſim facere, recipere, dare, alienare, dimittere, exequi aut agere poſſint. Volumus etiam & ordinamus, ac per præſentes Statuimus, quod Archidiaconus Midd. qui nunc eſt & ſucceſſores ſui ſint deinceps in perpetuum ſeparati & exonerati & prorſus liberati a juriſdictione, poteſtate, jure & authoritate Epiſcopi London. & ſucceſſorum ſuorum, ac ab Eccleſia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London. ab omniq; jure, poteſtate & autoritate ejuſdem ipſiuſq; Archidiaconi, & ſucceſſores ſuos per præſentes ſeparamus, exoneramus, penitus in perpetuum liberamus, eundemq; Archidiaconum & ſucceſſores ſuos decernimus, Statuimus, Ordinamus, ac ſtabilimus in ſimili Statu, modo, forma & jure eſſe, ac deinceps in perpetuum fore, in prædicta Eccleſia Cathedrali Weſtm. quibus ipſe aut aliquis prædeceſſorum ſuorum unquam fuit in Eccleſia Cathedrali Sancti Pauli London. Statuimus etiam & ordinamus, ac per præſentes volumus & concedimus, quod prædictus Thomas Epiſcopus Weſtm. & ſucceſſores ſui Epiſcopi Weſtm. habeant, teneant & poſſideant, in omnibus & per omnia autoritatem, poteſtatem, jus & juriſdictionem, de & ſuper Archidiaconatu Midd. & Archidiacono & ſucceſſoribus ſuis, tam plene & integre ad omnem effectum quam Epiſcopus London. qui nunc eſt aut aliquis prædeceſſorum ſuorum habet aut habuit, aut habere debuit vel uſus fuit. Volumus autem ac per præſentes concedimus, tam præfato Epiſcopo quam Decano & Capitulo, quod habeat & habebit, habeant & habebunt, has Literas noſtras Patentes ſub magno ſigillo noſtro Angliæ debito modo factas & ſigillatas, abſq; fine ſeu feod. magno vel parvo nobis in Hanaperio noſtro ſeu alibi ad uſum noſtrorum, proinde quoquo modo reddend. ſolvend. vel faciend. eo quod expreſſa mentio, & cæt. In cujus rei, &c. Teſte Rege apud Weſtm. decimo ſeprimo die Decembris Anno Regni Regis Henrici Octavi trigeſimo ſecundo.

XXIV.

A Proclamation ordained by the King's Majeſty, with the advice of his Honourable Council, for the Bible of the largeſt and greateſt Volume to be had in every Church; deviſed the ſixth day of May, *the 33 year of the King's moſt gracious Reign.*

Regiſt. *Bonner.* Fol. 21.

WHereby Injunctions heretofore ſet forth by the authority of the King's Royal Majeſty, Supream Head of the Church of this his Realm of *England*, it was ordained, and commanded, amongſt other things, That in all and ſingular Pariſh-Churches, there ſhould be provided, by a certain day now expired, at the coſts of the Curats and Pariſhioners, Bibles containing the Old and New Teſtament in the Engliſh Tongue, to be fixed and ſet up openly in every of the ſaid Pariſh Churches; the which godly Commandment and Injunction, was to the only intent that every of the King's Majeſties loving Subjects, minding to read therein, might, by occaſion thereof, not only conſider and perceive the great and ineffable Omnipotent Power, Promiſe, Juſtice, Mercy and Goodneſs of Almighty God, but alſo to learn thereby to obſerve God's Commandments, and to obey their Sovereign Lord, and High Powers, and to exerciſe Godly Charity, and to uſe themſelves according to their Vocations, in a pure and ſincere Chriſtian Life, without murmur or grudging: By the which Injunctions, the King's Royal Majeſty intended that his loving Subjects ſhould have and uſe the commodities of the reading of the ſaid Bibles, for the purpoſe above rehearſed, humbly, meekly, reverently, and obediently, and not that any of them ſhould read the ſaid Bibles with high and loud Voices, in time of the Celebration of the Holy Maſs, and other Divine Services uſed in the Church; or that any his Lay-Subjects reading the ſame, ſhould preſume to take upon them any common Diſputation, Argument, or Expoſition of the Myſteries therein contained; but that every ſuch Layman ſhould, humbly, meekly, and reverently, read the ſame for his own inſtruction, edification, and amendment of his Life, according to God's Holy Word therein mentioned. And notwithſtanding the King's ſaid moſt godly and gracious Commandment and Injunction, in form as is aforeſaid, his Royal Majeſty is informed, That divers and many Towns and Pariſhes within this his Realm, have neglected their duties in the accompliſhment thereof; whereof his Highneſs marvelleth not a little; and minding the execution of his ſaid former moſt godly and gracious Injunctions, doth ſtraitly charge and command, That the Curats and Pariſhioners of every Town and Pariſh within this his Realm of *England*, not having already Bibles provided within their Pariſh Churches, ſhall on this ſide the Feaſt of *All-Saints* next coming, buy and provide Bibles of the largeſt and greateſt Volume, and cauſe the ſame to be ſet and fixed in every of the ſaid Pariſh Churches, there to be uſed as is afore-ſaid, according to the ſaid former Injunctions, upon pain that the Curat and Inhabitants of the Pariſhes and Towns, ſhall looſe and forfeit to the King's Majeſty for every month that they ſhall lack and want the ſaid Bibles, after the ſame Feaſt of *All-Saints*, 40 *s.* the one half of the ſame forfeit to be to the King's Majeſty, and the other half to him

or

or them which ſhall firſt find and preſent the ſame to the King's Majeſties Council. And finally, the King's Royal Majeſty doth declare and ſignify to all and ſingular his loving Subjects, that to the intent they may have the ſaid Bibles of the greateſt Volumn, at equal and reaſonable prices, his Highneſs, by the advice of his Council, hath ordained and taxed, That the Sellers thereof ſhall not take for any of the ſaid Bibles unbound, above the price of ten ſhillings; and for every of the ſaid Bibles well and ſufficiently bound, trimmed and claſped, not above twelve ſhillings, upon pain the Seller to loſe, for every Bible ſold contrary to his Highneſs's Proclamation, four ſhillings, the one Moiety thereof to the King's Majeſty, and the other Moiety to the finder and preſenter of the Defaulter, as is aforeſaid. And his Highneſs ſtraitly chargeth and commandeth, That all and ſingular Ordinaries, having Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction within this his Church and Realm of *England*, and Dominion of *Wales*, that they, and every of them, ſhall put their effectual endeavours, that the Curats and Pariſhioners ſhall obey and accompliſh this his Majeſties Proclamation and Commandment, as they tender the advancement of the King's moſt gracious and godly purpoſe in that behalf, and as they will anſwer to his Highneſs for the ſame.

God ſave the KING.

XXV. *An Admonition and Advertiſement given by the Biſhop of* London, *to all Readers of this Bible in the Engliſh Tongue.*

TO the intent that a good and wholſome thing, godly and vertuouſly, for honeſt intents and purpoſes, ſet forth for many, be not hindred or maligned at, for the abuſe, default, and evil behaviour of a few, who for lack of diſcretion, and good adviſement, commonly without reſpect of time, or other due circumſtances, proceed raſhly and unadviſedly therein; and by reaſon thereof, rather hinder than ſet forward the thing that is good of it ſelf: It ſhall therefore be very expedient, that whoſoever repaireth hither to read this Book, or any ſuchlike, in any other place, he prepare himſelf chiefly and principally, with all devotion, humility, and quietneſs, to be edified and made the better thereby; adjoining thereto his perfect and moſt bounden duty of obedience to the King's Majeſty, our moſt gracious and dread Soveraign Lord, and ſupream Head, eſpecially in accompliſhing his Graces moſt honorable Injunctions and Commandments given and made in that behalf. And right expedient, yea neceſſary it ſhall be alſo, that leaving behind him vain Glory, Hypocriſy, and all other carnal and corrupt Affections, he bring with him diſcretion, honeſt intent, charity, reverence, and quiet behaviour, to and for the edification of his own Soul, without the hindrance, lett, or diſturbance of any other his Chriſtian Brother; evermore foreſeeing that no number of People be ſpecially congregate therefore to make a multitude; and that no expoſition be made thereupon otherwiſe than it is declared in the Book it ſelf; and that eſpecially regard be had no reading thereof, be uſed, allowed, and

Regiſter, *Bonner.*

with noiſe in the time of any Divine Service, or Sermon; or that in the ſame be uſed any Diſputation, contention, or any other miſdemeanour, or finally that any Man juſtly may reckon himſelf to be offended thereby, or take occaſion to grudg or malign thereat.

God ſave the KING.

XXVI. *Injunctions given by* Bonner, *Biſhop of* London, *to his Clergy.*

Regiſt. *Bonner.* Fol. 38.

INjunctions made by the conſent and authority of me *Edmond Bonner* Biſhop of *London*, in the Year of our Lord God 1542, and in the 34 Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord *Henry* the Eighth, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, and ſupream Head here in Earth, next under God, of the Church of *England* and *Ireland*. All which and ſingular Injunctions, by the Authority given to me of God, and by our ſaid Soveraign Lord the King's Majeſty, I exhort, require, and alſo command, all and ſingular Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and Chantry Prieſts, with other of the Clergy, whatſoever they be, of my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction of *London*, to obſerve, keep, and perform accordingly, as it concerneth every of them, in vertue of their Obedience, and alſo upon pains expreſſed in all ſuch Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances of this Realm, as they may incur, and be objected againſt them, now, or at any time hereafter, for breaking and violating of the ſame, or any of them.

Firſt; That you, and every of you, ſhall, with all diligence, and faithful obedience, obſerve and keep, and cauſe to be obſerved and kept, to the outermoſt of your Powers, all and ſingular the Contents of the King's Highneſs moſt gracious and godly Ordinances and Injunctions given and ſet forth by his Graces Authority; and that ye, and every of you, for the better performance thereof, ſhall provide to have a Copy of the ſame in writing, or imprinted, and ſo to declare them accordingly.

Item; That every Parſon, Vicar, and Curat, ſhall read over and diligently ſtudy every day one Chapter of the Bible, and that with the gloſs ordinary, or ſome other Doctor or Expoſitor, approved and allowed in this Church of *England*, proceeding from Chapter to Chapter, from the beginning of the Goſpel of *Matthew* to the end of the New Teſtament, and the ſame ſo diligently ſtudied to keep ſtill and retain in memory, and to come to the rehearſal and recital thereof, at all ſuch time and times as they, or any of them, ſhall be commanded thereunto by me, or any of my Officers or Deputies.

Item; That every of you do procure and provide of your own, a Book called, *The Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, otherwiſe called the *Biſhops Book*; and that ye, and every of you, do exerciſe your ſelves in the ſame, according to ſuch Precepts as hath been given heretofore or hereafter to be given.

Item;

Item; That ye being abſent from your Benefices, in caſes lawfully permitted by the Laws and Statutes of this Realm, do ſuffer no Prieſt to keep your Cure, unleſs he being firſt by you preſented, and by me or my Officers thereunto abled and admitted. And for the more and better aſſurance and performance thereof to be had, by theſe preſents I warn and moniſh peremptorily, all and ſingular Beneficed Parſons having Benefices with Cure, within my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, that they and every of them, ſhall either be perſonally reſident upon their Benefices and Cures, before the Feaſt of St. *Michael* the Arch-Angel now next enſuing; or elſe preſent, before the ſaid Feaſt, to me the ſaid Biſhop, my Vicar-General, or other my Officers deputed in that behalf, ſuch Curats as upon examination made by me, or my ſaid Officers, may be found able and ſufficient to ſerve and diſcharge their Cures in their abſence; and alſo at the ſaid Feaſt, or before, ſhall bring in and exhibite before my ſaid Officers their ſufficient Diſpenſations authorized by the King's Majeſty, as well for non-reſidence, as for keeping of more Benefices with Cure than one.

Item; That every Parſon, Vicar, and other Curats, once in every quarter, ſhall openly in the Pulpit exhort and charge his Pariſhioners, that they in no wiſe do make any privy or ſecret contract of Matrimony between themſelves, but that they utterly defer it until ſuch time as they may conveniently have the Father and Mother, or ſome other Kinſfolks or Friends of the Perſon that ſhall make ſuch Contract of Matrimony; or elſe two or three honeſt Perſons to be preſent, and to hear and record the words and manner of their Contract, as they will avoid the extream pains of the Law provided in that behalf, if they preſumptuouſly do or attempt the contrary.

Item; That in the avoiding of divers and grievous Offences and Enormities, and ſpecially the moſt deteſtable ſin of Adultery, which oftimes hath hapned by the negligence of Curats in marrying Perſons together which had been married before, and making no due proof of the death of their other Huſbands and Wives at the time of ſuch Marriages; I require and command you, and moniſh peremptorily by theſe preſents, all manner of Parſons, Vicars, and Curats, with other Prieſts, being of my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, that they, nor any of them from henceforth, do preſume to ſolemnizate Matrimony in their Churches, Chappels, or elſewhere, between any Perſons that have been married before, unleſs the ſaid Parſon, Vicar, Curat, or Prieſt, be firſt plainly, fully, and ſufficiently informed and certified of the Deceaſe of the Wife or Huſband of him or her, or of both, that he ſhall marry, and that in writing, under the Ordinaries Seal of the Dioceſs, or place where he or ſhe inhabited or dwelt before, under pain of Excommunication, and otherwiſe to be puniſhed for doing the contrary, according to the Laws provided and made in that behalf.

Item; That ye, and every of you that be Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and alſo Chauntry-Prieſts and Stipendiaries, do inſtruct, teach, and bring up in Learning the beſt ye can, all ſuch Children of your Pariſhioners as ſhall come to you for the ſame; or at the leaſt, to teach them to read Engliſh, taking moderately therefore of their Friends that be able to pay, ſo that they may thereby the better learn and know how to Believe, how to Pray, how to live to God's pleaſure.

Item;

Item; That every Curat do at all times his beſt diligence to ſtir, move, and reduce ſuch as be at diſcord, to Peace, Concord, Love, Charity, and one to remit and forgive one another, as often and howſoever they ſhall be grieved or offended: And that the Curat ſhew and give example thereof, when and as often as any variance or diſcord ſhall happen to be between him and any of his Cure.

Item; Where ſome froward Perſons, partly for malice, hatred, diſpleaſure, and diſdain, neglect contemn and deſpiſe their Curats, and ſuch as have the Cure and Charge of their Souls, and partly to hide and cloak their leud and naughty living, as they have uſed all the Year before, uſe at length to be confeſſed of other Prieſts which have not the Cure of their Souls: Wherefore I will and require you to declare, and ſhow to your Pariſhioners, That no Teſtimonials brought from any of them, ſhall ſtand in any effect, nor that any ſuch Perſons ſhall be admitted to God's Board, or receive their Communion, until they have ſubmitted themſelves to be confeſſed of their own Curats, (Strangers only except) or elſe upon arduous and urgent Cauſes and Conſiderations, they be otherwiſe diſpenſed with in that behalf, either by me or by my Officers aforeſaid.

Item; That whereupon a deteſtable and abominable practice univerſally reigning in your Pariſhes, the young People, and other ill-diſpoſed Perſons doth uſe upon the *Sundays* and *Holy-days*, in time of Divine Service, and preaching the Word of God, to reſort unto Ale-houſes, and there exerciſeth unlawful Games, with great Swearing, Blaſphemy, Drunkenneſs, and other Enormities, ſo that good and devout Perſons be much offended therewith: Wherefore I require and command you, to declare to ſuch as keepeth Ale-houſes, or Taverns within your Pariſhes, that at ſuch times from henceforth, they ſhall not ſuffer in their Houſes any ſuch unlawful and ungodly Aſſemblies; neither receive ſuch Perſons to Bowling and Drinking at ſuch Seaſons, into their Houſes, under pain of Excommunication, and otherwiſe to be puniſhed for their ſo doing, according to the Laws in that behalf.

Item; That all Curats ſhall declare openly in the Pulpit, twice every Quarter to their Pariſhioners, the ſeven deadly Sins, and the Ten Commandments, ſo that the People thereby may not only learn how to obey, honour, and ſerve God, their Prince, Superiors, and Parents, but alſo to avoid and eſchew Sin and Vice, and to live vertuouſly, following God's Commandments and his Laws.

Item; That where I am credily informed, that certain Prieſts of my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, doth uſe to go in an unſeemly and unprieſtly habit and apparel, with unlawful tonſures, carrying and having upon them alſo Armour and Weapons, contrary to all wholſome and godly Laws and Ordinances, more like Perſons of the Lay, than of the Clergy; which may and doth miniſter occaſion to light Perſons, and to Perſons unknown, where ſuch Perſons come in place, to be more licentious both of their Communication, and alſo of their Acts, to the great ſlander of the Clergy: Wherefore in the avoiding of ſuch ſlander and obloquy hereafter, I admoniſh and command all and ſingular Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and all other Prieſts whatſoever they be, dwelling, or inhabiting, or hereafter ſhall dwell and inhabit within my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, That from henceforth they, and every of them, do uſe and wear

wear meet, conve ent, and decent Apparel, with their Truſſures accordingly, whereby they may be known at all times from Lay-People, and to be of the Clergy, as they intend to avoid and eſchew the penalty of the Laws ordained in that behalf.

Item; That no Parſon, Vicar, or other Beneficed Man, having Cure within my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, do ſuffer any Prieſt to ſay Maſs, or to have any Service within their Cure, unleſs they firſt give knowledg, and preſent them with the Letters of their Orders to me as Ordinary, or to my Officers deputed in that behalf; and the ſaid Prieſt ſo preſented, ſhall be by me, or my ſaid Officers, found able and ſufficient thereunto.

Item; That every Curat, not only in his Preachings, open Sermons, and Collations made to the People, but alſo at all other times neceſſary, do perſwade, exhort, and moniſh the People, being of his Cure, whatſoever they be, to beware and abſtain from Swearing and blaſpheming of the Holy Name of God, or any part of Chriſt's moſt precious Body or Blood. And likewiſe to beware, and abſtain from Curſing, Banning, Chiding, Scolding, Backbiting, Slandering, and Lying. And alſo from talking and jangling in the Church, ſpecially in time of Divine-Service, or Sermon-time. And ſemblably to abſtain from Adultery, Fornication, Gluttony and Drunkenneſs: And if they, or any of them, be found notoriouſly faulty or infamed upon any of the ſaid Crimes and Offences, then to detect them at every Viſitation, or ſooner, as the caſe ſhall require, ſo that the ſaid Offenders may be corrected and reformed to the example of other.

Item; That no Prieſt from henceforth do uſe any unlawful Games, or frequently uſe any Ale-houſes, Taverns, or any ſuſpect place at any unlawful times, or any light Company, but only for their Neceſſaries, as they, and any of them, will avoid the danger that may enſue thereupon.

Item; That in the Plague-time, no dead Bodies or Corpſes be brought into the Church, except it be brought ſtreight to the Grave, and immediately buried, whereby the People may the rather avoid infection.

Item; That no Parſons, Vicars, nor Curats, permit or ſuffer any manner of common Plays, Games, or Interludes, to be played, ſet forth, or declared, within their Churches or Chappels, contrary to this our forbidding and Commandment; that then you, or either of you, in whoſe Churches or Chappels any ſuch Games, Plays, or Interludes ſhall be ſo uſed, ſhall immediately thereupon make relation of the names of the Perſon or Perſons ſo obſtinately and diſobediently uſing themſelves, unto me, my Chancellor, or other my Officers, to the intent that they may be therefore reformed and puniſhed according to the Laws.

Item; That all Prieſts ſhall take this order when they Preach; firſt, They ſhall not rehearſe no Sermons made by other Men within this 200 or 300 Years; but when they ſhall preach, they ſhall take the Goſpel or Epiſtle of the day, which they ſhall recite and declare to the people, plainly, diſtinctly, and ſincerely, from the beginning to the end thereof, and then to deſire the people to pray with them for Grace, after the uſage of the Church of *England* now uſed: And that done, we will that every Preacher ſhall declare the ſame Goſpel or Epiſtle, or both, even

from the beginning, not after his own Mind, but after the Mind of ſome Catholick Doctor allowed in this Church of *England*, and in no wiſe to affirm any thing, but that which he ſhall be ready always to ſhew in ſome Ancient Writer; and in no wiſe to make rehearſal of any Opinion not allowed, for the intent to reprove the ſame, but to leave that for thoſe that are and ſhall be admitted to preach by the King's Majeſty, or by me the Biſhop of *London*, your Ordinary, or by mine authority. In the which Epiſtle and Goſpel, ye ſhall note and conſider diligently certain godly and devout places, which may incenſe and ſtir the Hearers to obedience of good Works and Prayers: And in caſe any notable Ceremony uſed to be obſerved in the Church, ſhall happen that day when any preaching ſhall be appointed, it ſhall be meet and convenient that the Preacher declare and ſet forth to the people the true meaning of the ſame, in ſuch ſort that the people may perceive thereby, what is meant and ſignified by ſuch Ceremony, and alſo know how to uſe and accept it to their own edifying. Furthermore, That no Preacher ſhall rage or rail in his Sermon, but coldly, diſcreetly, and charitably, open, declare, and ſet forth the excellency of Vertue, and to ſuppreſs the abomination of Sin and Vice; every Preacher ſhall, if time and occaſion will ſerve, inſtruct and teach his Audience, what Prayer is uſed in the Church that day, and for what thing the Church prayeth, ſpecially that day, to the intent that all the people may pray together with one heart for the ſame; and as occaſion will ſerve, to ſhew and declare to the people what the Sacraments ſignifieth, what ſtrength and efficacy they be of, how every Man ſhould uſe them reverently and devoutly at the receiving of them. And to declare wherefore the Maſs is ſo highly to be eſteemed and honoured, with all the Circumſtances appertaining to the ſame. Let every Preacher beware that he do not feed his Audience with any Fable, or other Hiſtories, other than he can avouch and juſtify to be written by ſome allowed Writer. And when he hath done all that he will ſay and utter for that time, he ſhall then in few words recite again the pith and effect of his whole Sermon, and add thereunto as he ſhall think good.

Item; That no Parſon, Vicar, Curat, or other Prieſt, having Cure of Souls within my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, ſhall from hence-forth permit, ſuffer, or admit any manner of perſon, of whatſoever eſtate or condition he be, under the degree of a Biſhop, to preach, or make any Sermon or Collation openly to the people within their Churches, Chappels, or elſe-where within their Cures, unleſs he that ſhall ſo preach, have obtained before ſpecial Licenſe in that behalf, of our Sovereign Lord the King, or of me *Edmund* Biſhop of *London*, your Ordinary; And the ſame Licenſe ſo obtained, ſhall then and there really bring forth in writing under Seal, and ſhew the ſame to the ſaid Parſon, Vicar, Curat, or Prieſt, before the beginning of his Sermon, as they will avoid the extream Penalties of the Laws, Statutes, and Ordinances, provided and eſtabliſhed in that behalf, if they preſumptuouſly do or attempt any thing to the contrary.

Item; I deſire, require, exhort, and command you, and every of you, in the Name of God, That ye firmly, faithfully, and diligently, to the uttermoſt of your powers, do obſerve, fulfil, and keep all and ſingular theſe mine Injunctions. And that ye, and every of you, being

Prieſts,

Prieſts, and having Cure, or not Cure, as well Benefice as not Beneficed, within my Dioceſs and Juriſdiction, do procure to have a Copy of the ſame Injunctions, to the intent ye may the better obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved the Contents thereof.

The names of Books prohibited, delivered to the Curats, Anno 1542. *to the intent that they ſhall preſent them with the Names of the Owners, to their Ordinary, if they find any ſuch within their Pariſhes.*

THe Diſputation between the Father and the Son.
The Supplication of Beggars; the Author *Fiſh.*
The Revelation of Antichriſt.
The Practice of Prelates.
The Burying of the Maſs, in Engliſh Rithme.
The Book of Friar *Barnes*, twice printed.
The Matrimony of *Tindall.*
The Expoſition of *Tindall*, upon the *4th* Chap. to the *Corinth.*
The Expoſition of *Tindall* upon the Epiſtles Canonick of St. *John.*
The New Teſtament of *Tindalls* Tranſlation, with his Preface before the whole Book, and before the Epiſtles of St. *Paul* and *Rom.*
The Preface made in the Engliſh Prymmers, by *Marſhall.*
The Church of *John Raſtall.*
The Table, Gloſſes, Marginal, and Preface before the Epiſtle of St. *Paul* and *Romans*, of *Thomas Mathews* doing, and printed beyond the Sea without priviledg, ſet in his Bible in Engliſh.

XXVII. A Collection of Paſſages out of the Canon Law, made by *Cranmer*, to ſhew the neceſſity of reforming it. An Original.

Diſt. 22. *Omnes de Major. & obedien. ſolit. Extra. De Majorit & obedient. Unam Sanctam.*

HE that knowledgeth not himſelf to be under the Biſhop of *Rome*, and that the Biſhop of *Rome* is ordained by God to have Primacy over all the World, is an Heretick, and cannot be ſaved, nor is not of the flock of Chriſt. Ex MSS. D. *Stillingfleet.*

Diſt. 10. *de Summa Excommunicationis*, *Nominat.* 25. *q.* 11. *omne.*

Princes Laws, if they be againſt the Canons and Decrees of the Biſhop of *Rome*, be of no force nor ſtrength.

Diſt. 19, 20, 24. *q.* 1. *A recta memoria. Quotiens hæc eſt* 25. *q.* 1. *General. violatores.*

All the Decrees of the Biſhop of *Rome* ought to be kept perpetually of every Man, without any repugnancy, as God's Word ſpoken by the Mouth of *Peter*; and whoſoever doth not receive them, neither availeth them the Catholick Faith, nor the four Evangeliſts, but they blaſpheme the Holy Ghoſt, and ſhall have no forgiveneſs.

35. *q.* 1. *Generali.*

All Kings, Biſhops, and Noblemen, that believe or ſuffer the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Decrees in any thing to be violate, be accurſed, and for ever culpable before God, as tranſgreſſors of the Catholick Faith.

Diſt. 21. *Quamvis*, & 24. *q.* 1. *A recta memoria.*

The See of *Rome* hath neither ſpot nor wrinkle in it, nor cannot err.

35. *q.* 1. *Ideo de Senten. & re judicata, de jurejurando licet ad Apoſtolicæ li.* 6. *de jurejurando.*

The Biſhop of *Rome* is not bound to any Decrees, but he may compel, as well the Clergy as Lay-men, to receive his Decrees and Canon Law.

9. *q.* 2. *Ipſi cuncta. Nemo* 2. *q.* 6. *dudum aliorum.* 17. *q.* 4. *Si quis de Baptiſ. & ejus effectu majores.*

The Biſhop of *Rome* hath authority to judg all Men, and ſpecially to diſcern the Articles of the Faith, and that without any Counſel, and may abſoil them that the Counſel hath damned; but no Man hath authority to judg him, nor to meddle with any thing that he hath judged, neither Emperor, King, People, nor the Clergy: And it is not lawful for any Man to diſpute of his Power.

gr. Duo ſunt 25. *q.* 6. *Alius Nos Sanctorum juratos in Clemen. de Hæreticis aut efficiund.*

The Biſhop of *Rome* may excommunicate Emperors and Princes, depoſe them from their States, and Abſoil their Subjects from their Oath and Obedience to them, and ſo conſtrain them to rebellion.

De Major. & obedien. ſolit. Clement. de ſumma & re judicata. Paſtoral.

The Emperor is the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Subject, and the Biſhop of *Rome* may revoke the Emperor's Sentence in temporal Cauſes.

De Elect. & Electi proprietate. Venerabilem.

It belongeth to the Biſhop of *Rome* to allow or diſallow the Emperor after he is elected; and he may tranſlate the Empire from one Region to another.

De ſupplenda Negligen. prælat. Grand. li. 6.

The Biſhop of *Rome* may appoint Coadjutors unto Princes.

Diſt. 17. *Si modo. Regula. Nec licuit multum. Concilia. 96. ubinam.*

There can be no Council of Biſhops without the Authority of the See of *Rome*; and the Emperor ought not to be preſent at the Council, except when Matters of the Faith be entreating, which belong univerſally to every Man.

2. *q.* 6.

Nothing may be done againſt him that appealeth unto *Rome.*

1. *q.* 3. *Aliorum* Diſt. 40. *Si Papa.* Diſt. 96. *Satis.*

The Biſhop of *Rome* may be judged of none but of God only; for altho he neither regard his own Salvation, nor no Mans elſe, but draw down with himſelf innumerable People by heaps unto Hell; yet may no mortal Man in this World preſume to reprehend him: forſomuch as he is called God, he may not be judged of Man, for God may be judged of no Man.

9. 2. *q.* 5.

The Biſhop of *Rome* may open and ſhut Heaven unto Men.

Diſt. 40. *Non vos.*

The See of *Rome* receiveth holy Men, or elſe maketh them holy.

De Pecunia. Diſt. 1. *Serpens.*

He that maketh a Lye to the Biſhop of *Rome* committeth Sacriledg.

De Conſecra. Diſt. 1. *De locorum præcepta. Eccleſia de Elect. & Electi proprietate. Fundamenta.*

To be Senator, Capitane, Patrician, Governour, or Officer of *Rome*, none ſhall be elected or pointed, without the expreſs licenſe and ſpecial conſent of the See of *Rome.*

De Electione & Electi proprietate. Venerabilem.

It appertaineth to the Biſhop of *Rome* to judg which Oaths ought to be kept, and which not.

De jurejurand. Si vero. 15. *q.* 6. *Authoritatem.*

And he may abſolve Subjects from their Oath of Fidelity, and abſolve from other Oaths that ought to be kept.

De foro competent. Ex tenore. De donat. inter virum & Uxorem dependentia. Qui Filii ſunt legittime per venerabilem. De Elect. & Electi proprietate Fundamenta Extravag. de Majorit. & Obedient. unam Sanctam. De judiciis Novit.

The Biſhop of *Rome* is judg in temporal things, and hath two Swords, Spiritual and Temporal.

De Hæreticis multorum.

The Biſhop of *Rome* may give Authority to arreſt Men, and impriſon them in Mannacles and Fetters.

Extrav. de Conſuetudine ſuper gentes.

The Biſhop of *Rome* may compel Princes to receive his Legats.

De Truga & pace. Trugas.

It belongeth alſo to him to appoint and command Peace, and Truce to be obſerved and kept, or not.

De Præbend. & dig. dilectus & li. 6. *licet.*

The Collation of all Spiritual Promotions appertain to the Biſhop of *Rome.*

De Exceſſibus prælatorum. Sicut unire.

The Biſhop of *Rome* may unite Biſhopricks together, and put one under another at his pleaſure.

Li. 6. *de pœnis Felicum.*

In the Chapter *Felicis li.* 6. *de pœnis*, is the moſt partial and unreaſonable Decree made by *Bonifacius* 8. that ever was read or heard, againſt them that be Adverſaries to any Cardinal of *Rome*, or to any Clerk, or Religious Man of the Biſhop of *Rome's* Family.

Diſt. 28. *Conſulendum.* Diſt. 96. *Si Imperator.* 11. *q.* 1. *Ex——Clericus. Nemo nullus. Clericum, &c. & q.* 2. *Si vero de ſentent. Excommunication. Si judex q.* 2. *q.* 5. *Si quis de foro competent. Nullus. Si quibus. Ex tranſmiſſa. de foro compet. in* 6 *Seculares.*

Lay-men may not be Judges to any of the Clergy, nor compel them to pay their undoubted Debts, but the Biſhops only muſt be their Judges.

De foro Competent. Cum ſit licet.

Rectors of Churches may convent ſuch as do them wrong, whither they will, before a Spiritual Judg, or a Temporal.

Idem ex parte Dilecti.

A Lay-man being ſpoiled, may convent his Adverſaries before a Spiritual Judg, whether the Lords of the Feod conſent thereto or not.

Ibidem Significaſti, & 11. q. 1. placuit.

A Lay-man may commit his Cauſe to a Spiritual Judg; but one of the Clergy may not commit his Cauſe to a Temporal Judg, without the conſent of the Biſhop.

Ne Clerici vel Monachi. Secundum.

Lay-men may have no Benefices to farm.

De Summa Excommunicationis. Nom. extra. de pecuniis & Remiſſ. &c. ſi.

All they that make, or write any Statutes contrary to the Liberties of the Church; and all Princes, Rulers, and Counſellors, where ſuch Statutes be made, or ſuch Cuſtoms obſerved, and all the Judges and others that put the ſame in execution; and where ſuch Statutes and Cuſtoms have been made and obſerved of old time, all they that put them not out of their Books be excommunicate, and that ſo grievouſly, that they cannot be abſoiled but only by the Biſhop of *Rome.*

De Immunitate Eccleſiæ. Non minus ad uſus. Quia Quum & in 6. *Clericis.*

The Clergy to the relief of any common neceſſity, can nothing confer without the conſent of the Biſhop of *Rome*; nor it is not lawful for any Lay-man to lay any Impoſition of Taxes, Subſidies, or any charges upon the Clergy.

Diſt. 97. *Hoc capitulo & 63. Nullus & quæ ſequitur. Non aliæ Cum Laic.*

Lay-men may not meddle with Elections of the Clergy, nor with any other thing that belongeth unto them.

De jurejurando. Nimis.

The Clergy ought to give no Oath of Fidelity to their Temporal Governors, except they have Temporalities of them.

Diſt. 96. *Bene Quidem.* 12. *q.* 2. *Apoſtolicos. Quiſquis.*

The Goods of the Church may in no wiſe be alienated, but whoſoever receiveth or buyeth them, is bound to reſtitution; and if the Church have any Ground, which is little or nothing worth, yet it ſhall not be given to the Prince; and if the Prince will needs buy it, the Sale ſhall be void and of no ſtrength.

13. *q.* 2. *Non liceat.*

It is not lawful for the Biſhop of *Rome* to alienate or mortgage any Lands of the Church, for every manner of neceſſity, except it be Houſes in Cities, which be very chargeable to ſupport and maintain.

Diſt. 96. *Quis nunquam,* 3. *q.* 6. *Accuſatio* 11. *q.* 1. *Continua nullus Teſtimonium Relatum Experientiæ. Si quiſquis. Si quæ. Sicut Statuimus, nullus de perſona. Si quis.*

Princes ought to obey Biſhops, and the Decrees of the Church, and to ſubmit their Heads unto the Biſhops, and not to be judg over the Biſhops; for the Biſhops ought to be forborn, and to be judged of no Lay-man.

De Major. & obedien. ſolite.

Kings and Princes ought not to ſet Biſhops beneath them, but reverently to riſe againſt them, and to aſſign them an honourable Seat by them.

11. *q.* 1. *Quicunque. Relatum. Si qui omnes volumus. Placuit.*

All manner of Cauſes, whatſoever they be, Spiritual or Temporal, ought to be determined and judged by the Clergy.

Ibidem Omnes.

No judg ought to refuſe the Witneſs of one Biſhop, altho he be but alone.

De

De Hæreticis ad abolendam, & in Clementini ut officium.

Whoſoever teacheth or thinketh of the Sacraments otherwiſe than the See of *Rome* doth teach and obſerve, and all they that the ſame See doth judg Hereticks, be Excommunicate.

And the Biſhop of *Rome* may compel by an Oath, all Rulers and other People, to obſerve, and cauſe to be obſerved, whatſoever the See of *Rome* ſhall ordain concerning Hereſy, and the Fautors thereof; and who will not obey, he may deprive them of their Dignities.

Clement. de reliq. & venerat. Sanctorum. Si Dominus extravag. de reliq. & venerat. Sanctorum. Cum per excelſa: de pœnitent. & remiſſ. antiquorum, & Clemen. unigenitus. Quemadmodum.

We obtain Remiſſion of Sin by obſerving of certain Feaſts, and certain Pilgrimages in the Jubilee, and other preſcribed times, by virtue of the Biſhop of *Rome*'s Pardons.

De præmiis & remiſſionibus extravag. ca. 3. Et ſi Dominici.

Whoſoever offendeth the Liberties of the Church, or doth violate any Interdiction that cometh from *Rome*, or conſpireth againſt the Perſon, or Statute of the Biſhop, or See of *Rome*; or by any ways offendeth, diſobeyeth, or rebelleth againſt the ſaid Biſhop, or See, or that killeth a Prieſt, or offendeth perſonally againſt a Biſhop, or other Prelate; or invadeth, ſpoileth, withholdeth, or waſteth Lands belonging to the Church of *Rome*, or to any other Church immediatly ſubject to the ſame; or whoſoever invadeth any Pilgrims that go to *Rome*, or any Suitors to the Court of *Rome*, or that lett the devolution of Cauſes unto that Court, or that put any new Charges or Impoſitions, real or perſonal upon any Church, or Eccleſiaſtical Perſon; and generally all other that offend in the Caſes contained in the Bull, which is uſually publiſhed by the Biſhops of *Rome* upon *Maundy Thurſday*; all theſe can be aſſoiled by no Prieſt, Biſhop, Arch-Biſhop, nor by none other but only by the Biſhop of *Rome*, or by his expreſs licenſe.

2. 4. *q.* 2.

Robbing of the Clergy, and poor Men, appertaineth unto the judgment of the Biſhops.

23. 9. *q.*

He is no Man-ſlayer that ſlayeth a Man which is Excommunicate.

Diſt. 63. *Tibi Domino de ſumma Excommunicationis. Si judex.*

Here may be added the moſt tyrannical and abominal Oaths which the Biſhop of *Rome* exact of the Emperors; *in Clement. de jurejurando Romani diſt.* 6. 3, *Tibi Domino.*

De Conſecra. Diſt. 1. *Sicut.*

It is better not to Conſecrate, than to Conſecrate in a place not Hallowed.

De Conſecrat. Diſt. 5. *De his manus, ut reum.*

Confirmation, if it be miniſtred by any other than a Biſhop, is of no value, nor is no Sacrament of the Church; alſo Confirmation is more to be had in reverence than Baptiſm; and no Man by Baptiſm can be a chriſtned Man without Confirmation.

De pœniten. Diſt. 1. *Multiplex.*

A penitent Perſon can have no remiſſion of his Sin, but by ſupplication of the Prieſts.

XXVIII. A Mandate for publiſhing and uſing the Prayers in the *Engliſh* Tongue.

Mandatum Domino Epiſcopo London. direct. pro publicatione Regiarum Injunctionum.

Regiſt. *Bonner.* Fol. 48.

MOſt Reverend Father in God, right truſty and right well-beloved, we greet you well, and let you wit, That calling to our remembrance the miſerable ſtate of all Chriſtendom, being at this preſent, beſides all other troubles, ſo plagued with moſt cruel Wars, Hatred, and Diſſenſions, as no place of the ſame almoſt (being the whole reduced to a very narrow corner) remaineth in good Peace, Agreement, and Concord; the help and remedy whereof far exceeding the power of any Man, muſt be called for of him who only is able to grant our Petitions, and never forſaketh nor repelleth any that firmly believe and faithfully call on him; unto whom alſo the example of Scripture encourageth us, in all theſe and other our troubles and neceſſities, to fly and to cry for aid and ſuccour; being therefore reſolved to have continually from henceforth general Proceſſions, in all Cities, Towns, Churches, and Pariſhes of this our Realm, ſaid and ſung, with ſuch reverence and devotion as appertaineth. Foraſmuch as heretofore the People, partly for lack of good Inſtruction and Calling, and partly for that they underſtood no part of ſuch Prayers or Suffrages as were uſed to be ſung and ſaid, have uſed to come very ſlackly to the Proceſſion, when the ſame have been commanded heretofore; We have ſet forth certain godly Prayers and Suffrages in our Native Engliſh Tongue, which we ſend you herewith, ſignifying unto you, That for the ſpecial truſt and confidence we have of your godly mind, and earneſt deſire, to the ſetting forward of the Glory of God, and the true worſhipping of his moſt Holy Name, within that Province committed by us unto you, we have

have ſent unto you theſe Suffrages, not to be for a month or two obſerved, and after ſlenderly conſidered, as other our Injunctions have, to our no little marvel, been uſed; but to the intent that as well the ſame, as other our Injunctions, may be earneſtly ſet forth by preaching good Exhortations and otherwiſe to the People, in ſuch ſort as they feeling the godly taſt thereof, may godly and joyouſly, with thanks, receive, embrace, and frequent the ſame, as appertaineth. Wherefore we will and command you, as you will anſwer unto us for the contrary, not only to cauſe theſe Prayers and Suffrages aforeſaid to be publiſhed, frequented, and openly uſed in all Towns, Churches, Villages, and Pariſhes of your own Dioceſs, but alſo to ſignify this our pleaſure unto all other Biſhops of your Province, willing and commanding them in our Name, and by virtue hereof, to do and execute the ſame accordingly. Unto whoſe Proceedings, in the execution of this our Commandment, we will that you have a ſpecial reſpect, and make report unto us, if any ſhall not with good dexterity accompliſh the ſame; Not failing, as our ſpecial truſt is in you.

At St. *James's*, *Junii*— *Regni* 36. Directed to the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*.

XXIX. *The Articles acknowledged by* Shaxton, *late Bp of* Sarum.

THe *Firſt*; Almighty God, by the Power of his Word, pronounced by the Prieſt at Maſs in the Conſecration, turneth the Bread and Wine into the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt; ſo that after the Conſecration, there remaineth no Subſtance of Bread and Wine, but only the ſubſtance of Chriſt, God and Man. Regiſt. *Bonner.* Fol. 100.

The *Second*; The ſaid Bleſſed Sacrament being once Conſecrate, is and remaineth ſtill the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, although it be reſerved, and not preſently diſtributed.

The *Third*; The ſame bleſſed Sacrament being conſecrate, is and ought to be worſhipped and adored with godly honour whereſoever it is, foraſmuch as it is the Body of Chriſt inſeparably united to the Deity.

The *Fourth*; The Church, by the Miniſtration of the Prieſt, offereth daily at the Maſs for a Sacrifice to Almighty God, the ſelf-ſame Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, under the form of Bread and Wine, in the remembrance and repreſentation of Chriſt's Death and Paſſion.

The *Fifth*; The ſame Body and Blood which is offered in the Maſs, is the very propitiation and ſatisfaction for the ſins of the World; foraſmuch as it is the ſelf-ſame in Subſtance which was offered upon the Croſs for our Redemption: And the Oblation and Action of the Prieſt is alſo a Sacrifice of Praiſe and Thankſgiving unto God for his Bene-

ſits, and not the ſatisfaction for the Sins of the World, for that is only to be attributed to Chriſt's Paſſion.

The *Sixth*; The ſaid Oblation, or Sacrifice, ſo by the Prieſt offered in the Maſs, is available and profitable, both for the Quick and the Dead, altho it lieth not in the power of Man to limit how much, or in what meaſure the ſame doth avail.

The *Seventh*; It is not a thing of neceſſity, that the Sacrament of the Altar ſhould be miniſtred unto the People under both kinds, of Bread and Wine: and it is none abuſe that the ſame be miniſtred to the People under the one kind; foraſmuch as in every of both the kinds, whole Chriſt, both Body and Blood is contained.

The *Eighth*; It is no derogation to the vertue of the Maſs, altho the Prieſt do receive the Sacrament alone, and none other receive it with him.

The *Ninth*; The Maſs uſed in this Realm of *England*, is agreeable to the inſtitution of Chriſt; and we have in this Church of *England*, the very true Sacrament, which is the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, under the form of Bread and Wine.

The *Tenth*; The Church of Chriſt hath, doth, and may lawfully order ſome Prieſts to be Miniſters of the Sacraments, altho the ſame do not preach, nor be not admitted thereunto.

The *Eleventh*; Prieſts being once dedicated unto God by the Order of Prieſthood, and all ſuch Men and Women as have adviſedly made Vows unto God of Chaſtity or Widowhood, may not lawfully marry, after their ſaid Orders received, or Vows made.

The *Twelfth*; Secret auricular Confeſſion is expedient and neceſſary to be retained, continued, and frequented in the Church of Chriſt.

The *Thirteenth*; The Preſcience and Predeſtination of Almighty God, altho in it ſelf it be infallible, induceth no neceſſity to the Action of Man, but that he may freely uſe the power of his own will or choice, the ſaid Preſcience or Predeſtination notwithſtanding.

I *Nicholas Shaxton*, with my Heart, do believe, and with my Mouth do confeſs all theſe Articles above-written to be true in every part.

Ne deſpicias hominem avertentem ſe a peccato, neque improperes ei: memento quoniam omnes in corruptione ſumus, Eccleſ. 8.

XXX. Leth-

XXX. *A Letter written by* Lethington *the Secretary of* Scotland, *to Sir* William Cecil, *the Queen of* England's *Secretary, touching the Title of the Queen of* Scots *to the Crown of* England: *By which it appears that K.* Henry's *Will was not ſigned by him.*

I Cannot be ignorant that ſome do object as to her Majeſties Forreign Birth, and hereby think to make her incapable of the Inheritance of *England*. To that you know for anſwer what may be ſaid by an *Engliſh* Patron of my Miſtriſs's Cauſe, although I being a *Scot* will not affirm the ſame, that there ariſeth amongſt you a Queſtion; Whether the Realm of *Scotland* be forth of the Homage and Leageance of *England*: And therefore you have in ſundry Proclamations preceding your Wars-making, and in ſundry Books at ſundry times, laboured much to prove the Homage and Fealty of *Scotland* to *England*. Your Stories alſo be not void of this intent. What the judgment of the Fathers of your Law is, and what commonly is thought in this Matter, you know better than I, and may have better intelligence than I, the Argument being fitter for your Aſſertion than mine. Ex MS. D.G.Petyt.

Another Queſtion there is alſo upon this Objection of Forreign Birth; that is to ſay, Whether Princes inheritable to the Crown, be in caſe of the Crown exempted or concluded as private Perſons, being Strangers born forth of the Allegiance of *England*. You know in this caſe, as divers others, the State of the Crown: the Perſons inheritable to the Crown at the time of their Capacity, have divers differences and prerogatives from other Perſons; many Laws made for other Perſons take no hold in caſe of the Prince, and they have ſuch Priviledges as other Perſons enjoy not: As in caſes of Attainders, and other Penal Laws: Examples, *Hen.* 7. who being a Subject, was attainted; and *Ed.* 4. and his Father *Richard Plantagenet* were both attainted; all which notwithſtanding their Attainders had right to the Crown, and two of them attained the ſame. Amongſt many Reaſons to be ſhewed, both for the differences, and that Forreign Birth doth not take place in the caſe of the Crown, as in common Perſons, the many experiences before the Conqueſt, and ſince, of your King's, do plainly teſtify. Of purpoſe I will name unto you, *Hen.* 2d. *Maud* the Empreſs Son, and *Richard* of *Bourdeaux*, the Black Princes Son, the rather for that neither of the two was the King of *England*'s Son, and ſo not *Enfant du Roy*, if the word be taken in this ſtrict ſignification. And for the better proof, that it was always the common Law of your Realm, that in the caſe of the Crown, Forreign Birth was no Bar; you do remember the words of the Stat. 25. *Ed.* 3. where it is ſaid, the Law was ever ſo: Whereupon if you can remember it, you and I fell out at a reaſoning in my Lord of *Leiceſter*'s Chamber, by the occaſion of the Abridgment of *Raſtal*, wherein I did ſhew you ſomewhat to this purpoſe; alſo theſe words, *Infant* and *Anceſtors* be in *Prædicamento ad aliquid*, and ſo Correlatives in ſuch ſort, as the meaning of the Law was not to reſtrain the underſtanding of this word *Infant*, ſo ſtrict as only to the Children of the King's Body, but to others inheritable in remainder; and if ſome Sophiſters will needs cavil about the preciſe underſtanding of *Infant*, let them be

anſwered with the ſcope of this word *Anceſtors* in all Proviſions, for *Filii*, *Nepotes* and *Liberi*, you may ſee there was no difference betwixt the firſt degree, and theſe that come after by the Civil Law. *Liberorum appellatione comprehenduntur non ſolum Filii, verum etiam Nepotes, Pronepotes, Abnepotes*, &c. If you examine the Reaſon why Forreign Birth is excluded, you may ſee that it was not ſo needful in Princes Caſes, as in common Perſons. Moreover, I know that *England* hath oftentimes married with Daughters, and married with the greateſt Forreign Princes of *Europe*. And ſo I do alſo underſtand, that they all did repute the Children of them, and of the Daughters of *England*, inheritable in ſucceſſion to that Crown, notwithſtanding the Forreign Birth of their Iſſue: And in this caſe I do appeal to all Chronicles, to their Contracts of Marriages, and to the opinion of all the Princes of Chriſtendom. For tho *England* be a noble and puiſſant Country, the reſpect of the Alliance only, and the Dowry, hath not moved the great Princes to match ſo often in marriage, but the poſſibility of the Crown in ſucceſſion. I cannot be ignorant altogether in this Matter, conſidering that I ſerve my Sovereign in the room that you ſerve yours. The Contract of Marriage is extant betwixt the King, my Miſtris's Grandfather, and Queen *Margaret*, Daughter to King *Henry* the *7th*, by whoſe Perſon the Title is devolved on my Sovereign; what her Fathers meaning was in beſtowing of her, the World knoweth, by that which is contained in the Chronicles written by *Polidorus Virgilius*, before (as I think) either you or I was born; at leaſt when it was little thought that this Matter ſhould come in queſtion. There is another Exception alſo laid againſt my Soveraign, which ſeems at the firſt to be of ſome weight, grounded upon ſome Statutes made in King *Hen.* 8. time, (*viz.*) of the 28*th*, & 35*th* of his Reign, whereby full power and authority was given him the ſaid King *Henry*, to give, diſpoſe, appoint, aſſign, declare, and limit, by his Letters Patents under his Great Seal, or elſe by his laſt Will made in writing, and ſigned with his hand at his pleaſure, from time to time thereafter the Imperial Crown of that Realm, *&c.* Which Imperial Crown is by ſome alledged and conſtantly affirmed to have been limited and diſpoſed, by the laſt Will and Teſtament of the ſaid King *Hen.* 8. ſigned with his hand before his death, unto the Children of the Lady *Francis*; and *Elenor*, Daughter to *Mary* the French Queen, younger Daughter of *Hen.* 7. and of *Charles Brandon* Duke of *Suffolk*; ſo as it is thought the Queen, my Soveraign, and all others, by courſe of Inheritance, be by theſe Circumſtances excluded and fore-cloſed: So as it does well become all Subjects, ſuch as I am, ſo my liking is, to ſpeak of Princes, of their Reigns and Proceedings modeſtly, and with reſpect; yet I cannot abſtain to ſay, that the Chronicles and Hiſtories of that Age, and your own printed Statutes being extant, do contaminate and diſgrace greatly the Reign of that King in that time. But to come to our purpoſe, what equity and juſtice was that to diſinherit a Race of Forreign Princes of their poſſibility, and maternal right, by a municipal Law or Statute made in that, which ſome would term abrupt time, and ſay, that that would rule the Roaſt, yea, and to exclude the right Heirs from their Title, without calling them to anſwer, or any for them: well, it may be ſaid, that the injury of the time, and the indirect dealing is not to be allowed; but ſince it is done it cannot be avoided, unleſs ſome Circumſtances

material

material do annihilate the ſaid limitation and diſpoſition of the Crown.

Now let us examine the manner and circumſtances how King *Hen.* 8. was by Statute inabled to diſpoſe the Crown. There is a form in two ſorts preſcribed him, which he may not tranſgreſs; that is to ſay, either by his Letters Patents, ſealed with his Great Seal, or by his laſt Will, ſigned with his hand: for in this extraordinary caſe he was held to an ordinary and preciſe form; which being not obſerved, the Letters Patents, or Will, cannot work the intent or effect ſuppoſed. And to diſprove, that the Will was ſigned with his own hand; You know, that long before his death he never uſed his own ſigning with his own hand; and in the time of his Sickneſs, being divers times preſſed to put his hand to the Will written, he refuſed to do it. And it ſeemed God would not ſuffer him to proceed in an Act ſo injurious and prejudicial to the right Heir of the Crown, being his Niece. Then his death approaching, ſome as well known to you as to me, cauſed *William Clarke*, ſometimes Servant to *Thomas Henneage*, to ſign the ſuppoſed Will with a ſtamp, (for otherwiſe ſigned it was never); and yet notwithſtanding ſome reſpecting more the ſatisfaction of their ambition, and others their private commodity, than juſt and upright dealing, procured divers honeſt Gentlemen, attending in divers ſeveral Rooms about the King's Perſon, to teſtifie with their hand-writings the Contents of the ſaid pretended Will, ſurmiſed to be ſigned with the King's own hand. To prove this diſſembled and forged ſigned Teſtament, I do refer you to ſuch Trials as be yet left. Firſt; The Atteſtation of the late Lord *Paget*, publiſhed in the Parliament in Queen *Mary*'s time, for the reſtitution of the Duke of *Norfolk*. Next, I pray you, on my Sovereigns behalf, that the Depoſitions may be taken in this Matter of the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter*, Lord Treaſurer of *England*, the Marqueſs of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Pembroke*, Sir *William Petre* then one of King *Henry*'s Secretaries, Sir *Henry Nevill*, Sir *Maurice Barkley*, Doctor *Buts*, *Edmond Harman Baker*, *John Osborn* Groom of the Chamber, Sir *Anthony Dennis*, if he be living, *Terris* the Chirurgion, and ſuch as have heard *David Vincent* and others ſpeak in this caſe; and that their Atteſtations may be enrolled in the *Chancery*, and in the *Arches*, *In perpetuam rei memoriam.*

Thirdly; I do refer you to the Original Will ſurmiſed to be ſigned with the King's own hand, that thereby it may moſt clearly and evidently appear by ſome differences, how the ſame was not ſigned with the King's hand, but ſtamped as aforeſaid. And albeit it is uſed both as an Argument and Calumniation againſt my Sovereign to ſome, that the ſaid Original hath been embezelled in Queen *Mary*'s time, I truſt God will and hath reſerved the ſame to be an Inſtrument to relieve the Truth, and to confound falſe Surmiſes, that thereby the Right may take place, notwithſtanding the many Exemplifications and Tranſcripts, which being ſealed with the great Seal, do run abroad in *England*, and do carry away many Mens minds, as great preſumptions of great variety and validity. But, Sir, you know in caſes of leſs importance, that the whole Realm of *England*, Tranſcripts and Exemplifications be not of ſo great force in Law to ſerve for the recovery of any thing, either real or perſonal: And in as much as my Soveraign's Title in this caſe ſhall be little advanced,

advanced, by taking exceptions to others pretended and craſed Titles conſidering her precedency, I will leave it to ſuch as are to claim after the iſſue of *Hen.* the *7th*, to lay in Bar the Poligamy of *Charles Brandon* the Duke of *Suffolk*; and alſo the vitiated and clandeſtine Contract, (if it may be ſo called) having no witneſs nor ſolemnization of Chriſtian Matrimony, nor any lawful matching of the Earl of *Hertford* and the Lady *Katharine*. *Laſtly*; The ſemblably compelling of Mr. *Key*, and the Lady *Mary* Siſter to the Lady *Katherine*.

And now, Sir, I have to anſwer your deſire ſaid ſomewhat briefly to the Matter, which indeed is very little, where ſo much may be ſaid; for to ſpeak truly, the Cauſe ſpeaketh for it ſelf. I have ſo long forborn to deal in this matter, that I have almoſt forgotten many things which may be ſaid for Roboration of her Right, which I can ſhortly reduce to my Remembrance, being at *Edinburgh* where my Notes are: So that if you be not by this ſatisfied, upon knowledg from you of any other Objection, I hope to ſatisfy you unto all things may be ſaid againſt her. In the mean time I pray you ſo counſel the Queen your Soveraign, as ſome effectual reparation may follow without delay, of the many and ſundry traverſes and diſ-favorings committed againſt the Queen, my Sovereign: as the publiſhing of ſo many exemplifications of King *Henry*'s ſuppoſed Will, the ſecret embracing of *John Halles* Books, the Books printed and not avowed the laſt Summer, one of the which my Miſtris hath ſent by *Henry Killigrew* to the Queen your Soveraign; The Diſputes and Proceedings of *Lincolns-Inn*, where the Caſe was ruled againſt the Queen my Soveraign; The Speeches of ſundry in this laſt Seſſion of Parliament, tending all to my Soveraigns deriſion, and nothing ſaid to the contrary by any Man, but the Matter ſhut up with ſilence, moſt to her prejudice; and by ſo much the more as every Man is gone home ſetled and confirmed in his Error. And, Laſtly, The Queen, your Soveraign's reſolution to defend now by Proclamations, all Books and Writings containing any diſcuſſion of Titles, when the whole Realm hath engendred by theſe fond proceedings, and other favoured practiſes, a ſetled opinion againſt my Soveraigns, to the advancement of my Lady *Katherines* Title. I might alſo ſpeak of an other Book lately printed and ſet abroad in this laſt Seſſion, containing many Untruths and weak Reaſons, which Mr. *Wailing* deſired might be anſwered before the Defence were made by Proclamation. I truſt you will ſo hold hand to the Reformation of all theſe things, as the Queen, my Soveraign, may have effectual occaſion to eſteem you her Friend; which doing, you ſhall never offend the Queen your Miſtris, your Country, nor Conſcience, but be a favourer of the Truth againſt Errors, and yet deſerve well of a Princeſs, who hath a good heart to recognize any good turn, when it is done her, and may hereafter have means to do you pleaſure. For my particular, as I have always honoured you as my Father, ſo do I ſtill remain of the ſame mind, as one, whom in all things not touching the State, you may direct, as your Son *Thomas Cecil*, and with my hearty commendations to you, and my Lady, both, I take my leave. From *Striveling*, the 14*th* of *January*, 1566.

FINIS.

A N

APPENDIX

Concerning ſome of the

Errors & Falſhoods

I N

SANDER's Book

OF THE

Engliſh Schiſm.

A N

AN APPENDIX.

THoſe who intend to write Romances or Plays, do commonly take their Plot from ſome true piece of Hiſtory; in which they faſten ſuch Characters to Perſons and Things, and mix ſuch Circumſtances and ſecret Paſſages, with thoſe publick Tranſactions and Changes, that are in other Hiſtories; as may more artificially raiſe theſe paſſions and affections in their Readers minds, which they intend to move, than could poſſibly be done, if the whole ſtory were a meer fiction and contrivance: and tho all Men know thoſe tender paſſages to flow only from the invention and fancy of the Poet; yet by I know not what charm, the greateſt part that read or hear their Poems, are ſoftned and ſenſibly touched.

Some ſuch deſign *Sanders* ſeems to have had in his Book, which he very wiſely kept up as long as he lived: he intended to repreſent the Reformation in the fouleſt ſhape that was poſſible, to defame Queen *Elizabeth*, to ſtain her Blood, and thereby to bring her Title to the Crown in queſtion; and to magnify the Authority of the See of *Rome*, and celebrate Monaſtick Orders, with all the praiſes and high characters he could deviſe: And therefore after he had writ ſeveral Books on theſe Subjects, without any conſiderable ſucceſs, they being all rather filled with foul calumnies and detracting malice, than good Arguments, or ſtrong ſenſe, he reſolved to try his skill another way; ſo he intended to tell a doleful Tale, which ſhould raiſe a deteſtation of Hereſie, an ill Opinion of the Queen, caſt a ſtain on her Blood, and diſparage her Title, and advance the honour of the Papacy. A Tragedy was fitter for theſe ends, ſince it left the deepeſt impreſſions on the graver and better affections of the mind; the Scene muſt be laid in *England*, and King *Henry* the Eighth and his three Children, with the changes that were in their times, ſeemed to afford very plentiful Matter for a Man of wit and fancy, who knew where he could dextrouſly ſhew his Art, and had boldneſs enough to do it without ſhame, or the reverence due, either to crowned Heads, or to Perſons that were dead. Yet becauſe he knew not how he could hold up his Face to the World, after theſe diſcoveries were made, which he had reaſon to expect, this was concealed as long as he lived: and after he had died *for his Faith* (that is, in Rebellion, which I ſhall ſhew is *the Faith* in his ſtile) this Work of his was publiſhed. The ſtile is generally clean, and things are told in an eaſy and pleaſant way; only he could not uſe his Art ſo decently, as to reſtrain that malice which boiled in his Breaſt, and often fermented out too palpably in his Pen.

The Book ſerved many ends well, and ſo was generally much cried up, by Men who had been long accuſtomed to commend any thing that

was uſeful to them, without troubling themſelves with thoſe impertinent Queſtions, whether they were true or falſe; yet *Riſhton* and others ſince that time took the Pencil again in their hands, and finding there were many touches wanting, which would give much life to the whole Piece, have ſo changed it, that it was afterwards reprinted, not only with a large continuation, that was writ by a much more unskilful Poet, but with ſo many and great additions, ſcattered thorough the whole Work, whereby it ſeemed ſo changed in the vamping, that it looked new.

If any will give themſelves the trouble, to compare his Fable with the Hiſtory that I have written, and the certain undoubted Authorities I bring in confirmation of what I aſſert, with the ſlender and (for the moſt part) no Authorities, he brings, they will ſoon be able to diſcern where the Truth lies: but becauſe all People have not the leiſure or opportunities for laying things ſo critically together, I was adviſed, by thoſe whoſe Counſels directed me in this whole Work, to ſum up, in an *Appendix*, the moſt conſiderable Falſhoods and Miſtakes of that Book, with the Evidences upon which I rejected them. Therefore I have drawn out the following Extraction, which conſiſts of Errors of two ſorts. The one is, of theſe in which there is indeed no malice, yet they ſhew the Writer had no true information of our Affairs, but commits many Faults, which tho they leave not ſuch foul imputations on the Author, yet tend very much to diſparage and diſcredit his Work. But the others are of an higher guilt, being deſigned Forgeries, to ſerve partial ends; not only without any Authority, but manifeſtly contrary to Truth, and to ſuch Records as (in ſpite of all the care they took in Q. *Mary*'s time by deſtroying them, to condemn Poſterity to Ignorance in theſe Matters) are yet reſerved, and ſerve to diſcover the falſhood of thoſe Calumnies in which they have traded ſo long. I ſhall purſue theſe Errors in the *ſeries* in which they are delivered in *Sanders* his Book, according to the Impreſſion at *Colen* 1628, which is that I have. I firſt ſet down his Errors, and then a ſhort confutation of them, referring the Reader for fuller information to the foregoing Hiſtory.

Page 2. 1. *Sanders* ſays; "That when Prince *Arthur* and his Princeſs were "bedded, King *Henry* the *7th* ordered a grave Matron to lie in the Bed, "that ſo they might not conſummate their Marriage.

This is the ground-work of the whole Fable; and ſhould have been ſome-way or other proved. But if we do not take ſo ſmall a circumſtance upon his word, we treat him rudely; and who will write Hiſtories, if they be bound to ſay nothing but Truth! But little thought our Author that there were three Depoſitions upon Record, point blank againſt this, for the Dutcheſs of *Norfolk*, the Viſcount of *Fitſwater* and his Lady, depoſed they ſaw them bedded together, and the Bed bleſſed after they two were put in it; beſides that ſuch an extravagant thing was never known done in any place.

Ibid. 2. *Sanders* ſays; "Prince *Arthur* was not then fifteen years of Age, "and was ſick of a lingring Diſeaſe.

The Plot goes on but ſcurvily, when the next thing that is brought to confirm it, is contradicted by Records. Prince *Arthur* was born the 20*th* of *September*, in the year 1486, and ſo was 15 years old and two months

months paſſed at the 14*th* of *November* 1501, in which he was married to the Princeſs, and was then of a lively and good Complexion, and did not begin to decay till the *Shrovetide* following, which was imputed to his exceſſes in the Bed, at the Witneſſes depoſed.

3. He ſays; "Upon the motion for the marrying of his Brother "*Henry* to the Princeſs, it was agreed to by all, that the thing was lawful. *Ibid.*

It was perhaps agreed on at *Rome*, where Mony and other political Arts ſway their Counſels; but it was not agreed to in *England*: for which we have no meaner Author, than *Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, who, when examined upon Oath, depoſed that himſelf then thought the Marriage was not honourable nor well-pleaſing to God, and that he had thereupon oppoſed it much, and that the People murmured at it.

4. He ſays; "There was not one Man in any Nation under Heaven, *Page* 3. "or in the whole Church, that ſpake againſt it.

The common Stile of the *Roman Church*, calling the See of *Rome* the *Catholick Church*, muſt be applied to this, to bring off our Author; otherwiſe I know not how to ſave his Reputation. Therefore by all *the Nations under Heaven* muſt be underſtood only the Divines at *Rome*, tho when it came to be examined, they could ſcarce find any who would juſtify it: all the moſt famous Univerſities, Divines, and Canoniſts, condemned it, and *Warham*'s Teſtimony contradicts this plainly, beſides the other great Authorities that were brought againſt it, for which ſee *lib.* 2. from *pag.* 91 to *pag.* 103.

5. He ſays, "The King once ſaid, *He would not marry the Queen.* *Page* 4.

Here is a pretty Eſſay of our Authors Art, who would make us think it was only in a tranſient diſcourſe, that the King ſaid he would not marry Queen *Katherine*; but this was more maturely done, by a ſolemn Proteſtation, which he read himſelf before the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, that he would never marry her, and that he revoked his conſent given under Age. This was done when he came to be of Age, ſee *pag.* 36. it is alſo confeſſed by *Sanders* himſelf.

6. He ſays; "The Queen bore him three Sons and two Daughters. *Ibid.*

All the Books of that time ſpeak only of two Sons, and one Daughter; but this is a flouriſh of his Pen, to repreſent her a fruitful Mother.

7. He ſays; "The King had ſometimes two, ſometimes three Con- *Page* 5. "cubines at once.

It does not appear he had ever any but *Elizabeth Blunt*; and if we judge of his Life, by the Letters the Popes wrote to him, and many printed Elogies that were publiſhed then, he was a Prince of great Piety and Religion all that while.

8. He ſays; "The Lady *Mary* was firſt deſired in marriage by *James* *Page* 6. "the 5*th* of *Scotland*, then by *Charles* the 5*th* the *Emperor*; and then "*Francis* asked her, firſt for the *Dolphin*, then for the Duke of *Orleance*, "and laſt of all for himſelf.

But all this is wrong placed, for ſhe was firſt contracted to the *Dolphin*, then to the *Emperor*, and then treated about to the King of *Scotland*; after that it was left to *Francis* his choice, whether ſhe ſhould be married to himſelf, or his ſecond Son the Duke of *Orleance*: So little did our Poet know the publick Tranſactions of that time.

Ibid. 9. He ſays; "She was in the end contracted to the *Dolphin*: from "whence he concludes that all Forreign Princes were ſatisfied with the "lawfulneſs of the Marriage.

She was firſt of all contracted to the *Dolphin*. Forreign Princes were ſo little ſatisfied of the lawfulneſs of the Marriage, that tho ſhe being Heir to the Crown of *England*, was a Match of great advantage; yet their Counſellors excepted to it, on that very account, that the Marriage was not good. This was done in *Spain*, and ſhe was rejected, as a Writer who lived in that time informs us; and *Sanders* confeſſes it was done by the *French* Ambaſſadour.

Page 7. 10. He ſays; "*Wolſey* was firſt Biſhop of *Lincoln*, then of *Dureſme*, "after that of *Wincheſter*, and laſt of all Arch-Biſhop of *York*; after that "he was made *Chancellor*, then *Cardinal* and *Legate*.

The order of theſe Preferments is quite reverſed; for *Wolſey* ſoon after he was made Biſhop of *Lincoln*, upon Cardinal *Bembridge* his death, was not only promoted to the See of *York*, but advanced to be a Cardinal in the *7th* year of the King's Reign: And ſome months after that, he was made Lord Chancellor; and ſeven years after that, he got the Biſhoprick of *Dureſme*, which ſix years after he exchanged for *Wincheſter*. He had heard perhaps that he enjoyed all theſe Preferments; but knowing nothing of our Affairs beyond hear-ſay, he reſolved to make him riſe as Poets order their *Heroes* by degrees, and therefore ranks his Advancement not according to Truth, but in the method he liked beſt himſelf.

Page 8. 11. He ſays; "*Wolſey* firſt deſigned the Divorce, and made *Longland*, "that was the King's Confeſſor, ſecond his motion for it.

The King not only denied this in publick, ſaying, That he himſelf had firſt moved it to *Longland* in Confeſſion; and that *Wolſey* had oppoſed it all he could: but in private diſcourſe with *Grinæus* told him, he had laboured under theſe ſcruples for ſeven years; *ſeptem perpetuis annis trepidatio*. Which reckoning from the year 1531, in which *Grinæus* wrote this to one of his Friends, will fall back to the year 1524. long before *Wolſey* had any provocation to tempt him to it.

Page 9. 12. He ſays; "In the year 1526, in which the King was firſt made to "doubt of his Marriage, he was reſolved then whom to marry when he "was once divorced.

But by his other Story, *Ann Boleyn* was then but fifteen years old, and went to *France* at that Age, where ſhe ſtaied a conſiderable time before ſhe came to the Court of *England*.

Ibid. 13. He ſays; "The King ſpent a year in a private ſearch, to ſee what "could be found, either in the Scriptures, or the Pope's Bull, to be made

uſe

" uſe of againſt his Marriage; but they could find nothing.

In that time all the Biſhops of *England*, except *Fiſher*, declared under their Hands and Seals, that they thought the Marriage unlawful; for which ſee *pag.* 38. and upon what Reaſons this was grounded, has been clearly opened, *pag.* 97.

14. He ſays; " If there were any ambiguities in the Pope's firſt Let- *Ibid.*
" ters (meaning the Bull, for diſpenſing with the marriage) they were
" cleared by other Letters, which *Ferdinand* of *Spain* had afterwards
" procured.

Theſe other Letters (by which he means the *Breve*) bear date the ſame day with the Bull; and ſo were not procured afterwards. There were indeed violent preſumptions of their being forged long after, even after the Proceſs had been almoſt an year in agitation. But tho' they helped the matter in ſome leſſer Particulars; yet in the main Buſineſs, Whether Prince *Arthur* did know his Princeſs, they did it a great prejudice; for whereas the Bull bore, that by the Queens Petition her former Marriage was *perhaps conſummated*, the *Breve* bears that in her Petition, the Marriage was ſaid to be conſummated, without any *perhaps*.

15. He ſays; " The King having ſeen theſe ſecond Letters, both he *Ibid.*
" and his Council reſolved to move no more in it.

The Proceſs was carried on, almoſt a year, before the Breve was heard of: and the forgery of it ſoon appeared, ſo they went on notwithſtanding it.

16. He ſays; " The Biſhop of *Tarby* being come from *France*, to con- *Page* 10.
" clude the Match for the Lady *Mary*, was ſet on by the King and the
" Cardinal, to move the exception to the lawfulneſs of the marriage.

There is no reaſon to believe this; for that Biſhop, tho afterwards made a Cardinal, never publiſhed this: which both he ought to have done as a good Catholick, and certainly would have done as a true Cardinal, when he ſaw what followed upon it, and perceived that he was trepanned to be the firſt mover of a thing, which ended ſo fatally for the Intereſts of *Rome*.

17. He ſays; " The Biſhop of *Tarby*, in a Speech before the King in *Page* 11.
" Council, ſaid, That not he alone, but almoſt all Learned Men, thought
" the King's Marriage unlawful and null: ſo that he was freed from the
" Bond of it, and that it was againſt the Rules of the Goſpel; and that
" all Forreign Nations had ever ſpoken very freely of it, lamenting that
" the King was drawn into it in his Youth.

It is not ordinary for Ambaſſadors to make Speeches in King's Councils: But if this be true, it agrees ill with what this Author delivers in his third Page, That there was not a Man in the whole Church, nor under Heaven, that ſpoke againſt it, otherwiſe the Biſhop of *Tarby* was both an impudent and a fooliſh Man.

18. He ſays; " Upon the Pope's Captivity, *Wolſey* was ſent over to *Page* 13.
" *France* with 300000 Crowns to procure the Pope's liberty.

Hall,

Hall, *Hollingſhead*, and *Stow*, ſay, He carried over 240000 pounds *Sterlin*, which is more than thrice that ſum.

Ibid. 19. He ſays; "Two Colleagues were ſent in this Ambaſſy with the "Cardinal.

His greatneſs was above that, and none are mentioned in the Records.

Ibid. 20. He ſays; "Orders followed him to *Callais*, not to move any thing "about the King's Marriage with the *French* King's Siſter, the King ha- "ving then reſolved to marry *Ann Boleyn*.

This agrees ill with what he ſaid *pag.* 9. that a year before the King was reſolved whom to marry.

Ibid. 21. He ſays; "King *Henry*, that he might have freer acceſs to Sir *Tho-* "*mas Boleyn*'s Lady, ſent him to *France*; where after he had ſtayed two "years, his Lady was with Child of *Ann Boleyn* by the King.

This Story was already confuted, ſee *pag.* 41,42. And in it there are more than one or two lies.

1. Sir *Thomas Boleyn* went not Ambaſſador to *France* till the 7*th* year of the King's Reign: And if two years after that, *Ann* was born, which was the 9*th* of his Reign, ſhe muſt then have been but ten years old at this time.

2. Tho he had ſent him upon his firſt coming to the Crown, this could not be true; for two years after, admit her to be born, that is *Anno* 1511, then a year before this, which was *Anno* 1526, ſhe was fifteen years old; in which Age, *Sanders* ſays, ſhe was corrupted in her Father's Houſe, and ſent over to *France*, where ſhe ſtaid long. But all this is falſe: For,

3. She was born two years before the King came to the Crown, in the year 1507. and if her Father was ſent to *France* two years before, it was in the year 1505.

4. The King being then Prince, was but fourteen years old, for he was born the 28*th* of *June*, in the year 1491: in which Age there is no reaſon to think he was ſo forward as to be corrupting other Mens Wives, for they will not allow his Brother, when almoſt two years elder, to have known his own Wife.

As for the other pieces of this Story, that Sir *Thomas Boleyn* did ſue his Lady in the Spiritual Court; that upon the King's ſending him word that ſhe was with Child by him, he paſſed it over; that the King had alſo known her Siſter, and that ſhe had owned it to the Queen, that at the fifteenth year of *Ann*'s Age, ſhe had proſtituted her ſelf both to her Fathers Butler, and Chaplain; that then ſhe was ſent to *France*, where ſhe was at firſt for ſome time concealed, then brought to Court, where ſhe was ſo notoriouſly lewd, that ſhe was called an *Hackney*; that ſhe afterwards was kept by the *French* King; that when ſhe came over into *England*, Sir *Thomas Wiat* was admitted to baſe privacies with her, and offered to the King and his Council, that he himſelf ſhould with his own Eyes ſee it: And in fine, that ſhe was ugly, miſhaped, and monſtrous, are ſuch an heap of impudent Lyes, that none but a Fool, as well as a Knave, would venture on ſuch a recital. And for all this:

this, he cites no other Authority but *Raſtal*'s Life of Sir *Thomas More*, a Book that was ſeen by none but himſelf; and he gives no other evidence that there was any ſuch Book but his own Authority. Nor is it likely that *Raſtal* ever writ *More*'s Life, ſince he did not ſet it out with his Works, which he publiſhed in one Volume, *Anno* 1556. It is true, *More*'s Son in Law, *Roper*, writ his Life, which is ſince printed, but there is no ſuch Story in it. The whole is ſuch a piece of lying, as if he who forged it, had reſolved to out-do all who had ever gone before him: for can it be ſo much as imagined, that a King could purſue a deſign for ſeven years together, of marrying a Woman of ſo ſcandalous a Life, and ſo diſagreeable a Perſon; and that he who was always in the other extream of Jealouſie, did never try out theſe Reports, and would not ſo much as ſee what *Wiat* informed? Nor were theſe things publiſhed in the Libels that were printed at that time, either in the Emperor's Court, or at *Rome*. All which ſhew that this was a deſperate contrivance of Malicious Traitors, againſt their Soveraign Queen *Elizabeth*, to defame and diſgrace her. And this I take to be the true reaſon, why none made any full anſwer to this Book all her time. It was not thought for the Queen's honour to let ſuch Stuff be ſo much conſidered as to merit an anſwer. So that the 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18, *pages* are one continued Lye.

22. He ſays; "Sir *Thomas Boleyn* hearing the King intended to mar- *Page* 16.
"ry his ſuppoſed Daughter, came over in all haſte from *France*, to put
"him in mind that ſhe was his own Child; and that the King bade him
"hold his peace for a Fool, for an hundred had lien with his Wife as well
"as he, but whoſeſoever Daughter ſhe was, ſhe ſhould be his Wife:
"and upon that Sir *Thomas* inſtructed his Daughter how ſhe ſhould hold
"the King in her toils.

Sir *Thomas* muſt have thought the King had an ill memory, if he had forgot ſuch a Story: but the one part of this makes him afraid that the King ſhould marry his Daughter, and the other part makes him afraid they ſhould miſs their hopes in it: Not to mention how little likely it is, that a King of ſuch high vanity, would have done that which the privateſt Perſon has an averſion to, I mean, the marrying the Daughter of one whom they know to be a common Proſtitute.

23. He ſays; "*Wolſey* before his return from *France*, ſent *Gambara* to *Page* 19.
"the Pope, deſiring him to name himſelf Vicar of the Papacy, during
"his captivity.

This was not done till almoſt a year after this: and the motion was ſent by *Staphileus* Dean of the *Rota*, for which ſee *pag.* 50.

24. He ſays; "None but ill Men and ignorant Perſons wrote againſt *Page* 20.
"the Marriage, but all learned and good Men wrote for it.

The whole Doctors of the Church, in all Ages, were againſt it; and no Doctor, ancienter than *Cajetan*, could ever be found to have writ for it.

25. He ſays; "That tho great endeavours were uſed to perſwade *Ibid.*
"Sir *Tho. More* of the unlawfulneſs of the marriage, all was in vain.

Is

Is it probable that the King would have made him Lord Chancellor, when he was ſo earneſt in this buſineſs, if he had not known that he would have gone along with him in it. By one of his Letters to *Cromwel* out of the *Tower* it appears, that he approved the Divorce, and had great hopes of ſucceſs in it, as long as it was proſecuted at *Rome*, and founded on the defects in the Bull. And in the 22d year of the King's Reign, when the Opinions of the Univerſities, and the Books of Learned Men were brought to *England* againſt the Marriage, he carried them down to the Houſe of Commons, and made read them there; after which he deſired they would report in their Country what they had heard and ſeen; and then all Men would openly perceive that the King had not attempted this matter of his Will and Pleaſure, but only for the diſcharge of his Conſcience. *More* was a Man of greater integrity than to have ſaid this, if he had thought the Marriage good; ſo that he has either afterwards changed his mind, or did at this time diſſemble too artificially with the King.

Page 22. 26. After a long flouriſh about the King's ſecret fears and apprehenſions, and the perplexities the Cardinal was in, which muſt paſs for a piece of *his Wit*, that is to ſay, *Lying*, for he knew none of their thoughts; He ſays, 'That *Gardiner* and Sir *Francis Brian* were ſent to 'the Pope together, *Gardiner* being then Secretary of State.

In this there are only three groſs miſtakes. Firſt, *Gardiner* was not ſent with the firſt Meſſage to the Pope, Secretary *Knight* carried it.

2. Sir *Francis Brian* went never to *Rome* with *Gardiner*: It is true, a year after the commencing the Sute, Sir *Francis Brian* was ſent to *Rome*, and about a month after him *Gardiner* was alſo ſent; ſo tho they were both together at *Rome*, yet they were not ſent thither together.

3. *Gardiner* was not Secretary of State, but was *Wolſey's* Secretary, when he went firſt to *Rome*, and was made a Privy Counſellor when he was ſent thither the ſecond time; and was not Secretary of State till ſome months after his return from his Journey the laſt time.

Page 23. 27. He ſays; "They made the Pope believe that the Queen would "willingly retire into a Monaſtery.

This was on the contrary a contrivance of the Popes, who thought it the eaſieſt way to bring the Matter to a good iſſue; but in *England* they had no hopes of it, and ſo always diverted the motion when it was propoſed by the Pope.

Ibid. 28. He ſays; 'The Pope ſaid he would conſult with ſome Cardinals and Divines, and do all that he could lawfully do to give the King ſatisfaction.

Upon the firſt motion of it, the Pope frankly granted the King's deſire; and gave a Bull with a Commiſſion upon it: And only conſulted ſome Cardinals about the methods of doing it. And did aſſure the King, that he would not only do every thing that could be granted in Law or Juſtice, but whatſoever he could grant out *of the fulneſs of his Power*. It is true, afterwards when the Pope changed his meaſures, and reſolved to agree with the Emperor, he pretended he underſtood not theſe things himſelf, but would needs turn it over upon the Cardinals and Divines.

29. He

29. He ſays; "All the Cardinals were of a mind that the Marriage "was good. *Page* 24.

Cardinal *Sanctorum Quatuor*, by the force of that mighty Argument of 4000 Crowns, changed his mind. All the other Cardinals were forward in granting the King's deſires, for which he wrote them a Letter of Thanks.

30. He ſays; "The Pope granted the Commiſſion to the two Legats, "not doubting but it was true, that had been told him of the Queens "readineſs to go into a Monaſtery. *Page* 26.

The Pope knew ſhe would not yield to any ſuch thing; but when he granted that Commiſſion, he ſent with *Campegio* a Decretal Bull, annulling the Marriage: and ſent afterwards a promiſe never to avocate the Proceſs, but to confirm what Sentence the Legats ſhould give; tho ſoon after he broke his promiſe moſt ſignally. And ſince he had often diſpenſed with others for breaking their Faith, he might think that it was hard to deny him the ſame priviledg for himſelf.

31. He ſays; "The Pope underſtanding that the Queen did not con- "ſent to the Propoſitions that were made, and that he had been abuſed, "ſent after *Campegio*, when he was on his Journey, that he ſhould not "proceed to a Sentence without a new order. *Ibid.*

The Pope ſent *Campana* to *England* after *Campegio*, to aſſure the King he would do every thing for him that he could do *out of the fulneſs of his Power*: And ordered the ſame Perſon to charge Cardinal *Campegio* to burn the Decretal Bull, which he had ſent by him: In all which the Pope, as appears by the Original Letters, was only governed by politick Maxims, and conſidered nothing but the dangers himſelf was like to fall in; tho *Sanders* would perſwade us, he was ready to run the hazard of all theſe.

32. He ſays; "The King by his Letters to the Pope, did, at the ſame "time that he was moving ſcruples about his own Marriage, tranſact about "a Diſpenſation for a marriage betwixt his own natural Son the Duke of "*Richmond*, and his Daughter the Lady *Mary*. *Page* 30.

Tho the whole Diſpatches at that time, both to and from *Rome*, be moſt happily preſerved, there is not the leaſt mention of any ſuch deſign: and can any body think that if any ſuch motion had been made, the Pope would not have taken great advantages from it, and that theſe Letters would not have been afterwards publiſhed? But this *Sanders* thought was a pretty embelliſhment of his Fable; and of a piece with this is his next.

33. He ſays; "The King did under his own hand confeſs, he had "known *Ann Boleyn*'s Siſter *Mary*, and deſired the Pope would diſpence "with his marrying *Ann* notwithſtanding that. *Ibid.*

The falſhood of this appears from the recital of it: And how came it that theſe Letters were not publiſhed? Nor is there any mention of this in all the Diſpatches I have ſeen. And it is not poſſible that in ſo many conferences which the *Engliſh* Ambaſſadors had with the Pope,

theſe two things ſhould never have been diſcourſed of. And can it be thought credible that at the ſame time when the King pretended ſuch ſcruples and troubles of Conſciences, he could be guilty of ſo much folly and impudence, as to put himſelf thus in the Pope's Mercy, by two ſuch demands. This was a forgery of Cardinal *Pole's*, which *Sanders* greedily catched to dreſs up the Scene.

Page 34. 34. From *page* 34, to 42, there is a trifling account given of the Reaſons brought againſt the Marriage, which *Sanders* anſwers manfully, and fights couragiouſly againſt the Man of Straw he had ſet up. But if that be compared with what has been opened in the Hiſtory, it will appear how lame and defective his account is.

Page 42. 35. He ſays; "*Clarke* Biſhop of *Bath* and *Wells*, *Tonſtal* Biſhop of "*London*, and *Weſt* Biſhop of *Ely*, writ for the lawfulneſs of the King's "marriage.

All the Biſhops, except *Fiſher*, had a year before this given it under their Hands and Seals, that the King's marriage was unlawful: and in all the Memorials of that time, *Fiſher* is the only Biſhop I find mentioned to have writ for it. *Tonſtall* was alſo ſoon after tranſlated to *Dureſme*, which none that have conſidered that King's temper, will think could have been done, if he had interpoſed in ſo tender a Point, againſt what the King ſo vehemently deſired.

Ibid. 36. He ſays; "That *Abel*, *Powel*, *Fetherſton*, and *Ridley*, alſo writ "for the marriage.

This is not likely of the ſecond and third, for they being afterwards attainted of Treaſon, no ſuch Books were objected to them; but the Crime charged on them, was only that they ſaid, the King's marriage with Q. *Katharine* was good.

Page 43. 37. He ſays; "All things appeared clear in the Trial before the Le-"gats, in behalf of the Marriage, ſo that they could give no Sentence "againſt ſuch full evidence as was brought for it.

This is ſaid without any regard to Truth; for all the Matter of Fact that had been alledged, was clearly proved for the contrary ſide. It was proved that Prince *Arthur* married the Queen: violent preſumptions appeared of his conſummating the Marriage: It was alſo proved that the King was under age when the Bull was obtained, and that the Petitions given in his Name, upon which the Bull was granted, were falſe: That the King had not deſired it, but when he came of Age he had proteſted againſt it: And that there was no hazard of a War between *Spain* and *England*, the preventing which was the chief reaſon ſet down in the Bull that permitted it. So that all that had been informed at *Rome*, as to matter of Fact, was fully proved before the Legats, by clear Inſtruments, and many and noble Witneſſes.

Ibid. 38. He puts a long bold ſpeech in *Campegio's* Mouth, who was far from aſſuming ſuch freedom; but lived licentiouſly in *England*, in all manner of diſorders, of which both he and his Baſtard Son were guilty. And by diſſembling, and other Arts, perſwaded the King to delay the Proceſs,

Proceſs, from day to day, giving him full aſſurances, that in concluſion he ſhould obtain what he deſired: and by ſuch means he gain'd time, and drew out the Trial, till the Pope had ended his Treaty with the Emperor; and then he ſerved him an *Italian* trick, by adjourning the Court.

39. He ſays; "Some Doctors being corrupted with the King's Mony, "declared for him; but thoſe were none of the moſt learned. *Page* 48.

The King ordered thoſe he ſent, not to give or promiſe any thing to any Perſon, till they had delivered their Opinion freely: upon which ſome of them wrote to him, that they would anſwer upon their heads, that they had followed his Orders in that particular.

40. He ſays; "Theſe Determinations were publiſhed in the names of "the Univerſities, to deceive the World by a falſe repreſentation of ſo "great Authorities. *Ibid.*

Were the publick Seals of the Univerſities put to their determinations, after a long debate, all being required to deliver their Conſciences upon Oath, and done with the unanimous conſent of the whole faculty in ſome places, falſe repreſentations? This was done in *Italy*, in *Padua*, *Bononia*, *Ferrara*, and *Millan*, under the Pope and the Emperors Eye, and within their Dominions.

41. He ſays; "Endeavours were uſed to corrupt the Univerſity of "*Colen*, and ſome others in *Germany*, for which great ſums were offered, "and that the King was at a vaſt expence in it. *Page* 50.

Crooks accompts ſhew that his expence in *Italy* was very inconſiderable. And who can imagine that when *Paris*, *Padua*, and *Bononia*, had declared for the King, he would be much concerned for *Colen*, or any other Univerſity in *Germany*? Thoſe who will believe *Sanders*, and ſuch Authors as he quotes, *Cochleus*, and an unknown Biſhop of *Braſile*, may if they will.

42. He ſays; "In *Oxford* the King not being able to obtain a ſatiſ- "factory anſwer in that Matter, eight Students of the Univerſity broke "into the place where the Seal was laid, and put it to an Anſwer, which "paſſed for the determination of the Univerſity. *Page* 51.

The Lord *Herbert* ſays, there was an Original Inſtrument paſſed, which he ſaw; by which the Univerſity did appoint a Committee of 33 Doctors and Batchelors of Divinity to examine the Queſtions propoſed by the King, and to ſet the Seal of the Univerſity to any Anſwer that they ſhould agree on: and theſe did afterwards give a Reſolution againſt the lawfulneſs of the Marriage.

43. "He tells a long Story of the King's endeavours to gain *Reginald* "*Pole*, and that he came over to *England*; and being much preſſed "by his Kindred to comply with the King, he went to him, fully pur- "poſed to have done it: but could not ſpeak a word to him, till he re- "ſolved to talk to him in another ſtile; and then he found his tongue, "and ſpake very freely to the King, who put his hands ſometimes to his "Poynard, intending to have killed him; but was overcome with the *Page* 52.

"ſimplicity and humility of his Diſcourſe: and ſo the King continued "his Penſion to him, and gave him leave to go back to *Padua.*

This is another pretty adventure of one of the *Hero*'s of the Romance, but has this misfortune in it, that it is all without any proof: for as none of the Books of that time ever mention it, ſo neither did *Pole* himſelf pretend to have carried ſo, in his Book, tho written with the moſt provoking inſolence that was poſſible. In it he mentions his going over to *England*, but not one word of any ſuch diſcourſe with the King. And King *Henry* was not a Man of ſuch a temper, as to permit one of *Pole*'s quality to go out of *England*, and live among his Enemies, and continue his Penſions to him, if he had to his face oppoſed him in a Matter he laid ſo much to heart.

Page 53. 44. He ſays; "*Fiſher* of *Rocheſter*, and *Holman* Biſhop of *Briſtol*, "wrote for the Marriage.

There was no Biſhoprick, nor Biſhop of *Briſtol* at that time, nor thirteen years after.

Ibid. 45. "Many are reckoned up who wrote for the Marriage in all Na-"tions.

Theſe are neither to be compared in number, nor authority, to thoſe who wrote againſt it; an hundred Books were ſhewed in Parliament, written by Divines, and Lawyers beyond Sea, beſides the determinations of twelve of the moſt celebrated Univerſities in *Europe*. The Emperor did indeed give ſo great Rewards, and ſuch good Benefices, to thoſe who wrote againſt the King, that it is a wonder there were not more Writers of his ſide.

Page 56. 46. He ſays; "That upon *Warham* Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*'s death, "the Earl of *Wiltſhire* told the King that he had a Chaplain, who was at "his Houſe, that would certainly ſerve the King in the matter of his Di-"vorce; upon which *Cranmer* was promoted.

Cranmer was no ſtranger to the King at this time: he was firſt recommended by the King to the Earl of *Wiltſhire*, to be kept in his Houſe; but was in *Germany*, when *Warham* died, and made no haſte over, but delayed his Journey ſome months. It is true, he was of the mind that the King ought to be divorced; but this was not out of ſervile compliance, for when the King preſſed him in other things that were againſt his Conſcience, he expreſſed all the courage and conſtancy of mind which became ſo great a Prelate.

Ibid. 47. He ſay's; "That *Cranmer* being to ſwear the Oath of Obedience "to the Pope, before he was conſecrated, did proteſt to a Publick Nota-"ry, that he took it againſt his will; and that he had no mind to keep "his Faith to the Pope, in prejudice to the King's Authority.

He did not proteſt that he did it unwillingly, nor was it only to a Notary, but twice at the high Altar he repeated the Proteſtation that he made; which was to this effect, That he intended not thereby to oblige himſelf to any thing, contrary to the Law of God, the King's Prerogative, or the Laws of the Land; nor to be reſtrained from ſpeaking, adviſing, or conſenting to any thing that ſhould concern the Re-

formation

formation of the Chriſtian Faith, the Government of the Church of *England*, and the Prerogative of the Crown and Kingdom.

48. He ſays; "*Cranmer* did in all things ſo comply with the King's "Luſts, that the King was wont to ſay he was the only Man that had ne- "ver contradicted him in any thing he had a mind to. *Page* 57.

Cranmer was both a good Subject, and a modeſt and diſcreet Man, and ſo would obey and ſubmit as far as he might, without ſin: yet when his Conſcience charged him to appear againſt any thing that the King preſſed him to, as in the matter of the ſix Articles, he did it with much reſolution and boldneſs.

49. He ſays; "The King going over to *Calais*, carried *Ann Boleyn* ſe- "cretly with him. *Page* 58.

He carried her over in great ſtate, having made her Marchioneſs of *Pembroke*; and in the publick Interview between him and *Francis*, ſhe appeared with all poſſible ſplendor.

50. He ſays; "After the King's return from *France*, he brought the "Action of Premunire againſt all the Clergy. *Page* 59.

This is an Error of two years, for ſo long before this Voyage to *France* was that action begun: and the Clergy about 28 months before had made their ſubmiſſion, and obtained their pardon in *March* 1531; which appears by the printed Statutes, and the King went over to *France* in *September* 1532; ſo that it is clear *Sanders* never looked for any verification of what he wrote.

51. He ſays; "The King by an unheard-of Tyranny, and a new Ca- "lumny, brought this Charge againſt the Clergy. *Ibid.*

Theſe Laws upon which the Charge was founded, had been oft renewed: they were firſt made under *Edward* the Firſt, by reaſon of the Papal Encroachments that gave the riſe to them; they were oft confirmed by *Edward* the Third, *Richard* the Second, *Henry* the Fourth, and *Henry* the Fifth, with the concurrence of their Parliaments; ſo the Charge was neither new nor tyrannical.

52. He ſays; "The Clergy ſubmitted to the King, being betrayed by "their Metropolitanes *Cranmer* and *Lee*. *Ibid.*

The ſubmiſſion was made two years before *Cranmer* was Arch-Biſhop, in *March* 1531, and *Cranmer* was Conſecrated in *March* 1533. but at that time *Warham* ſate in *Canterbury*; as for *Lee*, he oppoſed it for ſome time.

53. He ſays; "The whole Clergy petitioned the King, to forgive "their Crime, according to that Supreme Power which he had over all "the Clergy and Laity, within his Kingdom; from whence the King's "Counſellors took occaſion afterwards to call him *Supreme Head*. *Ibid.*

The Clergy did in the Title of their Submiſſion call the King in formal terms, *Supreme Head of the Church and Clergy of* England, *as far as by the Law of Chriſt is lawful:* to which *Fiſher*, with the reſt of the Convocation ſubſcribed. And all this was done when *More* was Chancellor.

54. He

Page 62. 54. He ſays; "When the King went to marry *Ann Boleyn*, he per-
"ſwaded *Rowland Lee*, made ſoon after Biſhop of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*,
"to officiate in it, aſſuring him he had obtain'd a Bull for it from *Rome*,
"which was then lying in his Cabinet. Upon which *Lee* giving credit
"to what he ſaid, did marry them.

This is another trial of *Sander's* wit, to excuſe *Lee*, who tho at this time he complied abſolutely with the King, yet did afterwards turn over to the Popiſh Party; therefore to make him look a little clean, this Story muſt be forged. But at that time all the World ſaw that the Pope and the Emperor were ſo linked together, that *Lee* could not but know that no ſuch thing was poſſible. And he was ſo obſequious to the King, that ſuch Arts were needleſs to perſwade him to any thing the King had a mind to.

Page 67. 55. For five pages he runs out in repetition of all thoſe foul Lyes concerning *Ann Boleyn*, by which he deſigned both to diſgrace the Reformers, who were ſupported by her, and to defame her Daughter Queen *Elizabeth*, which have been before confuted: after that he ſays, "Queen *Katharine*, with three Maids and a ſmall Family, retired into "the Country.

She had both the reſpect of a Princeſs Dowager, and all the Jointure contracted to her by Prince *Arthur*; ſo ſhe could not be driven to that ſtraitneſs, but this muſt go for an Ornament in the Fable.

Page 71. 56. He ſays; "It was concluded, that *Cranmer* might be more free to "paſs Sentence, that there ſhould be an Oath impoſed on the Clergy, for "paying the ſame Obedience to the King that they had paid the Pope: upon which he tells a long formal Story, for two pages, That "it was "reſolved to draw *Fiſher* into it, to ſwear Obedience to the King in all "Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, with that exception, *as far as is lawful, according "to the Word of God*; which he did, and perſwaded others to do it; "and upon this *Cranmer* taking the New Oath, went and pronounced "judgment for Divorce.

There is not one tittle of this true, for there was no Oath ſworn about the King's Supremacy at this time. The Story of *Fiſher*, is that which was done by the Convocation two years before *Cranmers* preferment, nor was there any Oath taken then, or at this time. It is true, two years after this, *Gardiner*, *Stokeſley*, and many other Biſhops, did of their own accord take ſuch an Oath; but there was no Law for it till the 28*th* year of the King's Reign.

Page 72. 57. He ſays; "One *Richard Riſey* (or *Rouſe*, according to the Re-
"cords) was hired by *Ann Boleyn* to poiſon *Fiſher*.

Rouſe was boiled alive for poiſoning the Biſhop's Family, but did not diſcover any that ſet him on it: Which none can think but he would have done, if the Queen had hired him to it, and had then deſerted him, to periſh in ſo horrid a manner.

Page 73. 58. He ſays; "*Cranmer* being by Authority of Parliament freed from "his Oath to the Pope, and bound by a new one to the King, went "now confidently to pronounce Sentence.

Th

The Parliament did not put down the Pope's Authority for eight months after this, and appointed no new Oath till three years after; For *Cranmer* ſat in Judgment as Primate of *England*, and Legate of the Apoſtolick See.

59. He ſays; "*Cranmer* carried ſome Biſhops with him, and having "cited the Queen, without hearing her, he gave ſentence againſt the "Marriage. *Ibid.*

Gardiner, *Stokeſly*, *Clark*, and *Longland*, the Biſhops of *Wincheſter*, *London*, *Bath*, and *Lincoln*, went with him. He could not hear the Queen, when ſhe would not appear: but he examined all the Inſtruments and Evidences that had been brought in the whole Proceſs.

60. He ſays; "The Pope would not proceed againſt the King, till "he met with the *French* King at *Marſeilles*: but that the *Engliſh* Am- "baſſadors did there carry ſo inſolently, that *Francis* was aſhamed of "their behaviour; and deſired the Pope to proceed againſt the King "as he thought fit, and that he ſhould never defend him more, but "ſhould be againſt him. *Page* 75.

Here the Romance goes on too groſly, for the Pope and the *French* King agreed at *Marſeilles* to bring this matter to an iſſue: the Pope declared he thought the King's Cauſe was juſt and right; and promiſed, if the King would ſend a full ſubmiſſion to *Rome*, he would give ſentence in his favours: Upon which the *French* King ſent over the Biſhop of *Paris*, who prevailed with the King to do it; tho' this afterwards came to nothing. It is true, *Bonner* who was always officious and forward when there was any thing to be got by it, being ſent to *Marſeilles* by the King, to deliver an Appeal in the King's Name to the Pope, to the next General Council; and perhaps knowing nothing of the private Tranſactions between the Pope and the *French* King, it being a Secret of too great importance to be communicated to ſuch a hot-brain'd Man, did deliver his Meſſage to the Pope in ſuch provoking language, that the Pope talked of throwing him into a boiling Cauldron; and he was fain to fly for it.

61. He ſays; The Pope returning to *Italy*, after he had again moſt "carefully reviewed the whole Cauſe, gave ſentence. *Page* 76.

This was ſo precipitated, that they would not ſtay ſix days beyond the time which they prefixed, for the return of the Meſſenger that was ſent to *England*: but diſpatched that, which by the forms of their Court ſhould have been done in three Conſiſtories, all in one day.

62. He ſays; "Upon this Sentence, the King being enraged, did "command Queen *Katharine* to be only called Princeſs, and declared her "Daughter the Lady *Mary* a Baſtard. *Page* 78.

Both theſe were done five months before the Pope's Sentence, and ſoon after, the Sentence was pronounced by *Cranmer*. And theſe were the natural conſequences of it; for the Marriage being annulled, neither could ſhe be longer a Queen, nor her Daughter Princeſs any more.

63. He ſays; "The King impriſoned *F. Foreſt* a Franciſcan Ob- "ſervant, a moſt holy and learned Man, for contradicting *Latimer*, *Ibid.*

"when

"when he was enveighing againſt the Pope's Authority.

Concerning this *Foreſt*, I have ſeen an Original Letter of one *Liſt* a Frier of the ſame Houſe, a year after this, that ſays *Foreſt* was a great ſcandal to their Houſe, and was very ignorant: and that tho he had been much againſt the King in his Marriage, yet he had then inſinuated himſelf into his favour, of which many of the Houſe, who were for the King's Cauſe, had great apprehenſions. In the ſame Letter he writes how cruel they were againſt any of their Brethren, who they thought diſcovered any thing that was done among them; and that one *Rainſcroft*, a Brother, whom they ſuſpected to have informed what paſſed among them, was cruelly uſed, and kept in Priſon till he died; which he chiefly imputes to *Foreſt*. This Friar ſwore the King's Supremacy, and yet at the ſame time was perſwading others not to do it; and being queſtioned upon it, ſaid, He took the Oath only with his Outward, but not with his Inward Man; and for that, and his denying the Goſpel, he was burnt as an obſtinate Heretick.

Page 79. 64. He ſays; "*Abell*, *Powel*, and *Fetherſton*, were put in Priſon be- "cauſe they conſulted with the *Maid of Kent*.

This is only charged upon the former of theſe, but the two latter are not accuſed of any ſuch thing.

Ibid. 65. He ſays; "*Elizabeth* being born the 8*th* of *September*, but five "months after the King had publickly married her Mother, could not "be the lawful iſſue of that Marriage.

This is a malacious Lye, for himſelf confeſſed that the King was married to her Mother, the 14*th* of *November* the former year; between which, and the 8*th* of *September*, there were ten months; nor was the King ever after that married publickly to the Queen. For what he calls a publick Marriage, was only the ſhewing her openly as Queen. But the deſign of this Lye is ſo viſible that it needs not be opened.

Ibid. 66. He ſays; "The King's Daughter *Mary*, who was then preſent, "could never be induced to think ſhe was the King's Child.

In the former page he ſaid *Mary* was ſent to her Mother, and now forgetting himſelf too ſoon, he ſays, ſhe was preſent when *Elizabeth* was born. What *Mary*'s thoughts were, none can tell, but ſhe publickly acknowledged Her to be her Siſter, tho ſhe did not uſe her as one.

Page 80. 67. He ſays; "*Elizabeth Barton*, who was famed for her ſanctity, and "ſix with her, who thought ſhe was inſpired by the Holy Ghoſt, were "accuſed in Parliament.

Thoſe ſix knew that ſhe was not inſpired; and that all that was given out about her, was a contrivance of theirs, who had inſtructed her to play ſuch tricks; as was proved by their own Confeſſions and other Evidences.

Ibid. 68. He ſays; "They all died very conſtantly: and on the Margent "calls them *ſeven Martyrs*.

The Nun her ſelf acknowledged the Impoſture at her death, and laid the heavieſt weight of it, on the Prieſts that ſuffered with her, who ha(

had taught her the Cheat: ſo that they died both for Treaſon and Impoſture. And this being *Sander's Faith*, as appeared by *his Works*, they were indeed Martyrs for it.

69. He ſays; "*More* and *Fiſher* having examined her, could ſee no "ground to think ſhe was acted by a Fanatical Spirit, as it was given "out. *Ibid.*

It was not given out that ſhe was acted by a Fanatical Spirit, for that had been more honeſt; but her Spirit was cheating and knavery. *More* cleared himſelf, and looked on her as a weak Woman, and commonly called her the *Silly Maid:* But *Fiſher* did diſown her when the Cheat was diſcovered, though he had given her too much encouragement before.

70. He ſays; "The thing ſhe propheſied came to paſs; which was, "that *Mary* ſhould be Queen of *England*. *Page* 81.

The thing for which She and her Complices were attainted of Treaſon, was, that ſhe ſaid, *If the King married* Ann Boleyn, *he ſhould not be a King a month longer, and not an hour longer in the ſight of God, and ſhould die a Villains death.* But it did not ſerve *Sander's* ends to tell this.

71. He ſays; "The day ſhe ſuffered, many of the Nobility came "and ſwore to the Succeſſion of the Iſſue of the King's marriage with "Queen *Ann*, before the Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chan- "cellor, and *Cromwel*. *Ibid.*

Both Houſes of Parliament, did in the Houſe of Lords take that Oath, on the day of their Prorogation, which was the 30*th* of *March*, as appears by the ſecond Act of the next Seſſion: and the Nun, with her Complices, did not ſuffer till the 21 of *April* after.

72. He ſays; "The *Franciſcans* of the Obſervance, chiefly two Fa- "thers in *London*, *Elſton* and *Payton*, did, both in their Sermons and "publick Diſputes, juſtifie the King's marriage with Q. *Katharine*. *Ibid.*

Elſton and *Payton*, were not of *London* but of *Greenwich*. They compared the King to *Achab*, and ſaid, in the Pulpit to his face, *The Dogs ſhould lick his Blood*; with many other ſuch virulent Expreſſions. But to rail at a Prince with the moſt ſpiteful reproaches that could be, was a part of *Sanders's Faith:* and ſo no wonder thoſe paſs for Confeſſors, when *Elizabeth Barton* and her Complices are reckoned *Martyrs*.

73. He ſays; "*Tonſtal* Biſhop of *Dureſme*, was ordered by the King's "Meſſengers, not to come to the Seſſion of Parliament 26 *Regni*, in "which the King's Supremacy was eſtabliſhed. *Page* 82.

In this he is ſafer than in ſome other Stories, for the Journals of that Seſſion are loſt, ſo the falſhood of this cannot be demonſtrated: yet it is not at all likely, that he who juſtified all that was done in the former Seſſion, in which the Pope's Power was put down, the nomination of Biſhops annexed to the Crown, a Reformation of Eccleſiaſtical Laws appointed to be made, in defence of all which he wrote afterwards, was now ſo ſcrupulous as to be ordered to ſtay at home. But *Tonſtal* ſuffering im-

priſonment in *Edward* the Sixth's time, it was fit to uſe ſome art to ſhew that he was unwillingly brought to comply with the King.

Ibid. 74. "He, to ſhew God's Judgments on the chief Inſtruments that "ſerved the King, ſays, That the Duke of *Norfolk* was by the King "condemned to perpetual impriſonment.

This bewrays palpable ignorance, ſince he was attainted of High Treaſon, the very day before the King's death, and ſhould have ſuffered the next day, if the King's death had not prevented it. But ſince he will deſcant on the Providence of God, he ſhould rather have concluded that his eſcaping ſo narrowly, was a ſign of God's great care of him.

Ibid. 75. In the Seſſion of Parliament that met the third of *November* (as he deſcribes it, which was the 26*th* year of the King's Reign) he ſays, "*Mary* the King's Daughter was illegitimated, and all her honours were "transferred on *Elizabeth*, and the Pope's Power put down.

This ſhews he never looked on our publick Statutes; otherwiſe he had ſeen that theſe Acts paſſed in the former Seſſion.

Page 84. 76. He ſays; "When the King ſent his Ambaſſadours to the *French* "Court, *Francis* would not ſo much as hear them give a juſtification of "the King's proceedings.

How true this can be, the World may judg, ſince theſe two Kings continued in a firm Alliance eight years after this. And *Francis* did often treat, both with him and the Princes of *Germany*, about theſe things, and was inclined to do almoſt all that he did.

Ibid. 77. He ſays; "The *Lutherans* did ſo abominate the grounds of his "ſeparation from *Rome*, that they could never be induced to approve "it; for which he cites *Cochleus*, an Author of his own kidney.

They did condemn the King's firſt marriage as unlawful, and thought the Pope's Diſpenſation had no force: and ſo far they approved it. But they had this ſingular Opinion, that he ſhould have continued unmarried as long as Q. *Katharine* lived. Yet in that they were ſo modeſt that they only deſired to be excuſed, as to the ſecond Marriage: which conſidering that Queen *Ann* favoured their Doctrine, and that by an abſolute compliance with what the King had done, they might have ſecured his Protection to themſelves, whom otherwiſe they provoked highly, is an evidence of a ſtrict adhering to what their Conſciences dictated, that cannot be ſufficiently commended.

Page 85. 78. He ſays; "The King made many write Apologies for what he "did; which ſome did willingly, being tainted with Hereſie, others "unwillingly, and for fear, as *Gardiner* and *Tonſtall*.

In this he ſhews how little judgment he had of the nature of things, when he thinks to excuſe their writing for the King, as extorted by force: To have done it thorough Error and Miſtake, was much the ſofter excuſe; but to make them Men of ſuch proſtituted Conſciences, as not only to ſubſcribe and ſwear, but to write with Learning and Zeal, and yet againſt their Conſciences, repreſents them guilty of unexpreſſible baſeneſs. Indeed *Gardiner* was a Man like enough to write any thing that

that might pleaſe the King; but *Tonſtall* was a Man of greater probity, than to have done ſo unworthy a thing upon any account whatſoever. But ſince he mentioned Writers, he ſhould have named *Longland* Biſhop of *Lincoln*, *Stokeley* Biſhop of *London*, and above all *Bonner*, who did officiouſly thruſt himſelf into the debate, by writing a Preface to *Gardiner*'s Book, with the greateſt vehemence that could be. But the Blood he ſhed afterwards did ſo endear him to this Author, that all paſt Faults were forgiven and to be clean forgotten.

79. He ſays; "Five Martyrs ſuffered becauſe they would not ſwear "the King's Supremacy according to the Law that was then paſſed. *Page* 86.

There was no ſuch Law made at that time, nor could any ſuch Oath be then put to them. The only Oath which the Parliament had enacted, was the Oath of the Succeſſion, and the refuſing it was only miſpriſion of Treaſon, and was not puniſhable by death. But it was for denying the King's Supremacy, and for writing and ſpeaking both againſt it, and his marriage, that they ſuffered according to Law.

80. He ſays; "*Cromwel* threatned the Jury, in the King's name, with "certain death, if they did not bring them in guilty. *Page* 87.

Every Body that knows the Law of *England*, will ſoon conclude this to be a Lye: for no ſuch threatnings were ever made in Trials in this Nation. Nor was there any need at this time, for the Law was ſo plain, and their Facts ſo clearly proved, that the Jury could not refuſe to bring them in guilty.

81. He ſays; The three *Carthuſians* that ſuffered, were made ſtand upright and in one place fourteen days together, with Irons about their Necks, Arms, and Legs, before they died: and then with great pomp he deſcribes their Death in all its parts, as if it had been a new-deviſed cruelty, it being the Death which the Law appoints for Traitors. He tells, that *Cromwel* lamented that others of them had died in their Cells, and ſo prevented his cruelty. He alſo adds a long ſtory of the ſeverities againſt the *Franciſcans*. *Pag.* 88, 89

All this he drew from his learning in the Legend. The Engliſh Nation knows none of theſe Cruelties, in which the *Spaniſh* Inquiſitors are very expert. I find, by ſome Original Letters, that the *Carthuſians* who were ſhut up in their Cells, lived about a year after this; ſo if *Cromwel* had deſigned to take away their lives, he wanted not opportunities: but it appears from what *More* writ in his Impriſonment, that *Cromwel* was not a cruel Man, but on the contrary, merciful and gentle. And for the *Franciſcans*, tho they had offended the King highly, two of them railing ſpitefully at him to his Face, in his Chappel at *Greenwich*: Yet that was paſſed over with a Reproof, from which it appears that he was not eaſily provoked againſt them. So all that Relation which he gives, being without any Authority, muſt paſs for a part of the Poem.

82. He ſays; "The Biſhop of *Rocheſter* was condemned, becauſe "he would not acknowledg the King's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Mat- "ters. *Page* 91.

He was never preſſed to acknowledg it, but was condemned for denying it, and ſpeaking againſt it: for had he kept his Opinion to himſelf, he could not have been queſtioned. But the denying the King's Titles, of which his being Supream Head was one, was by the Law Treaſon; ſo he was tried for ſpeaking againſt it, and not for his not acknowledging it.

Page 93. 83. "He runs out in an high commendation of *Fiſher*, and among "other things mentions his Epiſcopal and Apoſtolical Charity.

His Charity was burning indeed. He was a mercileſs Proſecutor of Hereticks, ſo that the rigor of the Law, under which he fell, was the ſame meaſure that he had meaſured out to others.

Page 100. 84. *Sanders* will let the World ſee how carefully he had read the Legend, and how skilfully he could write after that Copy, in a prety Fabulous Story concerning *More*'s death; to whom I will deny none of the Praiſes due to his memory, for his great learning, and ſingular probity: nor had he any blemiſh, but what flowed from the Leaven of that cruel Religion, which carried him to great ſeverities againſt thoſe that preached for a Reformation. His Daughter *Roper* was a Woman of great Vertue, and worthy of ſuch a Father, who needed none of *Sanders*'s Art to repreſent her well to the World. His Story is; "That the "morning her Father died, ſhe went about diſtributing all the Mony "ſhe had in Alms to the Poor: and at laſt was at her Prayers in a "Church, when of a ſudden ſhe remembred that ſhe had forgot to pro-"vide a Winding-ſheet for his Body; but having no more Mony left, "and not being well known in that place, ſhe apprehended they would "not give her credit: Yet ſhe went to a Linnen-Drapers Shop, and cal-"ling for ſo much Cloth, ſhe put her hand in her Pocket, knowing ſhe "had nothing in it, but intending to make an excuſe, and try if they "would truſt her. But by a Miracle ſhe found the price of the Sheet, "and neither more nor leſs was conveighed into her Pocket. This is ſuch a lively eſſay of the Man's Spirit that invented it, that I leave it without any further Commentary.

Page 105. 58. He ſays; "*Lee* that was not in Orders, was ſent to viſit the Mo-"naſteries, who ſollicited the chaſtity of the Nunns.

He does not mention *Leighton* and *London* the two chief Viſitors, for *Leighton* brought in *Lee*: but they were of the Popiſh Party, and *Lee* was *Cranmer*'s Friend, therefore all muſt be laid on him. He was in Orders, and ſoon after was made Dean of *York*. I have ſeen complaints of Dr. *London*'s ſolliciting the Nuns, yet I do not find *Lee* complained of. But ſince *London* was a Perſecutor of Hereticks, ſuch a ſmall kindneſs as the concealing his Name, and the turning the blame over on *Lee*, was not to be ſtood on among Friends, eſpecially by a Man of *Sander*'s ingenuity.

Page 107. 86. For the correſpondence between Q. *Katharine* and Father *Foreſt*, and the Letters that paſt; ſince *Sanders* tells us not a word how he came by them, we are to look on them as a piece of the Romance.

87. He

87. He ſays; "*Ann Boleyn* bore a monſtrous and a miſhaped lump *Page* 114.
"of Fleſh, when the time of her bearing another Child came.
She bore a dead Child before the time, ſays *Hall*; but there was no great reproach in that, unleſs made up by *Sanders*'s wit.

88. He lays out the buſineſs of *Ann Boleyn* with ſo much ſpite and *Page* 115.
malice, that we may eaſily ſee againſt whom he chiefly deſigned this part of his Work. He ſays; "She was found guilty of Adultery and "Inceſt.
There was no Evidence againſt her, but only a hear-ſay from the Lady *Wingfield*: we neither know the credit of that Lady, nor of the Perſon who related it in her name. It is true, *Mark Smeton* did confeſs his Adultery with the Queen, but it was generally thought he was drawn into it by ſome promiſes that were made to him, and ſo cheated out of his Life; but for the Queen, and the other four, they atteſted their innocency to the laſt: nor would any of thoſe unfortunate Perſons redeem their lives at ſo ignominious a rate, as to charge the Queen, whom they declared they knew to be innocent; ſo that all the Evidence againſt her, was an hear-ſay of a Woman that was dead, the Confeſſion of a poor Muſician, and ſome idle words her ſelf ſpake of the Diſcourſes that had paſſed between her, and ſome of thoſe Gentlemen.

89. He ſays; "Foreigners did generally rejoice at her fall; and to *Page* 116.
"prove this, he cites *Cochleus*'s words, that only ſhew that Author's "ill opinion of her.
The *Germans* had ſo great a value of her, that all their correſpondence with the King fell to the ground with her: but he may well cite *Cochleus*, an Author of the ſame honeſty with himſelf, from whoſe writings we may with the like ſecurity make a judgment of Forreign Matters, as we may upon *Sanders*'s teſtimony believe the account he gives of *Engliſh* Affairs.

90. He tells us, among other things done by the King, and picks it *Page* 117.
out as the only inſtance he mentions of the King's Injunctions, "that "the People ſhould be taught in Churches the Lord's Prayer, the Ave, "the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in Engliſh.
It ſeems this Author thought the giving theſe Elements of Religion to the People in the vulgar Tongue, a very heinous Crime, when this is ſingled out from all the reſt.

91. "That being done, he ſays, there was next a Book publiſhed, *Ibid.*
"called Articles, appointed by the King's Majeſty, which were the ſix "Articles.
This ſhews that he either had no information of *Engliſh* Affairs, or was ſleeping when he wrote this: for the Six Articles were not publiſhed ſoon after the Injunctions, as he makes it, by the ſame Parliament and Convocation, but three years after, by another Parliament: They were never put in a Book, nor publiſhed in the King's Name; they were Enacted in Parliament, and are neither more nor leſs than 25

lines

lines in the firſt Impreſſion of that; Act ſo far ſhort come they of a Book.

Page 119. 92. He reckons up very defectively the differences between the Church of *Rome*, and the Doctrine ſet forth by the King's Authority: but in one point he ſhews his ordinary wit; for in the ſixth particular, he ſays, "He retained the Sacrament of Order, but appointed a new Form of "Conſecrating of Biſhops.

This he put in out of malice, that he might annul the Ordinations of that time: but the thing is falſe, for except that the Biſhops, inſtead of their Oaths of Obedience to the Pope, which they formerly ſwore, did now ſwear to the King, there was no other change made; and that to be ſure, is no part of the Form of Conſecration.

Page 120. 93. He reſolved once to ſpeak what he thought was Truth, tho it be treaſonable and impious: and ſays, "Upon theſe changes many in *Lin-* "*colnſhire*, and the Northern parts, did riſe for Religion, and *the Faith* "*of Chriſt.*

This was indeed the motive by which their Seditious Prieſts miſled them; yet he is miſtaken in the time, for it was not after the ſix Articles were publiſhed, but almoſt three years before it. Nor was it for the Faith of Chriſt, which teaches us to be humble, ſubject, and obedient; but becauſe the King was removing ſome of the corruptions of that Faith, which their falſe Teachers did impiouſly call the Faith of Chriſt.

Ibid. 94. He ſays; "The King did promiſe moſt faithfully that all theſe "things of which they complained, ſhould be amended.

This is ſo evidently falſe, that it is plain *Sanders* reſolved dextrouſly to avoid the ſpeaking of any ſort of Truth: for the King did fully and formally tell them, he would not be directed nor counſelled by them in theſe Points they complained of, and did only offer them an Amneſty for what was paſt.

Page 121. 95. "Then he reckons up 32 that died for the defence of the "*Faith.*

They were attainted of Treaſon, for being in actual Rebellion againſt the King: and thus it appears that Rebellion was the *Faith* in his ſenſe; and himſelf died for it, or rather in it, having been ſtarved to death in a Wood, to which he fled after one of his rebellious Attempts on his Soveraign, in which he was the Pope's *Nuncio.*

Page 122. 96. He ſays; "The King killed the Earl of *Kildare*, and five of his "Uncles.

By this ſtrange way of expreſſing a legal Attainder, and the execution of a Sentence for manifeſt Treaſon and Rebellion, he would inſinuate on the Reader, a fancy, that one of *Bonner*'s cruel fits had taken the King, and that he had killed thoſe with his own hand. The Lord *Herbert* has fully opened that part of the Hiſtory, from the Records that he ſaw; and ſhews that a more reſolved Rebellion could not be, than that was, of which the Earl of *Kildare* and his Uncles were guilty.

But becauſe they ſent to the Pope and Emperor for aſſiſtance, the Earl deſiring to hold the Kingdom of *Ireland* of the Pope, ſince the King by his Hereſie had fallen from his Right to it, *Sanders* muſt needs have a great kindneſs for their memory, who thus ſuffered for his *Faith.*

97. He ſays; "Queen *Jane Seimour* being in hard labour of Prince "*Edward*, the King ordered her Body to be ſo opened by Surgeons, "that ſhe died ſoon after. *Ibid.*

All this is falſe, for ſhe had a good Delivery, as many Original Letters written by her Council (that have been ſince printed) do ſhew, but ſhe died two days after of a diſtemper incident to her Sex.

98. He ſets down ſome Paſſages of Cardinal *Pole's* Heroical Conſtancy; which being proved by no Evidence, and not being told by any other Writer (whom I ever ſaw) are to be lookt on as the flouriſhes of the Poet to ſet off his *Hero.* *Page* 124.

99. He would perſwade the World, that the Marqueſs of *Exceter*, the Lord *Montacute*, and the reſt that ſuffered at that time, died, becauſe they were believed to diſlike the King's wicked Proceedings; and that the Counteſs of *Sarum* was beheaded on this ſingle account, that ſhe was the Mother of ſuch a Son, and was ſincerely addicted to the Catholick Faith; and that ſhe was condemned becauſe ſhe wrote to her Son, and for wearing in her Breaſt, the Picture of the five Wounds of Chriſt. *Page* 125.

The Marqueſs of *Exceter* pretended he was well ſatisfied with the King's Proceedings, and was Lord *Stewart* when the Lords *Darcy* and *Huſſie* were tried, and he gave judgment againſt them. But it being diſcovered that he and other Perſons approved of Cardinal *Pole's* proceedings, who endeavoured to engage all Chriſtian Princes in a League againſt the King, purſuant to which they had expreſſed themſelves, on ſeveral occaſions, reſolved, when a fit opportunity offered it ſelf, to rebel; it was no wonder if the King proceeded againſt them according to Law. And for the Counteſs of *Sarum*, tho the legality of that Sentence paſſed againſt her cannot be defended, yet ſhe had given great offence; not only by her correſpondence with her Son, but by the Bulls ſhe had received from *Rome*, and by her oppoſing the King's Injunctions, hindring all her Tenants to read the New Teſtament, or any other Books ſet out by the King's order. And for the Picture, which was found among her Cloaths, it having been the Standard of the Rebellion, and the Arms of *England* being found on the other ſide of it, there was juſt ground to ſuſpect an ill deſign in it.

100. He ſays; "The Images which the King deſtroyed, were by "many wonderful Works of God, recommended to the Devotion of "the Nation. *Page* 129.

All the wonder in theſe Works, was the knavery of ſome jugling Impoſtors, and the ſimplicity of a credulous multitude, of which ſee *page* 224. which being ſo openly diſcovered, nothing that had ſhame in it, could ſpeak of them as our Author does.

101. He

Page 131. 101. He ſays; "Six and twenty Carts drawn with Oxen, were "loaded with the Riches taken from *Thomas Becket*'s Shrine; whom he "makes a moſt glorious Martyr, that died for the defence of *the Faith*, "and was honoured by many Miracles after his death.

Other Writers have ſufficiently ſhewed what a perfidious, ingrateful, and turbulent Prieſt he was. All theſe were Vertues in our Author's Opinion, and Ingredients in his Faith. But he has in this accompt of the Riches of that Shrine gone beyond himſelf, having by a figure of ſpeech very familiar to him, (called Lying) increaſed two Cheſts (ſee *page* 224.) to 26 Cart Loads.

Page 132. 102. He ſays; "The Sentence which P. *Paul* gave out againſt the "King, was affixed in ſome Towns, both in *France*, *Flanders*, and "*Scotland*: from which he infers, that both the *Emperor*, the *French*, "and the *Scotch* King, did conſent to that Sentence.

In this he deſigned an eminent piece of ſervice to the Apoſtolick See, to leave on Record an Evidence that three Sovereign Princes had acknowledged the Pope's Power of depoſing Kings. But he did ill to name the proofs of his Aſſertion, and had done better to have ſaid ſimply that it was ſo, than to have founded it on ſo ill grounds: as if the affixing Papal Bulls in a place, were an evidence that the Princes, in whoſe Dominions it was done, conſented to it. He might with the ſame reaſon have concluded, that Q. *Elizabeth* conſented to the Sentence againſt her ſelf; which it is very like will not be eaſily believed, tho the Bull was affixed in *London*. But all thoſe very Princes whom he names, continuing to keep up their correſpondence with the King, as well after as before this Sentence, is a much clearer demonſtration that they deſpiſed the Pope's Sentence.

Page 134. 103. He ſays; "The King by his own Authority, threw all the "Begging Orders out of their Houſes.

The falſhood of this has appeared already, for they reſigned their Houſes to the King: and of theſe Reſignations, tho many were deſtroyed, yet near an hundred are ſtill extant.

Ibid. 104. He ſays; "The Parliament, in the year 1539, gave the King "all the great Monaſteries.

The Parliament paſſed no ſuch Act; all that they did, was only to confirm the Grants made, or to be made by theſe Houſes to the King. It was their Surrenders that cloathed the King with the Right to them. All the Tragical Stories he tells us that followed upon this, are founded on a falſe Foundation.

Page 135. 105. He ſets down a Form of a Reſignation, which he ſays, "All "the Abbots, and many Religious Perſons, were made to Sign and ſet "their Seals to it.

Among all the Reſignations which are yet extant, there is not one in this Form, for which ſee *page* 238.

106. He

106. He ſays; "The King's Commiſſioners, who went about getting "Hands to that Form, made them believe, in every Houſe, that all the "reſt had ſigned it; and ſo by that, and other perſuaſions, prevailed "with many to ſet their Hands to it. *Page* 136.

If all the Subſcriptions had been procured about the ſame time, ſuch Arts might be ſuſpected: but in a thing that was three years a-doing, theſe tricks could not have ſerved their turn.

107. He ſays; "They told the Monks, that tho the King might, by "virtue of the Act of Parliament, ſeize on their Houſes and Rents, yet "he deſired rather to do it with their good-will. *Ibid.*

In this there are two Errors; Firſt, Moſt of theſe Houſes were reſigned to the King before the Act of Parliament, ſee *page* 235. and next, the Act of Parliament only confirmed their Deeds, but did not give their Houſes to the King.

108. He ſays; "The Abbots of *Glaſſenbury*, *Colcheſter*, and *Reading*, "ſuffered Martyrdom, becauſe they refuſed to ſet their hands to that "Writing. *Page* 137.

There was no ſuch Writing ever offered to them; nor was there any Law to force them to reſign: ſo they could not ſuffer on that account, but they were Martyrs for *Sander's Faith*, for they were attainted by a legal Trial of High Treaſon.

109. "He tells a long Story of *Whitting* Abbot of *Glaſſenbury's* being "brought up to *London*, to be prevailed with to ſet his hand to the Sur- "render. Which he ſtill refuſing to do was ſent back; and tho a "Book againſt the King's Divorce was found among his Papers, which "was laid there by thoſe who ſearched for it; yet that was paſt over in "a chiding: but as he went home, hearing there was a meeting of the "County at *Wells*, he went thither; and as he was going up to his place "on the Bench, he was called to the Bar to anſwer ſome things that were "to be objected to him: He was amazed at it, and asked what the mat- "ter was? but one told him, he needed fear nothing; for ſome-what "was only to be done for form, to terrify others: Upon which he was "condemned and ſent away to his Abbey, little thinking he was ſo near "his end; but when he came near it, a Prieſt was ſent to him to take "his Confeſſion, for they told him he muſt die immediately; he beg'd "a day or two's reſpite, but in vain: ſo they hanged him up in his Ha- "bit, on the top of the Hill near his Abbey, and quartered him; and "all this was done in one day. *Page* 138.

This Book came out in Forreign Parts, and was printed at *Rome*, in the Reign of *Sixtus* the Fifth, who took great pleaſure in ſuch Executions, as he deſcribes this to have been, which may fall oft out, where the lives of the Subjects are wholly at the Prince's Mercy: But to tell ſuch tales of *England*, which is ſo famed over the World for the ſafety and ſecurity the Subjects enjoy, and for the regular and legal proceedings in all Trials, eſpecially of Life and Death, was a great Error in the Poet; for the *decorum* of the Laws and Cuſtoms of a place muſt be obſerved, when any Nation is made the Scene of a Fable. But as no-

thing like this can be done by the Law of *England*, ſo there was nothing of it in this Caſe: The Jury that ſate on him, were Men of great credit in the Country, when he died: he acknowledged his Offences; and with appearance of repentance, begged God's Pardon, and the King's: ſee *page* 239.

Page 145. 110. After many bitter Invectives againſt *Cromwel*, for which I could never ſee good evidence, tho I cannot diſprove them by any convincing Arguments; he ſays, "That he adviſed the King to make a Law, that "Perſons might be Convented and Condemned in abſence, and without being heard: and that this Law firſt of all fell upon himſelf.

There was no ſuch Law ever made, only the Parliament by their Supream Authority, did Attaint ſome in that manner, but no other Court might do it. Nor was this firſt applied to *Cromwel*, for an year before his Attainder, the Counteſs of *Sarum*, with a great many more, were ſo attainted, tho ſhe did not Suffer till a year after him.

Ibid. 111. He tells many Reaſons why the King had a mind to put away *Ann* of *Cleve*: But in this, as in other things, he betrays a profound ignorance of that time; for every Body knew, that the King, from the firſt time he ſaw her, diſliked her, and that he never conſummated the Marriage.

This is a Subject not fit to be long dwelt on: but if any will compare the account I give of this Matter from the Records, with *Sander's* Tale, they will ſee that he wrote at random, and did not ſo much as know publick Tranſactions.

Page 146. 112. He ſays; "The King had promiſed to the Emperor, That he "would no longer continue in the *Smalcaldick* League; but *Cromwel* "counterfeited the King's Hand, to a new confirmation of it; which "coming to the Emperor's knowledg, he challenged the King of it: "and ſent him over a Copy of it; upon which the King diſowned it, "and caſt it on *Cromwel*; and that this was the cauſe of his fall.

This I believe is one of *Sander's* dreams: there is not one word of it in *Cromwel's* Attainder; nor do I find the leaſt ſhadow of this in ſome Original Letters which he wrote to the King for his Pardon, in which he anſwers many of the things laid to his Charge. Nor is it likely he would adventure on ſo bold a thing, with ſuch a King, nor could the Emperor have that Writing in his power, as long as the King lived: for it is not to be imagined how he could come by it, till he had taken the Duke of *Saxony* Priſoner, which was after this King's death.

Page 148. 113. He ſays; "When *Cromwel* was put to death, the King proceeded "to the Divorce of *Ann* of *Cleve*.

The Divorce was judged by the Convocation eight days before *Cromwel's* death, and confirmed in Parliament, which was diſſolved before he ſuffered.

Ibid. 114. He ſays; "The King ſent to her, to tell her, he had a mind to "be ſeparated from her; and tho he could proceed more ſeverely "againſt

"againſt her, ſince he knew ſhe was an Heretick; yet for her Families "ſake, he left it to her ſelf to deviſe any reaſon for their Divorce: "upon which ſhe came next day to the Senate, (which may be either "the King's Council, or the Parliament) and confeſſed ſhe had been "married to another before ſhe was married to the King; and there-"upon by the Authority of Parliament, he was divorced, and within "eight days married *Katharine Howard.*

There are but ſix groſs Errors in this Period. 1. The King ſent not any meſſage to her, nor came there any anſwer from her till the Sentence of Divorce was quite paſſed. 2. In the Original Letter which thoſe he ſent to her, wrote to him from *Richmond*, it appears that they uſed no threatnings to her, but barely told her what was done; to which ſhe acquieſced. 3. She never came from *Richmond* in all that Proceſs, and ſo made no ſuch declaration in the Senate. 4. She did not ſay that ſhe was married to another, but only that ſhe had been contracted to the Prince of *Lorrain* when ſhe was under Age. 5. The Parliament did not diſſolve the Marriage, but only confirmed the Sentence of the Convocation. 6. The King did not marry *Katharine Howard* before the 8*th* of *Auguſt*, and the Divorce was judged the 10*th* of *July*, a month wanting two days.

115. He ſays; "The King had conſummated the Marriage for ſeven "months together. *Page* 149.

There were but ſix months between his Marriage and the Divorce; and in all that while, as they bedded but ſeldom, ſo there were very clear Evidences brought, that it was not conſummated.

116. He ſays; "The King ſent the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, and Sir *Hen-*"*ry Knevet* to the Diet of the Empire; who were ordered to propoſe "to the Emperor, That the King might be again reconciled to the See "of *Rome*; to which, he adds, his Conſcience did drive him: but ſince "the King would not confeſs his paſt Crimes, nor do penance for them, "nor reſtore the Goods of the Church, it came to nothing. *Page* 151.

This is another Ornament of the Fable, to ſhew the Poet's wit; but is as void of Truth as any paſſage in *Plautus* or *Terence* is. For the King was all his life ſo intractable in that Point, that the Popiſh Party had no other way to maintain their Intereſt with him, but to comply, not without affectation in that Matter: and when an Information was given againſt *Gardiner*, for his holding ſome correſpondence with the Pope's Legate at the Diet, he got the Man who had innocently diſcovered it, to be put in Priſon; and ſaid, it was a Plot againſt him to ruin him, which he needed not be ſo ſollicitous about, if his Inſtructions from the King had allowed him to enter on ſuch a Treaty.

117. He runs out in a long digreſſion, upon the King's aſſuming the Title of King of *Ireland*; to ſhew that the Kings of *England* only hold *Ireland* by the Pope's Donation. *Page* 153.

In this *Sanders* ſhews his Art, he being to carry the Standard of Rebellion in that Kingdom, to blaſt the King's Right to it. He acknowledges the Crown of *England* had the Dominion of *Ireland*, with the Title of *Lord of Ireland*, about 400 years: And certainly if ſo long a poſſeſſion

does not give a good Title, and a preſcription againſt all other Pretenders, moſt of the Royal Families in Chriſtendom will be to ſeek for their Rights. But he ſays, It was given by the Pope to King *Henry* the Second; and yet he confeſſes that he had conquered ſome parts of it before that Grant was ſent him by *Hadrian* the Fourth. Certainly King *Henry* the Second had as good a right to take it, as Pope *Hadrian* had to give it: nor was the King's accepting the Pope's Donation, any prejudice to his Title, for things extorted or allowed upon a publick Error, can have no force, when that is openly diſcovered. If then the Superſtition of thoſe Ages, made, that the Pope's Donation was a great help to any Pretender, it was no wonder that Kings made uſe of it; but it were a wonder indeed if they ſhould acknowledg it, after the Trick is known and ſeen by all.

Page 162. 118. After this, and a Satyr againſt Queen *Elizabeth* for aſſuming the Title, *Defender of the Faith*, and a long enumeration of the exactions in the laſt years of this Reign; in which, tho there is Matter enough for ſevere complaints, yet many of the Particulars he mentions are without any proof, and muſt reſt on the Author's credit; which by this time, the Reader will acknowledg is not very great. Another long diſcourſe of ſome length follows, of the misfortunes of the Duke of *Norfolk*, and of all that ſerved the King in his Divorce, and in the following Actions of his Life: from which he infers, that theſe were effects of a Curſe from Heaven upon all that he did, and on all thoſe that aſſiſted him: But as the Inference is bad, ſo he forgot to mention thoſe Noble Families that were raiſed in his time, and have continued ſince in great honour; as the *Seimours*, from whom the Dukes of *Somerſet* are deſcended; the *Paulets*, from whom the Marqueſs of *Wincheſter* derives; the *Ruſſels*, *Wriothſlies*, *Herberts*, *Riches*, and *Cromwells*, from whom the Earls of *Bedford*, *Southampton*, *Pembroke*, *Eſſex*, and *Ardglaſs* have deſcended; and the *Browns*, the *Petres*, the *Pagets*, the *Norths*, and the *Mountagues*, from whom the Vice-Count *Mountague*, the Barons *Petre*, *Paget*, *North*, and *Mountague*, are deſcended. Theſe Families have now flouriſhed in great Wealth and Honour an Age and a half; and only one of them has, and that but very lately, determined in the Male Line: but the Illuſtrious Female Branches of it are intermixed with other Noble Families. So that the Obſervation is falſe, and the Inference is weak.

Page 164. 119. He ſays; "When the King found his ſtrength declining, he had "again ſome thoughts of reconciling himſelf to the Church of *Rome*; "which when it was propoſed to one of the Biſhops, he made a flat- "tering anſwer. But *Gardiner* moved that a Parliament might be cal- "led for doing it: and that the King, for the quiet of his own Conſci- "ence, would vow to do it; of which God would accept in that extremi- "ty, when more was not poſſible to be done. But ſome of his Cour- "tiers coming about him, who were very apprehenſive of ſuch a Re- "conciliation, leſt they ſhould have been made reſtore the Goods of "the Church, diverted the King from it: And from this our Author "infers, that what the King had done was againſt his Conſcience, and "that ſo he ſinned the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt.

I ſhall not examine this Theological definition of the Sin againſt the Holy Ghoſt, for my quarrel is not at preſent with his Divinity, but with his Hiſtory; tho it were eaſy to ſhew that he is alike at both. But for this ſtory, it is a pure dream; for not only there is no evidence for it, nor did *Gardiner* in the Reign of Queen *Mary* ever own any ſuch thing, tho it had been then much for the credit of their Cauſe, eſpecially he being often upbraided with his compliances to this King, for which the mention of his repentance had furniſhed him with a good anſwer: But as the Tale is told, the Fiction appears too plainly, for a Parliament was actually ſitting during the King's ſickneſs, which was diſſolved by his Death, and no ſuch Propoſition was made in it. The King on the contrary deſtroyed the chief hopes of the Popiſh Party, which were founded on the Duke of *Norfolk*'s greatneſs, by the Attainder which was paſſed a day before he died. And yet *Sanders* makes this diſcourſe to have been between the King and *Gardiner* after his fall, and his Sons death; between which, and the King's Death, there were only nine days: but beſides all this, *Gardiner* had loſt the King's favour a conſiderable time before his death.

120. He ſays; "The King, that he might not ſeem never to have *Page* 166.
"done any good Work in his whole life, as he was dying, founded
"*Chriſt's Church Hoſpital in London*; which was all the reſtitution he
"ever made for the Monaſteries and Churches he had robbed and ſpoi-
"led.

If it had not already appeared, in many Inſtances, that our Author had as little ſhame as honeſty, here is a ſufficient proof of it. I will not undertake to juſtify the King, as if he had done what he ought to have done, in his new Foundations: But it is the height of impudence to deny things that all *England* knows. He founded ſix Biſhopricks; he endowed Deans and Prebendaries, with all the other Offices belonging to a Cathedral, in fourteen ſeveral Sees, *Canterbury*, *Wincheſter*, *Dureſme*, *Ely*, *Norwich*, *Rocheſter*, *Worceſter*, and *Carliſle*; together with *Weſtminſter*, *Cheſter*, *Oxford*, *Gloceſter*, *Peterborough*, and *Briſtol*, where he endowed Biſhopricks likewiſe. He founded many Grammar-Schools, as *Burton*, *Canterbury*, *Coventry*, *Worceſter*, &c. He founded and endowed *Trinity Colledg* in *Cambridg*, which is one of the nobleſt Foundations in Chriſtendom. He alſo founded Profeſſors in both Univerſities, for *Greek*, *Hebrew*, *Law*, *Phyſick*, and *Divinity*. What cenſure then deſerves our Author, for ſaying, that the Hoſpital of *Chriſt's-Church*, was all the reſtitution he ever made of the Church-Lands.

121. He gives a Character of the King, which ſutes very well with his *Ibid.*
Hiſtory, his malice in it being extravagantly ridiculous. Among other things, he ſays, "The King promoted always learned Biſhops,
"*Cranmer* only being excepted, whom he advanced to ſerve his Luſts.

Cranmer was a Man of greater Learning, than any that ever ſate in that See before him, as appears in every thing that he writ: *Tonſtal* was a learned Man, and *Gardiner* was much eſteemed for Learning; yet if any will compare *Cranmer*'s Books of the Sacrament, with thoſe the other two writ on the ſame Subject; there is ſo great a difference between

tween the learning and ſolidity of the one and the other, that no Man of common ingenuity can read them but he muſt confeſs it.

Page 170. 122. He ſays; "When the King found himſelf expiring, he called "for a Boul of White Wine, and ſaid to one that was near him, *We "have loſt all:* and was often heard repeating *Monks, Monks*, and ſo "he died.

This was to make the Fable end as it had gone on, and it is forged without any authority or appearance of truth. The manner of his death was already told, ſo it needs not be repeated.

Page 172. 123. He ſays; "The King by his Will appointed the Crown to go "to his righteous Heirs after his three Children, and commanded his "Son to be bred a true Catholick: but his Will was changed, and ano-"ther was forged, by which the Line of *Scotland* was excluded, and "they bred his Son an Heretick.

There was no ſuch Will ever heard of; and in all the Debates that were managed in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign about the Succeſſion, thoſe that pleaded for the *Scotiſh* Line, never alleadged this; which had it been true, did put an end to the whole Controverſie. It was indeed ſaid, that the Will which was given out as the King's Will, was not ſigned by his Hand, nor ſealed by his Order, but it was never pretended that there was any other Will: ſo this is one of our Author's Forgeries.

The Concluſion.

THus I have traced him in this Hiſtory, and hope I have ſaid much more than was neceſſary to prove him a Writer of no credit, and that his Book ought to have no Authority; ſince he was not only a ſtranger to the Publick Tranſactions, Printed Statutes, and the other Authentick Regiſters of that time, but was a bold and impudent Aſſerter of the groſſeſt and moſt malicious Lies, that ever were contrived. I have not examined all the Errors of his Chronology, for there is ſcarce any thing told in its right order, and due place; nor have I inſiſted on all the paſſages he tells, without any proof, or appearance of truth; for as I could only deny theſe without any other evidence but what was negative, ſo there are ſo many of them, that I muſt have tranſcribed the greateſt part of his Book, if I had conſidered them all. I have therefore only ſingled out theſe Paſſages, which I had in the former Hiſtory demonſtrated to be falſe: and theſe are both ſo many and ſo important, that I am ſure, enough is ſaid to deſtroy the credit of that Author, and of his Book, which has too long deceived the the World. And what is performed in this firſt part, will I hope diſpoſſeſs the Reader of any ill Impreſſions the following parts of that Work have made on him, concerning the ſucceeding Reigns, of which an account ſhall be given, as ſoon as it poſſibly can be made ready.

I

I ſhall eſteem my time to have been well imployed, and my pains rightly placed, if my endeavours have ſo good an effect, as to take off the unjuſt Prejudices which ſome may have conceived at the changes that were then made in Religion; or at the beginnings of them, which being repreſented by this Author, and upon his teſtimony by many other Writers, in ſuch odious Characters to the World, are generally ſo ill looked on.

The Work it ſelf was ſo good, done upon ſo much reaſon, managed with ſuch care, directed by ſuch wiſdom, and tempered with ſo great moderation, that thoſe who intended to blaſt it, did very wiſely to load it with ſome ſuch Prejudices: for if without theſe, the thing it ſelf be examined by Men of a candid temper and ſolid judgment, the Oppoſers of it know well where the Truth lies; and on whoſe ſide, both the Scriptures, and the beſt Ages of the Primitive Church have declared. But it was not fit to put a Queſtion of ſuch importance, on ſo doubtful and ſo dangerous an iſſue: therefore it was well conſidered by them, that ſome popular and eaſily underſtood Calumnies, to diſgrace the beginnings of it, and the Perſons that were moſt imployed in it, were to be faſtned on them: and if theſe could be once generally received, then Men might be alienated from it by a ſhorter way, than could be done by the dull and unſucceſsful methods of Reaſon. Therefore as the Cauſe of our Church hath been often vindicated, by the learned Books that have been publiſhed in it; and never with more ſucceſs, and a clearer victory, than of late, in the elaborate Writings (which are never to be mentioned but with honour) of the renowned Dr. *Stillingfleet*; ſo I judged it might not be an unuſeful and unacceptable Work (which tho it be of a lower form, and ſo moſt ſuitable to my genius, yet will be of general uſe) to employ the leiſure I enjoy, and the ſmall Talent committed to me, in examining and opening the Tranſactions of thoſe Times: And if theſe who read it, are diſpoſſeſſed of their prejudices, and inclined to conſider things as they are now ſet before them, in a truer light, I have gained my end in it.

The Truths of Religion need no ſupport from the Father of Lyes. A Religion made up of Falſhoods and Impoſtures, muſt be maintained by means ſuitable to it ſelf: So *Sanders*'s Book might well ſerve the ends of that Church, which has all along raiſed its greatneſs by publick Cheats and Forgeries; ſuch as the Donation of *Conſtantine*, and the Book of the *Decretals*; Beſides the vaſt number of Miracles and Viſions that were for many Ages made uſe of by them; of which even the moſt diſingenuous of their own Writers begin to be now aſhamed. But the Reformation of Religion was a Work of Light, and needs none of the Arts of Darkneſs to juſtify it by. A full and diſtinct Narrative of what was then done, will be its Apology, as well as its Hiſtory. There is no need of Artifice, but only of Induſtry, and ſincerity to gather together all the remains of that Time, and put them in good order.

I am now beginning to look towards the next, and indeed the beſt part of this Work: Where in the firſt Reign, we ſhall obſerve the active endeavours

endeavours of thoſe Reſtorers of Religion. The next Reign affords a ſadder proſpect of that Work laid in Ruins, and the Authors of it in Aſhes; but the Fires that conſumed them, did rather ſpread than extinguiſh that Light which they had kindled. And what is fabled of the *Phœnix*, will be found true of our Church, That ſhe roſe new out of theſe Aſhes, into which ſhe ſeemed conſumed.

Towards the perfecting this Hiſtory, I hope all that love the Subject of it, will contribute their Endeavours, and furniſh every thing that is in their power, which may make it fuller or clearer: So I end with that deſire which I made in the Preface, that any who have in their hands any Papers relating to theſe times, will be pleaſed to communicate them; and what-ever aſſiſtance they give to it, ſhall be moſt thankfully owned and acknowledged.

The end of the Appendix.

ADDENDA.

Numb. I. *ARTICLES about Religion, ſet out by the Convocation, and publiſhed by the Kings Authority.*

AN ORIGINAL.

HENRY the Eight, by the Grace of God, King of *England*, and of *France*, Defender of the Faith, and Lord of *Ireland*, and in Earth Supream Head of the Church of *England*, to all and ſingular our moſt loving, faithful and obedient Subjects, greeting. Amongſt other cures committed unto this our Princely Office, whereunto it hath pleaſed God of his infinite mercy and goodneſs to call us, we have always eſteemed and thought (as we alſo yet eſteem and think) this to be moſt chief, moſt ponderous, and of moſt weight, that his Holy Word and Commandments may ſincerely without let or hinderance, be of our Subjects truly believed and reverently kept and obſerved; and that unity and concord in opinions, namely in ſuch things as does concern our Religion, may encreaſe and go furthward, and all occaſion of diſſent and diſcord touching the ſame be repreſſed, and utterly extinguiſhed; for the which cauſe we being of late to our great regret credibly advertiſed of ſuch diverſity in opinions, as have grown and ſprongen in this our Realm, as well concerning certain Articles neceſſary to our Salvation, as alſo touching certain honeſt and commendable Ceremonies, rites, and uſages in our ſaid Church, for an honeſt policy, and decent order heretofore of long time uſed and accuſtomed; minding to have that unity and agreement eſtabliſhed through our ſaid Church concerning the premiſſes; and being very deſirous to eſchew not only the dangers of Souls, but alſo the outward inquietneſs which by occaſion of the ſaid diverſity in opinions (if remedy had not been provided) might perchance have enſued; have not only in our own perſon in any times taken great pain, ſtudy, labour and travails, but alſo have cauſed our Biſhops and other the moſt diſcreet and beſt learned men of our Clergy of this our whole Realm to be aſſembled in our Convocation, for the full debatement and quiet determination of the ſame: where after long and mature deliberation and diſputations, had of and upon the premiſſes, finally they have concluded and agreed upon the ſaid matters, as well thoſe which be commanded of God, and are neceſſary to our Salvation, as alſo the other touching the honeſt ceremonies, and good and politick order, as is aforeſaid; which their determination, debatement, and agreement, forasmuch as we think to have proceeded of a good, right and true judgment, and to be agreeable to the Laws and Ordinances of God, and

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

much profitable for the eſtabliſhment of that charitable concord and unity in our Church of *England*, which we moſt deſire, we have cauſed the ſame to be publiſhed, willing, requiring and commanding you to accept, repute, and take them accordingly; moſt heartily deſiring and praying Almighty God, that it may pleaſe him ſo to illumin your hearts that you, and every of you, may have no leſs deſire, zeal, and love to the ſaid unity and concord, in reading, divulging, and following the ſame, than we have had and have, cauſing them to be thus deviſed, ſet forth and publiſhed. And for becauſe we would the ſaid Articles, and every of them, to be taken and underſtanden of you after ſuch ſort, order, and degree as appertaineth accordingly; We have cauſed by the like aſſent and agreement of our ſaid Biſhops and other Learned men, the ſaid Articles to be divided into two ſorts, that is to ſay, ſuch as are commanded expreſly by God, and are neceſſary to our Salvation, and ſuch other, as although they be not expreſly commanded of God, nor neceſſary to our Salvation; yet being of a long continuance for a decent order and honeſt policy, prudently inſtituted, are for that ſame purpoſe and end to be obſerved in like manner; which ye following, after ſuch ſort as we have preſcribed unto you, ſhall not only attain that moſt charitable unity and loving concord, whereof ſhall enſue your incomparable commodity, profit and lucre, as well ſpiritual as other; but alſo ye conforming your ſelves, and uſing theſe our ſaid Articles as is aforeſaid, ſhall not a little encourage us to take further travel, pains, and labours for your commodities in all ſuch other matters, as in time to come may happen to occur, and as it ſhall be moſt to the honour of God and ours, the profit, tranquillity, and quietneſs of all you our moſt loving Subjects.

The Articles of our Faith.

Firſt, as touching the chief and principal Articles of our Faith, ſith it is thus agreed as hereafter followeth by the whole Clergy of this our Realm, we will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people by us committed to their ſpiritual Charge, that they ought and muſt moſt conſtantly believe and defend all thoſe things to be true, which be comprehended in the whole body and Canon of the Bible, and alſo in the three Creeds or Symbols, whereof one was made by the Apoſtles, and is the common Creed which every man uſeth, the ſecond was made in the Holy Council of *Nice*, and is ſaid daily in the Maſs, and the third was made by *Athanaſius*, and is comprehended in the Pſalm *Quicunque vult*; and that they ought and muſt take and interpret all the ſame things according to the ſelfe-ſame ſentence and interpretation, which the words of the ſelfe-ſame Creeds or Symboles do purport, and the Holy approved Doctors of the Church do intreat and defend the ſame.

Item, that they ought and muſt repute, hold and take all the ſame things for the moſt Holy, moſt ſure and moſt certain and infallible words of God, and ſuch as neither ought ne can be altered or convelled by any contrary opinion or Authority.

Item,

Item, that they ought and muſt believe, repute and take all the Articles of our Faith contained in the ſaid Creeds to be ſo neceſſary to be believed for mans Salvation, that whoſoever being taught will not believe them as is aforeſaid, or will obſtinately affirm the contrary of them, he or they cannot be the very members of Chriſt and his Spouſe the Church, but be very Infidels or Hereticks, and members of the Devil, with whom they ſhall perpetually be Damned.

Item, that they ought and muſt moſt reverently and religiouſly obſerve and keep the ſelfe-ſame words, according to the very ſame form and manner of ſpeaking, as the Articles of our Faith be already conceived and expreſſed in the ſaid Creeds, without altering in any wiſe or varying from the ſame.

Item, that they ought and muſt utterly refuſe and condemn all theſe opinions contrary to the ſaid Articles, which were of long time paſt condemned in the four Holy Councils, that is to ſay, in the Council of *Nice*, *Conſtantinople*, *Epheſus*, and *Chalcidonenſe*, and all other ſith that time in any point conſonant to the ſame.

The Sacrament of Baptiſm.

Secondly, as touching the Holy Sacrament of Baptiſm, we will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their Spiritual Charge, that they ought and muſt of neceſſity believe certainly all thoſe things, which hath been always by the whole conſent of the Church approved, received and uſed in the Sacrament of Baptiſm; that is to ſay, that the Sacrament of Baptiſm was inſtituted and ordained in the New Teſtament by our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, as a thing neceſſary for the attaining of everlaſting life, according to the ſaying of Chriſt, *Niſi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua & Spiritu Sancto, non poteſt intrare in Regnum cælorum.*

Item, that it is offered unto all men, as well Infants as ſuch as have the uſe of Reaſon, that by Baptiſm they ſhall have remiſſion of ſins and the grace and favour of God, according to the ſaying of St. *John*, *Qui crediderit & Baptizatus fuerit Salvus erit.*

Item, that the promiſe of Grace and everlaſting life, which promiſe is adjoyned unto the Sacrament of Baptiſm, pertaineth not only unto ſuch as have the uſe of reaſon, but alſo to Infants, innocents and children; and they ought therefore and muſt needs be Baptiſed: and that by the Sacrament of Baptiſm they do alſo obtain remiſſion of their ſins, the grace and favour of God, and be made thereby the very ſons and children of God, inſomuch as Infants and Children dying in their Infancy ſhall undoubtedly be ſaved thereby, or elſe not.

Item, that Infants muſt needs be Chriſtened becauſe they be born in Original ſin, which ſin muſt needs be remitted; which cannot be done but by the Sacrament of Baptiſm, whereby they receive the Holy-Ghoſt

which exerciſeth his Grace and efficacy in them, and cleanſeth and purifieth them from ſin by his moſt ſecret vertue and operation.

Item, that Children or men once Baptized, can, ne ought ever to be Baptized again.

Item, that they ought to repute, and take all the Anabaptiſts and the Pelagians opinions contrary to the premiſſes, and every other mans opinion agreeable unto the ſaid Anabaptiſts or the Pelagians opinions in this behalfe, for deteſtable Hereſies, and utterly to be condemned.

Item, that men or children having the uſe of reaſon, and willing and deſiring to be Baptized, ſhall by the vertue of that holy Sacrament obtain the grace and remiſſion of all their ſins, if they ſhall come thereunto perfectly and truly repentant and contrite of all their ſins before committed, and alſo perfectly and conſtantly confeſſing and believing all the Articles of our faith, according as it was mentioned in the Article before, or elſe not.

And Finally, if they ſhall alſo have firm credence and truſt in the promiſe of God adjoyned to the ſaid Sacrament, that is to ſay, that in and by this ſaid Sacrament which they ſhall receive, God the Father giveth unto them for his Son Jeſus Chriſts ſake, remiſſion of all their ſins, and the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, whereby they be newly regenerated and made the very Children of God, according to the ſaying of Chriſt and his Apoſtle St. *Peter*, *Pœnitentiam agite & Baptizetur vnuſquiſque veſtrum in nomine Jeſu Chriſti in remiſſionem peccatorum, & accipietis donum Spiritus Sancti*, and according alſo to the ſaying of St. *Paul ad Titum* 3. *non ex operibus juſtitiæ quæ fecimus nos, ſed ſecundum ſuam miſericordiam, ſalvos nos fecit per lavacrum regenerationis & renovationis Spiritus Sancti, quem effudit in nos opulenter per Jeſum Chriſtum ſervatorem noſtrum, ut juſtificati illius gratia hæredes efficiamur juxta ſpem vitæ æternæ.*

The Sacrament of Penance.

Thirdly, Concerning the Sacrament of Pennance, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their Spiritual charge, that they ought and muſt moſt conſtantly believe, that that Sacrament was inſtituted of Chriſt in the New Teſtament as a thing ſo neceſſary for mans Salvation, that no man which after his Baptiſm is fallen again and hath committed deadly ſin, can without the ſame be ſaved or attain everlaſting Life.

Item, That like-as ſuch men which after Baptiſm do fall again into ſin, if they do not Pennance in this Life, ſhall undoubtedly be damned; even ſo whenſoever the ſame men ſhall convert themſelves from the ſaid naughty Life, and do ſuch Pennance for the ſame as Chriſt requireth of them, they ſhall without doubt attain remiſſion of their ſins and ſhall be ſaved.

Item, That this Sacrament of perfect Pennance which Chriſt requireth

eth of ſuch manner of perſons, conſiſteth of three parts, that is to ſay, Contrition, Confeſſion, with the amendment of the former Life, and a new obedient reconciliation unto the Laws and will of God, that is to ſay, exteriour Acts in works of Charity according as they be commanded of God, which be called in Scripture, *fructus digni Pœnitentia.*

Furthermore, as touching Contrition which is the firſt part, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their Spiritual charge, that the ſaid Contrition conſiſteth in two ſpecial parts, which muſt always be conjoined together and cannot be diſſevered; that is to ſay, the penitent and contrite man muſt firſt knowledg the filthineſs and abomination of his own ſin, whereunto he is brought by hearing and conſidering of the will of God declared in his Laws, and feeling and perceiving in his own conſcience that God is angry and diſpleaſed with him for the ſame; he muſt alſo conceive not only great ſorrow and inward ſhame that he hath ſo grievouſly offended God, but alſo great fear of Gods diſpleaſure towards him, conſidering he hath no works or merits of his own which he may worthily lay before God as ſufficient ſatisfaction for his ſins; which done then afterwards with this fear, ſhame and ſorrow muſt needs ſucceed and be conjoyned. The ſecond part, *viz.* a certain faith, truſt and confidence of the mercy and goodneſs of God, whereby the penitent muſt conceive certain hope and faith that God will forgive him his ſins, and repute him juſtified and of the number of his Elect children, not for the worthineſs of any merit or work done by the penitent, but for the only merits of the blood and paſſion of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.

Item, That this certain faith and hope is gotten and alſo confirmed, and made more ſtrong by the applying of Chriſts words and promiſes of his grace and favour contained in his Goſpel, and the Sacraments inſtituted by him in the new Teſtament; and therefore to attain this certain faith, the ſecond part of Pennance is neceſſary, that is to ſay, Confeſſion to a Prieſt if it may be had; for the Abſolution given by the Prieſt was inſtitute of Chriſt to apply the promiſes of Gods grace and favour to the Penitent.

Wherefore as touching Confeſſion, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us to their ſpiritual charge, that they ought and muſt certainly believe that the words of Abſolution pronounced by the Prieſt, be ſpoken by the Authority given to him by Chriſt in the Goſpel.

Item, That they ought and muſt give no leſs faith and credence to the ſame words of Abſolution ſo pronounced by the Miniſters of the Church, than they would give unto the very words and voyce of God himſelf if he ſhould ſpeak unto us out of Heaven, according to the ſaying of Chriſt, *Quorum remiſeritis peccata*, &c. *& qui vos audit me audit.*

Item, That in no ways they do contemn this Auricular Confeſſion which is made unto the Miniſters of the Church, but that they ought

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to repute the ſame a verry expedient and neceſſary mean, whereby they may require and ask this Abſolution at the Prieſts hands, at ſuch time as they ſhall find their conſciences grieved with mortal ſin, and have occaſion ſo to do, to the intent they may thereby attain certain comfort and conſolation of their conſciences.

As touching the third part of Penance, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us to their ſpiritual charge, that although Chriſt and his death be the ſufficient oblation, ſacrifice, ſatisfaction, and recompence, for the which God the Father forgiveth and remitteth to all ſinners not only their ſin, but alſo Eternal pain due for the ſame; yet all men truly penitent contrite and confeſſed, muſt needs alſo bring forth the fruits of Penance, that is to ſay, Prayer, Faſting, Almſdeeds, and muſt make Reſtitution or Satisfaction in will and deed to their neighbour, in ſuch things as they have done them wrong and injury in, and alſo muſt do all other good works of mercy and charity, and expreſs their obedient will in the executing and fulfilling of Gods Commandments outwardly, when time, power and occaſion ſhall be Miniſtred unto them, or elſe they ſhall never be ſaved; for this is the expreſs precept and commandment of God, *Agite fructus dignos pœnitentia*; and St. *Paul* ſaith, *Debitores ſumus*, and in another place he ſaith, *Caſtigo corpus meum & in ſervitutem redigo.*

Item, That theſe precepts and works of Charity be neceſſary works to our Salvation, and God neceſſarily requireth that every penitent man ſhall perform the ſame, whenſoever time, power, and occaſion ſhall be miniſtred unto him ſo to do.

Item, That by Penance and ſuch good works of the ſame, we ſhall not only obtain everlaſting life, but alſo we ſhall deſerve remiſſion or mitigation of theſe preſent pains and afflictions in this World, according to the ſaying of St. *Paul*, *Si nos ipſi judicaremus, non judicaremur a Domino*; & Zacharias, *Convertimini ad me & ego convertar ad vos*; & Eſajas 58. *frange eſurienti panem tuum*, &c. *tunc eris velut hortus irriguus. Hæc ſunt inculcanda eccleſiis & ut exercitentur ad bene operandum, & in his ipſis operibus exerceant & confirment fidem, petentes & expectantes a Deo mitigationem præſentium calamitatum.*

The Sacrament of the Altar.

FOurthly, as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, that they ought and muſt conſtantly believe that under the form and figure of bread and wine, which we there preſently do ſee and perceive by our outward ſenſes, is verily, ſubſtantially, and really contained and comprehended, the very ſelfe-ſame body and blood of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt which was born of the Virgin *Mary* and ſuffered upon the croſs for our Redemption, and that under the ſame form and figure of bread and wine, the very ſelfe-ſame body and blood of Chriſt is corporally, really, and in the very ſubſtance exhibited, diſtributed and received of all them which receive the

ſaid

ſaid Sacrament; and that therefore the ſaid Sacrament is to be uſed with all due reverence and honour, and that every man ought firſt to prove and examine himſelf, and religiouſly to try and ſearch his own Conſcience, before he ſhall receive the ſame according to the ſaying of St. *Paul*, *Quiſquis ederit panem hunc aut biberit de poculo domini indigne, reus erit corporis & ſanguinis domini; probet autem ſeipſum homo, & ſic de pane illo edat & de poculo illo bibat: nam qui edit aut bibit indigne, judicium ſibiipſi manducat & bibit, non dijudicans corpus domini.*

Juſtification.

FIfthly, As touching the order and cauſe of our Juſtification, we will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, that this word Juſtification ſignifieth remiſſion of our ſins, and our acceptation or reconciliation into the grace and favour of God, that is to ſay, our perfect renovation in Chriſt.

Item, That ſinners attain this Juſtification by Contrition and Faith joyned with Charity, after ſuch ſort and manner as we before mentioned and declared; not as though our Contrition, or Faith, or any works proceeding thereof can worthily merit or deſerve to attain the ſaid Juſtification; for the only mercy and grace of the Father, promiſed freely unto us for his Sons ſake Jeſus Chriſt, and the merits of his blood and his paſſion be the only ſufficient and worthy cauſes thereof; and yet that notwithſtanding to the attaining of the ſaid Juſtification, God requireth to be in us not only inward Contrition, perfect Faith, and Charity, certain hope and confidence, with all other ſpiritual graces and motions, which as we ſaid before muſt neceſſarily concur in remiſſion of our ſins, that is to ſay, our Juſtification: but alſo he requireth and commandeth us, that after we be juſtified we muſt alſo have good works of charity and obedience towards God, in the obſerving and fulfilling outwardly of his Laws and Commandments; for although acceptation to everlaſting life be conjoyned with Juſtification, yet our good works be neceſſarily required to the attaining of everlaſting Life, and we being juſtified be neceſſarily bound, and it is our neceſſary duty to do good works, according to the ſaying of St. *Paul*, *debitores ſumus non carni ut ſecundum carnem vivamus, nam ſi ſecundum carnem vixerimus moriemur, ſin autem ſpiritu facta corporis mortificaverimus, vivemus*; *etenim quicunque ſpiritu dei ducuntur hi ſunt filii dei*: and Chriſt ſaith, *ſi vis ad vitam ingredi ſerva mandata*: and St. *Paul* ſaith, *de malis operibus, qui talia agunt Regnum dei non poſſidebunt*, Wherefore we will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, and God neceſſarily requireth of us to do good works commanded by him, and that not only outward and civil works, but alſo the inward ſpiritual motions and graces of the Holy Ghoſt, that is to ſay, to dread and fear God, to love God, to have firm confidence and truſt in God, to invocate and call upon God, to have patience in all adverſities, to hate ſin, and to have certain purpoſe and will not to ſin again, and ſuch other like motions and vertues; for Chriſt ſaith, *Niſi abundaverit*

rit juſtitia veſtra pluſquam ſcribarum & Phariſæorum, non intrabitis in regnum cælorum, that is to ſay, we muſt not only do outward civil good works, but alſo we muſt have theſe foreſaid inward ſpiritual motions conſenting and agreeable to the Law of God.

Of Images.

AS touching Images, truth it is that the ſame have been uſed in the old Teſtament, and alſo for the greater abuſes of them ſometime deſtroyed and put down, and in the new Teſtament they have been alſo allowed, as good Authors do declare; wherefore we will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us to their ſpiritual charge, how they ought and may uſe them. And *Firſt*, that this may be attributed unto them that they be repreſenters of vertue and good example, and that they alſo be by occaſion the kindlers and firers of mens minds, and make men often remember and lament their ſins and offences, eſpecially the Images of Chriſt and our Lady; and that therefore it is meet that they ſhould ſtand in the Churches, and none otherwiſe to be eſteemed: And to the intent the rude people ſhould not from henceforth take ſuch ſuperſtition, as in time paſt it is thought that the ſame hath uſed to do, we will that our Biſhops and Preachers diligently ſhall teach them, and according to this Doctrine reform their abuſes; for elſe there might fortune Idolatry to enſue, which God forbid. And as for Cenſing of them, and kneeling and offering unto them, with other like worſhippings, although the ſame hath entred by devotion and fallen to cuſtome; yet the people ought to be diligently taught, that they in no ways do it, nor think it meet to be done to the ſame Images, but only to be done to God and in his honour, although it be done before the Images, whether it be of Chriſt, of the Croſs, or of our Lady, or of any other Saint beſides.

Of Honouring of Saints.

AS touching the honouring of Saints, we will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people, committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, that Saints now being with Chriſt in Heaven be to be honoured of Chriſtian people in Earth; but not with that confidence and honour which are only due unto God, truſting to attain at their hands that which muſt be had only of God, but that they be thus to be honoured, becauſe they be known the Elect perſons of Chriſt, becauſe they be paſſed in Godly Life out of this tranſitory World, becauſe they already do Reign in Glory with Chriſt; and moſt ſpecially to laude and praiſe Chriſt in them for their excellent vertues which he planted in them, for example, of and by them to ſuch as are yet in this World to live in vertue and goodneſs, and alſo not to fear to dye for Chriſt and his cauſe as ſome of them did; and finally to take them, in that they may, to be the advancers of our prayers and demands unto Chriſt. By theſe ways and ſuch like be Saints to be honoured and had in reverence, and by none other.

Of

Of Praying to Saints.

AS touching Praying to Saints, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, that albeit grace, remiſſion of ſin and Salvation, cannot be obtained but of God only by the mediation of our Saviour Chriſt, which is only ſufficient mediator for our ſins; yet it is very laudable to pray to Saints in Heaven everlaſtingly living, whoſe charity is ever permanent, to be interceſſors and to pray for us and with us unto Almighty God after this manner: All holy Angels and Saints in Heaven pray for us and with us unto the Father, that for his dear Son Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, we may have grace of him and remiſſion of our ſins, with an earneſt purpoſe, not wanting Ghoſtly ſtrength, to obſerve and keep his holy Commandments, and never to decline from the ſame again unto our lives end: And in this manner we may pray to our *Bleſſed Lady*, to St. *John Baptiſt*, to all and every of the Apoſtles or any other Saint particularly, as our devotion doth ſerve us; ſo that it be done without any vain ſuperſtition, as to think that any Saint is more merciful, or will hear us ſooner than Chriſt, or that any Saint doth ſerve for one thing more than another, or is Patron of the ſame. And likewiſe we muſt keep Holy-days unto God in memory of him and his Saints, upon ſuch days as the Church hath Ordained their memories to be celebrated; except they be mitigated and moderated by the aſſent or commandment of the Supream head, to the Ordinaries, and then the Subjects ought to obey it.

Of Rites and Ceremonies.

AS concerning the Rites and Ceremonies of Chriſts Church, as to have ſuch veſtments in doing God ſervice as be and have been moſt part uſed, as Sprinkling of holy-Water to put us in remembrance of our Baptiſm and the blood of Chriſt ſprinkled for our redemption upon the Croſs; Giving of holy bread to put us in remembrance of the Sacrament of the Altar, that all Chriſten men be one body myſtical of Chriſt, as the bread is made of many grains and yet but one Loaf, and to put us in remembrance of the receiving the holy Sacrament and body of Chriſt, the which we ought to receive in right Charity; which in the beginning of Chriſts Church, men did more often receive than they uſe now adays to do; Bearing of Candles on *Candlemas-day* in memory of Chriſt the ſpiritual light, of whom *Simeon* did propheſie as is read in the Church that day; Giving of aſhes on *Aſh-Wedenſday*, to put in remembrance every Chriſten man in the beginning of Lent and Penance, that he is but aſhes and earth and thereto ſhall return; which is right neceſſary to be uttered from henceforth in our mother-tongue always on the ſame day; Bearing of Palms on *Palm-Sunday* in memory of receiving of Chriſt into *Jeruſalem* a little before his death, that we may have the ſame deſire to receive him into our hearts; Creeping to the Croſs and humbling our ſelves to Chriſt on *Good-Friday* before the Croſs, and offering there unto Chriſt before the ſame, and kiſſing of it in memory of our Redemption by Chriſt made

upon the Croſs; Setting up the Sepulture of Chriſt, whoſe body after his death was buried; the Hallowing of the Font, and other like Exorciſms and Benedictions by the Miniſters of Chriſts Church: and all other like laudable Cuſtoms, Rites, and Ceremonies be not to be contemned and caſt away, but to be uſed and continued as things good and laudable, to put us in remembrance of thoſe ſpiritual things that they do ſignifie, not ſuffering them to be forgotten, or to be put in oblivion, but renuing them in our memories from time to time; but none of theſe Ceremonies have Power to remit ſin, but only to ſtir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our ſins be forgiven.

Of Purgatory.

FOraſmuch as due order of Charity requireth, and the book of *Maccabees* and divers ancient Doctors plainly ſhewing, that it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for Souls departed, and forasmuch alſo as ſuch uſage hath continued in the Church ſo many years even from the beginning, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge, that no man ought to be grieved with the continuance of the ſame, and that it ſtandeth with the very due Order of Charity, for a Chriſten man to pray for Souls departed, and to commit them in our prayers to Gods mercy, and alſo to cauſe others to pray for them in Maſſes, and Exequies, and to give Alms to others to pray for them, whereby they may be relieved and holpen, of ſome part of their pain: But forasmuch as the place where they be, the name thereof and kind of pains there, alſo be to us uncertain by Scripture; therefore this with all other things we remit to God Almighty, unto whoſe mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them, truſting that God accepteth our prayers for them, referring the reſt wholly to God, to whom is known their eſtate and condition; wherefore it is much neceſſary that ſuch Abuſes be clearly put away, which under the name of Purgatory hath been advanced, as to make men believe that through the Biſhop of *Romes* Pardon Souls might clearly be delivered out of Purgatory, and all the pains of it, or that Maſſes ſaid at *Scala cæli*, or otherwhere, in any place, or before any Image, might likewiſe deliver them from all their pain, and ſend them ſtreight to Heaven, and other like Abuſes.

Signed

Thomas Cromwell.

T. Cantuarien.
Edwardus Ebor.
Joannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunelmen.
Joannes Lincoln.
Joannes Lincoln Nomine procuratorio pro Dom. Joan. Exon.
Hugo Wygornen.
Joannes Roffen.
Richardus Ciceſtren.
Joannes Bathonien.
Thomas Elien.
Joannes Lincoln. nomine procuratorio pro Dom. Rowlando Coven. & Lichfielden.
Joannes Bangoren.
Nicholaus Sarisburien.
Edwardus Hereforden.
Willielmus Norwicen.
Willielmus Meneven.
Robertus Aſſaven.

Robertus

Robertus Abbas Sancti Albani.
Willielmus Ab. Weſtmonaſter.
Joannes Ab. Burien.
A *Richardus Ab. Glaſconiæ.*
A *Hugo Ab. Redying.*
Robertus Ab. Malmesbur.
Clemens Ab. Eveſhamen.
Johannes Ab. de Bello.
Willielmus Ab. S. Petri Gloceſt.
Richardus Ab. Winchelcombens.
Joannes Ab. de Croyland.
Robertus Ab. de Thorney.
Robertus Ab. de Waltham.
Joannes Ab. Cirenceſt.
Joannes Ab. Teuxburen.
Thomas Prior Coventr.

Joannes Ab. de Oſney.
B *Henricus Ab. de*
Anthonius Ab. de Eyntham.
Robertus Prior Elien.

Robertus Magiſter ordinis de Semper-ingham.
Richardus Ab. de Notley.
Hugo Prior de Huntingtoun.
Willielmus Ab. de Stratford.
Gabriel Ab. de Buckfeſtia.
Henricus Ab. de Wardenor.
Joannes Prior de Merton.
Richardus Pr. de Walſingham.
B *Thomas Ab. de*
Thomas Ab. de Stanley.
Richardus Ab. de Bytleſden.
Richardus Pr. de Lanthony.
Robertus Ab. de Thame.
B *Joannes Prior de*
Radulphus Prior de Kymme.
B *Richardus Ab. de*
Robertus Ab. de Welhows.
Bartholomæus Pr. de Overhey.
Willielmus Pr. de Burgaveny.
Thomas Ab. de Abendon.

Inferior Domus.

C *R. Gwent Archidiaconus London, & Breck.*
Robertus Alridge Archid. Coleceſtr.
Thomas Bedyl Archid. Cornub.
Richardus Street Archid. Derbiæ.
David Pole Ar. Salop. Procurator.
Archid. & Cleri Covent & Lichfield.
Richardus Doke Archid. Sarum.
Edmundus Bonner Archid. Leyceſtriæ.
Thomas Baghe Archid. Surr.
Richardus Rawſon Archid. Eſſex.
Edmundus Cranmer Archid. Cant.
Polidorus Virgilius Archid. Wellen.
Richardus Coren Archid. Oxon.
Henricus Morgan Procurator cleri Lincoln.
Petrus Vannes Archid. Wygornen.
Georgius Hennage Decanus Lincoln.
Nilo Spencer Procurator Cleri Norwicen.
Guilielmus Knight Archid. Ceſtriæ.
Gamaliel Clyfton Decanus Hereford. & Proc. Capit.
Joannes London Decanus Wallingford.
Richardus Layton Archid. Bucks.
Hugo Coren Proc. Cleri Hereford.
Richardus Sparaheford Proc. Cleri Hereford.
Mauritius Griffith Proc. Cleri Roffen.
Gulielmus Buckmaſtr. Procurator Cleri London.
Richardus Shelton Mag. Colleg. de Melyngham.
Per me Willielmum Glyn. Archi. An-gleſſen.
Robertus Evans Decan. Bangoren.
Walterus Cretying Ar. Bathonien.
Thomas Bagard Procurator Cleri Wygornen.
Joannes Naſe Proc. Cleri Bathon & Wellen.
Georgius Wyndham Archid Norwicen.

Nicolaus Metcalfe Archid. Roffen.
Gulielmus Hedge Procurator Cleri Norwicen.
Adam Traves Archid. Exon.
Ricardus Woleman Dec. Wellen.
Tho. Brerewood Archidiacan. Har. Procur. Capituli & Cleri Exon.
Georgius Carew Archid. Totten Proc. Capituli & Cleri Exon.
Thomas Bennet Psoc. Cleri & Capit Sarum.
Richardus Arch Proc. Cleri & Capit Sarum.
Petrus Lighman Proc. Cleri Cant.
Edmundus Stewart Proc. Cleri Winton.
Joannes Rayne Proc. Cleri Lincoln.
Leonardus Samill Proc. Cleri Archid. Lewen.
Simon Matthew Proc. Cleri London.
Linfrid Ogle Archid Salop.
Gulielmus Maye Proc. Cleri Elien.
Rol. Philips Proc. Eccleſ. St. Pauli London.
Joannes Bell Ar. Gloceſt.
Joannes Chambers Dec. St. Stephani Archid Bedford.
Nicolaus Wilſon

Some Obſervations on the former Subſcriptions.

A The Abbots of *Gloſſenbury* and *Reading* Subſcribe with the reſt: by which it appears that they complyed in the changes that were made as readily as others did.

B The Abbots writ generally ſo ill that it is very hard to read their Subſcriptions: Some of them I could by no means know what to make of.

C There are of 50 of the lower houſe of Convocation: of thoſe there are 25 Archdeacons 4 Deans of Cathedrals 3 Deans of Collegial Churches 17 Procurators for the Clergy and one Maſter of a Colledge.

II. Some Queries put by *Cranmer* in Order to the Correcting of ſeveral Abuſes.

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.

Firſt, What cauſes, reaſons, or conſiderations hath or might move any man to deſire to have the Biſhop of *Rome* reſtored in any point to his pretended Monarchy, or to repugn againſt the Laws and Statutes of this Realm made for the ſetting forth of the Kings Title of Supream Head?

2. *Item*, Whether a man offending deadly after he is Baptized, may obtain remiſſion of his Sins, by any other way than by Contrition, through grace?

3. *Item*, If the Clergy know that the common ſort of men have them in a higher eſtimation, becauſe they are perſwaded, that it lyeth in the will and Power of Prieſts to remit, or not remit ſins at their pleaſure whether in ſuch caſe the ſaid Clergy offend if they wink at this, and voluntarily ſuffer the people to continue in this Opinion?

4. *Item*, Whether a ſinner being ſorry and contrite for his ſins and forthwith dying, ſhall have as high a place in Heaven, as if he had never offended?

5. *Item*, Whether any, and what difference may be Aſſigned betwixt two men, whereof the one being very ſorry and contrite for his ſins dieth without Abſolution of the Prieſt, and the other which being contrite is alſo abſolved by the Prieſt and ſo dieth?

Item,

Item, If it may appear that the common people have a greater affiance or truſt in outward Rites or Ceremonies than they ought to have, and that they eſteem more vertue in Images and adorning of them, kiſſing their feet or offering Candles unto them, than they ſhould eſteem, and that yet the Curates knowing the ſame, and fearing the loſs of their offerings, and ſuch other temporal commodities, do rather encourage the people to continue after this ſort, than teach them the truth in the premiſſes according to Scripture; what the Kings Highneſs and his Parliament may do, and what they are bound in conſcience to do in ſuch caſe? 6.

Item, Whether now in time of the new Law the Tithes or tenth be due to Curates by the Laws of God, or of man; and if the ſame be due by the Laws of man, what mans Laws they be? 7.

Item, Whether the Clergy only, and none but they ought to have voices in general Councils? 8.

Item, Whether the 19th Canon in the Council of *Calcedon*, wherein is contained that one Clerk may not ſue an other before any ſecular Judge, but only before his Biſhop, and ſuch other Canons of like effect, have been generally received or not? and whether the ſame be contrary to the Kings Prerogative and Laws of this Realm; and whether it be expedient that it were declared by the Parliament that the ſaid Canons being at no time received, eſpecially within this Realm, be void and of none effect? 9.

Item, Of the 24th Canon of the ſaid Council, wherein is contained that Monaſteries once conſecrate by the Biſhop, may not after be made dwelling houſes for Say-men, whether that Canon have been received and obſerved, and whether the ſame be againſt the Power of the King and Authority of his Parliament? 10.

Item, If it may appear that the Biſhops have not, ne yet do maturely examine and diligently inquire of the Converſation, and Learning of ſuch as be ordered or admitted to Cures by them, but rather without examination or inquiſition indiſtinctly admit perſons unable, whereof enſueth great peril of Souls, and innumerable inconveniences otherways, what the Kings Highneſs or his Parliament ought to do, or may do for reformation in the premiſſes? 11.

Item, If ſuch as have Deanries, Arch-Deaconries, Chanterſhips, and other Offices or promotions of the Clergy, uſe not themſelves in their own perſons after ſuch ſort as the primary inſtitution of theſe Offices or Promotions require, and according to the Wills of them that endowed the ſame, what the King and his Parliament may do or ought to do in this caſe? 12.

Item, For what cauſes and to what ends and purpoſes ſuch Offices and promotions of the Clergy were firſt inſtituted? 13.

Item, If Curates having Benefices with cure, for their more bodily eaſe, refuge to dwell upon any of their ſaid Cures, and remain in idleneſs continually in Cathedral or Collegial Churches, upon their Prebends, whether it be in this caſe expedient, that the Kings Highneſs or his Parliament take any Order for the redreſs of the ſame? 14.

Item,

15. *Item*, Of the Sacraments of Confirmation, Order, Matrimony, and extream Unction, what the external ſigns and inward graces be in every of the ſaid Sacraments, what promiſes be made to the receivors of them by God, and of what efficacy they be of and energy of themſelves?

III. Some Queries concerning Confirmation, with the anſwers which were given to them by *Cranmer*, and *Stokeſley* Biſhop of *London*.

AN ORIGINAL.

WHether Confirmation be Inſtituted by Chriſt?

Written with *Cranmers* hand. *Cott.* Libr. *Cleop. E.* 5.

Reſpon. There is no place in Scripture that declareth this Sacrament to be inſtituted of Chriſt.

Firſt, For the places alledged for the ſame be no Inſtitutions but Acts and deeds of the Apoſtles.

Secondly, Theſe Acts were done by a ſpecial gift given to the Apoſtles for the confirmation of Gods Word at that time.

Thirdly, The ſaid ſpecial gift doth not now remain with the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles.

What is the External Sign.

The Church uſeth *Chriſma* for the exterior ſign, but the Scriptur maketh no mention thereof.

What is the Efficacy of this Sacramint?

The Biſhop in the name of the Church doth invocate the Holy Ghoſt to give ſtrength and conſtancy, with other ſpiritual gifts, unto the perſon confirmed: ſo that the efficacy of this Sacrament is of ſuch value, as is the Prayer of the Biſhop made in the name of the Church.

Hæc reſpondeo, ſalvo ſemper eruditiorum & Eccleſiæ orthodoxæ judicio.

Stokeſley's Paper.

The firſt Queſtion, *Whether the Sacrament of Confirmation be a Sacrament of the New Teſtament inſtitute by Chriſt?*

To this I anſwer, *That it is.*

The ſecond Queſtion, *What is the outward ſign, and the inviſible graces which be conferaed in the ſame?*

To this I Anſwer, That the Words *Signo te Signo Sanctæ crucis & confirmo te*, &c. With the conſignation, with the Creame, impoſition of hands of the Prelates, be the Signs: and the increaſe of the gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, and eſpecially of fortitude, to ſpeak, ſhew, and defend the Faith, and to ſuffer for the ſame in caſe need be.

The

The third Queſtion, What promiſes be made of the ſaid graces?

I Anſwer, That the facts and deeds that be expreſſed in the Books of the Apoſtles, with the effects enſuing, by the impoſition of their hands, upon them that before had received Remiſſion of their ſins, joyned with the promiſes of Chriſt, made to his Church, and the continual belief of the univerſity of the ſame Catholick Church from the time of the Apoſtles hitherto, without contradiction of any man (ignorants and ſuſpects of Hereſie only excepted) maketh us, and in my opinion, without prejudice of other mens opinions, ought to ſuffice to make all men that hath promiſed to believe the Catholick Church, aſſuredly to think that God hath made the promiſes of the ſaid grace.

Ego Joannes London. *ſic reſpondeo, fretus autoritate & Teſtimonio antiquiſſimorum, eorumque Doctiſſimorum pariter ac Sanctiſſimorum virorum, & præcipue Sanctæ matris noſtræ Eccleſiæ Catholicæ, cui etiam in non expreſſis in ſacra Scriptura, non multo minus quam ſcriptis, fides adhibenda eſt; niſi tam de baptiſmo parvulorum, quam de perpetua Deiparæ virginis integritate, & id genus compluribus, quibus ſine ſalutis periculo nemo diſcrepat, licebit ſalva fide contradicere.*

IV. Some Conſiderations offered to the King by *Cranmer*, to Induce him to proceed to a further Reformation.

PLeaſeth it your Highneſs graciouſly to conſider, deeply to ponder and weigh by your high wiſdom theſe Conſiderations following. *Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 4.*

Firſt, How no great thing is to be determined, principally matters of Chriſts Religion, without long, great, and mature deliberation.

Secondly, How evil it hath ſucceeded when in Provincial, yea or yet in General Councils, men have gone about to ſet forth any thing as in the force of Gods Law, without the manifeſt Word of God, or elſe without apparent reaſons, infallibly deduced out of the Word of God.

Thirdly, How all Chriſtened Regions are now full of Learned men in the Scripture, which can well eſpie out and judge how things that be, or ſhall be ſet forth are agreeable with Scripture or not.

Fourthly, Of what Audacity men be of now adays, which will not ſpare to write againſt high Princes, as well as againſt private perſons, without any reſpect to their high Eſtates, only weighing the equity or the iniquity of the cauſe.

Fifthly, How not only men of the New Learning (as they be called) but alſo the very Papiſtical Authors, do allow that by the Word of God, Prieſts be not forbidden to Marry, although they were not ignorant that many expounders of Scripture were of the contrary judgment.

Sixthly, How that it is not poſſible that all Learned men ſhould be

of

of one mind, ſentence, and opinion, as long as the cockle is mingled with the wheat, the Godly with the ungodly, which certainly ſhall be as long as the World endureth.

Seventhly, How variety of Opinions have been occaſion of the opening of many verities heretofore taken for Hereſie, yea and yet ſo eſteemed and taken of many, in other Regions; as namely the uſurped Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* hath by that occaſion come into Light, with the effuſion of the blood not of a few, ſuch as were the firſt ſtirrers up thereof.

Laſtly, There be alſo other opinions not ſpoken of, which have made, and yet will make as much variance in your Graces Realm as any of them treated of, namely, Whether the Holy Scripture teacheth any Purgatory to us after this Life or not? whether the ſame Scripture teacheth the Invocation of dead Saints? Whether there be any unwritten verities neceſſary to be believed not written in Scripture, nor deducted by infallible Arguments out of the open places of Scripture? Whether there be any ſatisfactions beſide the ſatisfaction of Chriſt? Whether free will by its own ſtrength may diſpoſe it ſelf to grace of a conveniency (as it is ſaid) *de congruo*? Whether it be againſt Scripture to kiſs the Image of Chriſt in the Honour of him? And generally whether Images may be uſed any other way than your Grace ſetteth forth in your Injunctions?

Wherefore in conſideration of the premiſſes it may pleaſe your Highneſs to ſuſpend your judgment for a time, and not to determine the Marriage of Prieſts to be againſt Scripture, but rather to put both parts to ſilence, commanding them neither to preach, diſpute, nor openly to talk thereof under pain of, *&c.* And in caſe theſe premiſſes do not move your Highneſs to ſtay, that then it may pleaſe the ſame to grant that the Article of Prieſts Marriage may be openly diſputed in both Univerſities, under indifferent Judges, before it be determined. All the Arguments of the contrary party firſt to be delivered in writing to the defenders twelve days before the diſputation; to the intent they may the more maturely and deliberately make anſwer to the ſame; and they that ſhall enter as defenders into this diſputation, to do it under this condition, that if their Judges decern them to be overcome, they be right well contented to ſuffer death, therefore: And if their adverſaries cannot prove their purpoſe, their deſire is no more but that it may pleaſe your Highneſs to leave your moſt humble Subjects to the liberty that Gods Word permitteth them in that behalf; and your ſaid humble Subjects ſhall pray unto Almighty God for the preſervation of your moſt Royal Eſtate long to continue to Gods Glory and Honour.

V. A Declaration made of the Functions and Divine Inſtitution of Biſhops and Prieſts.

AN ORIGINAL.

AS touching the Sacrament of Holy Orders, we will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed by us unto their ſpiritual charge,

Cott. Libr. Cleop. E. 5.

Firſt, How that Chriſt and his Apoſtles did inſtitute and Ordain in the New Teſtament, that beſide the Civil Powers and governance of Kings and Princes, which is called in Scripture, *poteſtas gladij*, the Power of the Sword, there ſhould be alſo continually in the Church Militant, certain other Miniſters or Officers, which ſhould have Spiritual Power, Authority and commiſſion under Chriſt, to Preach and teach the Word of God, unto his people, and to diſpence and adminiſter the Sacraments of God unto them; and by the ſame to confer and give the grace of the Holy Ghoſt, to conſecrate the bleſſed body of Chriſt in the Sacrament of the Altar, to looſe and abſoil from ſin, all perſons which be duly penitent and ſorry for the ſame; to bind and excommunicate ſuch as be guilty in manifeſt crimes and ſins, and will not amend their defaults; to order and conſecrate others in the ſame room, Order and Office, whereunto they be called and admitted themſelves; and finally to feed Chriſts people like good Paſtors, and Rectors, as the Apoſtles calleth them, with their wholſome doctrine, and by their continual exhortations and monitions to reduce them from ſin and iniquity, ſo much as in them lyeth, and to bring them unto the perfect knowledg, the perfect love and dread of God, and unto the perfect charity of their neighbours.

Item, that this Office, this Miniſtration, this Power and Authority is no tyrannical Power, having no certain Laws or Limits, within the which it ought to be contained, nor yet none abſolute Power, but it is a moderate Power, ſubject, determined, and reſtrained unto thoſe certain Limits and ends for the which the ſame was appointed by Gods Ordinance; which, as was ſaid before, is only to adminiſter and diſtribute unto the members of Chriſts Myſtical body, ſpiritual and everlaſting things; that is to ſay, the pure and heavenly doctrine of Chriſts Goſpel, and the graces conferred in his Sacraments: And therefore this ſaid Power and adminiſtration is called in ſome places of Scripture, *donum & Gratia*, a gift and a grace; in ſome places it is called *Claves ſive poteſtas clavium*, that is to ſay, the keys or the Power of the keys, whereby is ſignified a certain limited Office reſtrained unto the execution of a ſpecial Function or Miniſtration, according to the ſaying of

St. *Paul* in his firſt Chap. of his Epiſtle to the *Romans*, and in the fourth Chap. of his firſt Epiſtle to *Timothy*, and alſo in the fourth Chap. of his Epiſtle to the *Epheſ.* Where he writes in this Sentence; *Quum aſcendiſſet Chriſtus in altum, captivam duxit captivitatem, & dedit dona hominibus, dedit autem, alios quidem Apoſtolos, alios vero Prophetas, alios vero Evangeliſtas, alios autem paſtores ac doctores, ad inſtaurationem ſanctorum, in opus adminiſtrationis, in ædificationem corporis Chriſti, donec perveniamus omnes in unitatem fidei & agnitionis filii Dei, in virum perfectum, in menſuram ætatis plene adultæ Chriſti.* That is to ſay, "when Chriſt aſ-"cended into Heaven, he ſubdued and vanquiſhed very captivity her "ſelf, and led or made her thrall and captive, and diſtributed and gave "divers heavenly gifts and graces unto men here on earth; and a-"mong all he made ſome the Apoſtles, ſome Prieſts, ſome Evange-"liſts, ſome Paſtors and Doctors, to the intent they ſhould execute "the work and office of their adminiſtration, to the inſtauration, in-"ſtruction, and edifying of the members of Chriſts Myſtical body: "And that they ſhould alſo not ceaſe from the Execution of their ſaid "Office, until all the ſaid members were not only reduced and brought "unto unity of the Faith, and the knowledg of the Son of God, but "alſo that they were come unto a perfect ſtate, and full age therein; "that is to ſay, until they were ſo eſtabliſhed and confirmed in the "ſame that they could no more afterwards be wavering therein, and "be led or carryed like children, into any contrary doctrine, or opini-"on, by the craft or ſubtile perſwaſion of the falſe Paſtors and Teach-"ers, which go about by craft to bring them into erroneous opinions, "but that they ſhould conſtantly follow the true Doctrine of Chriſts "Goſpel, growing and encreaſing continually by charity unto a perfect "member of that body, whereof Chriſt is the very head, in whom if "the whole body, that is to ſay, if every part and member be grown and "come unto his perfect eſtate, not all in like, but only one according "to the gift and quality which is deputed unto it, and ſo to be com-"pacted, united, and corporated together in the ſaid body, no doubt "but that whole body and every part thereof ſhall thereby be made "the more perfect and the more ſtrong, by reaſon of that natural "love and charity, which one member ſo united in the body hath un-"to the other: by which words it appeareth evidently not only that St *Paul* accounted and numbred this ſaid Power and Office of the Paſtors and Doctors among the proper and ſpecial gifts of the Holy Ghoſt, but alſo it appeareth that the ſame was a limited power and Office, ordained ſpecially and only for the cauſes and purpoſes before rehearſed.

Item, That this Power, Office, and Adminiſtration is neceſſary to be preſerved here in Earth for three ſpecial and principal cauſes. *Firſt*, for that it is the Commandment of God it ſhould be ſo, as it appeareth in ſundry places of Scripture. *Secondly*, for that God hath inſtituted and ordained none other ordinary mean or inſtrument, whereby he will make us partakers of the reconciliation which is by Chriſt, and confer and give the graces of his holy Spirit unto us, and make us the right inheritors of everlaſting Life, there to Reign with him for ever

ever in glory, but only his words and Sacraments; and therefore the Office and Power to Miniſter the ſaid Word and Sacraments, may in no wiſe be ſuffered to periſh, or to be aboliſhed, according to the ſaying of St. *Paul*, *Quomodo credent in eum de quo non audierunt? quomodo autem audient ſine prædicante? quomodo autem prædicabunt niſi miſſi fuerunt? ſicut ſcriptum eſt, quam ſpecioſi ſuper montes pedes Evangelizantium pacem, annunciantium bona! Thirdly*, becauſe the ſaid Power and Office or Function hath annexed unto it aſſured promiſes of excellent and ineſtimable things; for thereby is conferred and given the Holy Ghoſt with all his graces, and finally our juſtification and everlaſting life, according to the ſaying of St. *Paul*, *Non me pudet Evangelii Jeſu Chriſti, potentia ſiquidem eſt Dei ad ſalutem omni credenti*; that is to ſay, I am not aſhamed of the room and Office which I have given unto me by Chriſt, to preach his Goſpel, for it is the Power of God, that is to ſay, the elect Organ or inſtrument ordained by God and endued with ſuch vertue and efficacy, that it is able to give and Miniſter effectually everlaſting Life unto all thoſe that will believe and obey unto the ſame.

Item, That this Office, this Power and Authority was committed and given by Chriſt and his Apoſtles unto certain perſons only, that is to ſay, unto Prieſts or Biſhops, whom they did elect, call, and admit thereunto by their Prayer and Impoſition of their hands.

Secondly, We will that all Biſhops and Preachers ſhall inſtruct and teach our people committed unto their Spiritual charge, that the Sacrament of Order may worthily be called a Sacrament, becauſe it is a holy Rite, or ceremony inſtituted by Chriſt and his Apoſtles in the New Teſtament, and doth conſiſt of two parts, like as the other Sacraments of the Church do; that is to ſay, of a ſpiritual and an inviſible grace, and alſo of an outward and a viſible Sign. The inviſible gift or grace conferred in this Sacrament, is nothing elſe but the Power, the Office and the Authority before mentioned: the viſible and outward Sign, is, the Prayer and Impoſition of the Biſhops hands, upon the perſon which receiveth the ſaid gift or grace. And to the intent the Church of Chriſt ſhould never be deſtituted of ſuch Miniſters, as ſhould have and execute the ſaid power of the keys, it was alſo Ordained and commanded by the Apoſtles, that the ſame Sacrament ſhould be applyed and miniſtred by the Biſhop from time to time, unto ſuch other perſons as had the qualities, which the Apoſtles very diligently deſcryve; as it appeareth evidently in the third *Chap.* of the firſt Epiſtle of St. *Paul* to *Tim.* and his Epiſtle unto *Titus*. And ſurely this is the whole vertue and efficacy, and the cauſe alſo of the inſtitution of this Sacrament, as it is found in the New Teſtament; for albeit the Holy Fathers of the Church which ſucceeded the Apoſtles, minding to beautifie and ornate the Church of Chriſt with all thoſe things, which were commendable in the Temple of the *Jews*, did deviſe not only certain other ceremonies than be before rehearſed, as Tonſures, Raſures, Unctions, and ſuch other obſervances to be uſed in the adminiſtration of the ſaid Sacraments, but did alſo inſtitute certain inferiour orders or degrees, as *Janitors*, *Lectors*, *Exorciſts*, *Acolits*, and *Subdeacons*, and deputed

to every one of thoſe certain Offices to Execute in the Church, wherein they followed undoubtedly the example and rites uſed in the Old Teſtament; yet the truth is, that in the New Teſtament there is no mention made of any degrees or diſtinctions in Orders, but only of Deacons or Miniſters, and of Prieſts or Biſhops: nor there is any word ſpoken of any other ceremony uſed in the conferring of this Sacrament, but only of Prayer, and the Impoſition of the Biſhops hands.

Thomas Cromwell.
T. Cantuarien.
Edwardus Ebor.
Joannes London.
Cuthbertus Dunelmenſis.
Joannes Lincoln.
Joannes Bathonienſ.
Thomas Elien.
Joannes Bangor.
Nicolaus Sarum.
Edwardus Hereforden.
Hugo Wygorn.
Joannes Roffen.
Rich. Ciceſtr.
Richardus Wolman.
Joannes Bell.
Willielmus Clyffe.
Robertus Aldridge.
Gilfridus Downes.
Joannes Skip.
Cuthbertus Marſhall.
Marmaduke Waldeby.
Robertus Okin[illegible].
Nicolaus Heath.
Rodolphus Bradford.
Richardus Smith.
Simon Matthew.
Joannes Prynn.
Gulielmus Buckmaſtre.
Willielmus Maye.
Nicolaus Wotton.
Ricardus Cox.
Joannes Redman.
Thomas Robertſon.
Thomas Baret.
Joannes Naſe.
Joannes Barbar.

(Some other hands there are that cannot be Read.)

Sacræ Theologiæ, Juris Eccleſiaſtici, & Civilis Profeſſores.

VI.

VI. *A Letter of* Melanthons, *to perſwade the King to a further Reformation. An Original.*

S. D. Sereniſſime & Inclyte Rex, Etſi audieramus Romanum Epiſcopum omnibus artificiis incendere Cæſaris Caroli & Regis Gallici animos adverſus Britannos & Germanos, tamen quia ſpero Deum hæc pericula gubernaturum eſſe, & defenſurum tranquillitatem tuam, ſcripſi in alteris literis de Eccleſiarum emendatione, quam ſi tempora ſinent, rogo ut Regia Majeſtas tua ſuſcipiat. Poſtea adjeci hanc Epiſtolam, non impudentia, ſed optimo ſtudio, & amore cum Eccleſiarum, cum Regiæ Majeſtatis tuæ incitatus: quare per Chriſtum obteſtor Regiam Majeſtatem tuam ut meam libertatem boni conſulat. Sæpe cogito Britannicæ Eccleſiæ primordia, & cæteras laudes: hinc enim propagata eſt doctrina Chriſtiana in magnam Germaniæ & Galliæ partem; imo Britannicæ Eccleſiæ beneficium fuit, quod primum Romanæ Provinciæ liberatæ ſunt perſecutione. Hæc primum nobis Imperatorem pium Conſtantinum dedit: magna hæc gloria eſt veſtri nominis. Nunc quoque Regia Majeſtas tua, primum heroica magnitudine animi oſtendit ſe veritati patrocinaturum eſſe, excuſſit Romani Epiſcopi tyrannidem, quare veterem puritatem Eccleſiæ veſtræ maxime optarim reſtitui integram. Sed animadverto iſtic eſſe quoſdam qui veteres abuſus ortos aut confirmatos a Romano Epiſcopo adhuc mordicus tenent. Mirum eſt autem Autore abuſuum ejecto ipſa tamen venena retineri; qua in re illud etiam periculi eſt, quod illi ipſi aut eorum imitatores aliquando revocaturi poteſtatem Romani Epiſcopi videntur, ſi populus hunc putavit eſſe Magiſtrum Eccleſiarum, incurrunt enim ritus in oculos & admonent de autore, ut Solonis memoria cum legibus Athenis & propagata & jucunda fuit. *Cotton Libr. Cleop. E. 5.*

Gaudebam igitur in Edicto recens iſtic propoſito de Religione, promitti publicam deliberationem & emendationem de Eccleſiarum ritibus & legibus, eaque ſententia mitigavit Decreti acerbitatem: quanquam enim laudo pietatem, quod errores prohibentur, qui pugnant cum doctrina Catholicæ Eccleſiæ quam & nos profitemur; tamen doleo ad eas cauſas adjectum eſſe articulum, in quo præcipitur omnium rituum uſitatorum & cælibatus obſervatio. Primum enim multi transferent Edicti Autoritatem ad ſtabiliendos abuſus Miſſæ. Deinde in univerſum confirmatur pertinacia eorum qui Doctrinæ noſtræ ſunt iniquiores, & debilitantur ſtudia piorum. Auguſtinus queritur ſua ætate jam duriorem fuiſſe ſervitutem Chriſtianam quam Judaicam, quanto erit aſperior ſervitus, ſi ſuperſtitioſiores ineptiæ, ut reptatio ad crucem aut res ſimiles, munientur corporum ſuppliciis? Gerſon ſcribit prodeſſe piis, qui tamen ſuperſtitioſius obſervant ritus, ut invitentur ad eos violandos, ut uſu & exemplo dediſcant ſuperſtitionem.

Sed munio tranquillitatem, dices, & nolo diſſimilitudine rituum excitari diſcordias. Ego de piis & modeſtis loquor qui humanas traditiones ſine tumultibus violant, non de his qui in cætu publico ſeditioſe tranquillum populum aut concitant aut perturbant. Extant autem antea leges de ſeditioſis, nec ſtatim violatio inepti & non neceſſarii ritus judicanda eſt ſeditioſa, attamen hac in re non ſolum tranquilli-

tatis, ſed etiam piarum conſcientiarum ratio habenda eſt: eſt enim tenera res conſcientia, facile langueſcit perculſa potentum judiciis.

Nec ignoro quoſdam novo jam uti genere ſapientiæ, excuſant abuſus, & leniunt eos aſtute affictis interpretationibus, ut habeant ſpecioſam cauſam cur eos retineant; ſicut nefarios abuſus excuſat Autor reformationis Colonienſis, ut campanarum conſecrationem & ſimiles impoſturas. Quam multa ſunt in fabuloſis hiſtoriis ſanctorum, ut Chriſtophori, Georgii, quæ ut poemata continent venuſtiſſimas Allegorias; nec tamen propter has cogendæ ſunt Eccleſiæ ut illas poeticas perſonas colant,

Erat in Egypto ſacrum cum fici maturuiſſent, populus enim in templo edens recentes ficus, addebat canticum his verbis, Dulcis veritas. Huic ritui facile eſt bellam ſignificationem addere, eumq; accommodare ad laudem Verbi Dei, nec tamen propterea hic mos in Eccleſias revocandus eſt; atqui hanc novam ſophiſticam exoriri paſſim videmus. Sic in Italia dicuntur abuſibus patrocinari, Cantarenus, Sadoletus, & Polus Cardinalis; nam hi præcipue ſuſceperunt ſibi jam has partes defendendæ Romanæ impietatis, & hanc dicunt eſſe magnam ingenii laudem fucos illinire vitioſis ritibus, putantq; ſe his ineptiis Dionyſii Theologiam Myſticam renovare. Hæc Sophiſtica, niſi prudentes gubernatores Eccleſiarum obſiſtent, pariet horribilem confuſionem religionum, & rurſus obruet veritatem. Donec flagitantur humani ritus tanquam neceſſarii, confirmatur prava opinio de cultu; ideo Paulus tam vehementer non modo opinionem, ſed ritus ipſos Leviticos inſectatus eſt, prævidebat enim non excuti poſſe ſuperſtitionem, ſi ritus manerent, quare graviſſime inquit, *ſi circumcidimini, Chriſtus vobis nihil proderit.*

Retineatur ergo ſimplex & perſpicua ſententia de libertate in adiaphoris, & doceant concionatores quæ ſcandala vitanda ſint; retineantur ritus divinitus inſtituti, & aliquæ humanæ traditiones utiles ad bonum ordinem, ut Paulus loquitur, & ſit modus cæremoniarum quæ habeant conjunctam gravitatem & elegantiam; decet autem abeſſe ab Eccleſiis barbariem: Cæteri inutiles & inepti ritus non duriter flagitentur.

Deinde quantum periculi adfert conſcientiis prohibitio conjugii, nec ignorat Regia Majeſtas tua, legem de cælibatu perpetuo tantum Romæ natam eſſe: extant Epiſtolæ Epiſcopi Tarraconenſis defendentes conjugia Preſbyterorum in Hiſpania contra Romanum Epiſcopum. In Germania ante annos quingentos adhuc Sacerdotes fuerunt mariti, adeoque ægre tulerunt ſibi eripi hanc libertatem, ut in Epiſcopum Moguntinum recitantem edictum Romanum tumultuantes impetum fecerint, quare Epiſcopus fugere coactus recitationem omiſit. Erat Autor Edicti Gregorius ſeptimus qui cuilibet tyrannorum veterum audacia & impietate par fuit. Hic cum longo & funeſto bello civili noſtros Germanicos imperatores implicuiſſet, ſimul etiam Eccleſias Tyrannide oppreſſit. Audio & in Anglia Sacerdotes fuiſſe maritos: deniq; notæ ſunt Hiſtoriæ, quæ exempla ſatis multa continent, quare miror in Edicto citari Epiſtolam ad Corinthios, cum hæc longe aliud tradat de conjugio, ac præcipiat conjugium iis qui non ſunt idonei ad cælibatum.

Nec objicienda ſunt vota quæ & expreſſe pugnant cum divinis mandatis, & trahunt ſecum multiplicem ſuperſtitionem & morum corruptionem; videmus enim qualis ſit vita multorum Sacerdotum cælibum:

itaq;

itaq; non ſine dolore aliquo legi in Edicto, quod hi qui Uxores duxerunt accuſantur Levitatis, nam hoc convicio cauſa noſtra prægravari videtur, quæ tamen Eccleſiæ neceſſaria eſt, ut conjugii dignitas clarius conſpiciatur, ut ſuperſtitioſi cultus votorum reprehendantur, ut arceantur libidines. Non enim impurus cælibatus, ſed honeſta & pia conjugum conſuetudo, eſt caſtitas Deo grata, ſicut Chriſtus ſua voce divinam conjunctionem appellat connubium, inquiens, *Quos Deus conjunxit*, &c. Diſcamus Dei Ordinationem in natura magnifacere, eaque reverenter uti, non fingamus ipſi novos cultus ſine Verbo Dei; de quo genere Paulus nominatim concionatur, cum ad Timotheum ſcribens duriter reprehendit eos qui prohibent nuptias.

Propheta Daniel inſignes notas addidit Antichriſto duas, cum ait colet Deum Maoſim argento & auro, & Deum patrum ſuorum non intelliget, & mulieres non curabit. Hæc quadrant maxime ad Romanos mores: Miſſarum abuſus & Sanctorum cultus pepererunt immenſas opes & Regiam potentiam. Nova numina confecta ſunt, adorantur aureæ & argenteæ ſtatuæ, & auro atque argento ornantur. Deinde accedit Lex de cælibatu, unde magna corruptio morum orta eſt. Hæ notæ cui genti, cui Regno uſquam competant niſi factioni Epiſcopi Romani? qui cum ſit Antichriſtus, pio & forti animo ipſius autoritati & legibus adverſandum eſt.

Porro fæliciter cœpit Regia Majeſtas tua quædam emendare, ſuſtulit aliqua idola quæ impie colebantur: Obteſtor ergo Regiam Majeſtatem tuam, ut reliquam impietatem Romanam etiam ex Eccleſiis tollat. Exempla teſtantur ingentibus victoriis ornatos eſſe Reges qui ſuſtulerunt Idololatriam, ac ſæpe teſtatur Deus quantopere requirat hunc cultum, ut removeantur ſuperſtitiones, & pro hoc officio ingentia præmia pollicetur: quare Deus etiam defendet Regiam Majeſtatem tuam, ſi ut Ezechias & cæteri pii Reges impios ritus ſuſtuleris. Audit Regia Majeſtas tua in Belgico & alibi immanem ſævitiam exerceri adverſus pios; & hæc Tyrannis gignit alia multa vitia, ſtabilit idololatriam, delet veram invocationem, extinguit penitus veram Religionem; cumq; deſint boni Doctores, multi in populo fiunt palam ἄθεοι. Conſtat enim pene Ethnicam licentiam eſſe in Belgico, alii ſuperſtitioſi natura, alii fanaticas opiniones Anabaptiſtarum amplectuntur. Talis eſt in Belgico ſtatus, quod quidem floret pace, otio, opibus; adfluunt luxu ditiores, ita ſe beatos eſſe putant, nec interea proſpiciunt quot pœnæ ipſis impendeant: Deus autem haud dubie tantam impietatem & crudelitatem atrociter puniet. Nollem igitur in Regno tuo renovari aſperitatem adverſus pios, quam ita prohibebit Regia Majeſtas tua ſi Edictum leniet & Eccleſias conſtituere perget. Deinde ut etiam ad poſteritatem, animi abhorreant a Tyrrannide Romani Epiſcopi, plurimum refert illas leges tolli, quæ ſunt nervi autoritatis ipſius; magna vero adminicula potentiæ Romanorum Epiſcoporum fuerunt, Miſſarum abuſus, & Cœlibatus, quæ ſi durabunt aliquando poterunt præbere occaſionem iis qui depravatæ ſunt opinionis Romanæ Aulæ, ut ad eam rurſus inclinationem faciant. Id caveri quantum referat, ſi doctrinæ puritas conſervanda eſt, ſatis intelligit Regia Majeſtas tua. Verum adhuc eſt quod *Juvenalis* de Romana aula ſcripſit, *hic fiunt homines, &c.* imbuti eo loci malis artibus, contumaciam ſingularem adverſus Reges inde referunt, ut multa exempla teſtantur. Hanc Epiſtolam loquaciorem ac liberiorem ut Regia Majeſtas tua

boni conſulat oro. Precor autem Deum & Dominum noſtrum Ieſum Chriſtum, ut Regiam Majeſtatem tuam ſervet & defendat, & gubernet ad ſalutem Eccleſiæ. Bene & feliciter valeat Regia Majeſtas tua. Ex Francofordia,

Cal. Aprilis 1539.

Regiæ Majeſtatis tuæ

Addictiſſimus

Philippus Melanthon.

Directed thus on the back;

Sereniſſimo & Inclyto Angliæ & Franciæ Regi D. Henrico Octavo Walliæ & Cornubiæ Principi, Capiti Anglicæ Eccleſiæ poſt Chriſtum Supremo,

Principi Clementiſſimo.

VII. *A Letter written by the* German *Ambaſſadors to the King, againſt the taking away of the Chalice, and againſt private Maſſes, and the Celibat of the Clergie,* &c. *An Original.*

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5. SEreniſſime & Potentiſſime Rex, Domine Clementiſſime, Etſi Sereniſſimam Regiam Majeſtatem veſtram maximorum negotiorum mole, tum ad Regnum ac Provincias proprias Majeſtatis Veſtræ pertinentium, tum etiam exterorum Regum, Principum, & Potentatuum graviſſimis cauſis, quæ ad Regiam Majeſtatem Veſtram pene quotidie devolvuntur, obrui non ignoremus; noſque pro noſtra erga Regiam Majeſtatem Veſtram debita obſervantia ut par eſt, nihil minus velimus aut cogitemus, quam Sereniſſimam Regiam Majeſtatem Veſtram vel mittendis literis crebrioribus, vel ulla alia re interturbare & a Reipublicæ curis impedire, tamen certis quibuſdam de cauſis, quas Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Veſtræ probaturos nos ſperamus, duximus iterum ad Sereniſſimam Regiam Majeſtatem Veſtram literas dandas eſſe, nihil dubitantes quin Veſtra Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas eas pro ſua inſigni bonitate, ſapientia, doctrina, atque favore ſincerioris Religionis, benigne acceptura ſit. Cum enim ab Illuſtriſſimis Principibus noſtris nobis injuncta mandata Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ Majeſtati jampridem expoſuerimus, & præterea poſtulante Majeſtate Veſtra cum quibuſdam ejuſdem Reverendiſſimis & eruditiſſimis Epiſcopis & Theologiæ Doctoribus, de articulis Religionis Chriſtianæ per duos pene menſes ſermones contulerimus, ac Dei beneficio res eo perducta fuerit, ut nihil ambigamus, quin inter Sereniſſimam Regiam Majeſtatem Veſtram & Principes noſtros, ac eorum in cauſa religionis confæderatos, utrorumq; Epiſcopos, Theologos & Subditos firma

ma atq; perpetua concordia in ſinceriore Evangelii Doctrina, in laudem Dei Optimi Maximi, ſalutem Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ, ac perniciem Romani Antichriſti, ſecutura ſit, noſque reliquam diſputationem de abuſibus non expectare queamus, exiſtimavimus non eſſe alienum ab officio noſtro, ut ante diſceſſum noſtrum Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Veſtræ, quæ per Dei Gratiam indefeſſa cura & diligentia ſinceram Evangelii Doctrinam promotam cupit, debitam obſervantiam, atque perpetuum ſtudium noſtrum literis noſtris teſtatum relinqueremus, & Majeſtati Veſtræ noſtrorum etiam ſententiam de quibuſdam Articulis abuſuum, de quibus Majeſtas Veſtra poſt abitum noſtrum haud dubie curabit eoſdem Epiſcopos & Theologos pro inquirenda veritate, ſermones conferre & diſputare, declararemus: nihil ambigentes, quin ea etiam in re Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra pro Chriſti gloria id præſtitura ſit, ut non tantum doctrinam puram habeat, verum etiam abolitis aliquando impiis cultibus & abuſibus per Romanum Epiſcopum in Eccleſiam introductis, cultus ac cæremonias conſentaneas Verbo Dei conſtituat: facile enim Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra pro ſua ſumma ſapientia perſpicit, non poſſe unquam Doctrinæ puritatem, vel conſtitui, vel conſervari, niſi tollantur è medio etiam hi abuſus, qui prorſus & ex diametro, ut dici ſolet, cum Verbo Dei pugnant, & Romani Antichriſti tyrrannidem ac idololatriam, tum pepererunt, tum etiam hactenus conſervarunt; nam ut radicibus demum reſectis, neceſſe eſt arbores & herbas penitus exareſcere & perire, ita dubium non eſt, quin impiis Romani Epiſcopi abuſibus & idololatria, ut fundamento ſtabilitatis ipſius, labefactis & everſis, etiam Tyrannis ejuſdem prorſus ruitura & interitura ſit; quod niſi fiat perpetuo metuendum eſt, ne levi aliqua occaſione iterum repulluleſcat & tanquam a radice reviviſcat.

Sunt vero hæc tria pene capita & fundamentum Tyrannidis & Idololatriæ Pontificiæ, quibus ſtantibus, neque Doctrina Religionis integra permanere, neque unquam Romani Epiſcopi improbiſſimus dominatus, penitus extirpari poterit: nempe, Prohibitio utriuſque ſpeciei Sacramenti in cæna Domini, Miſſa Privata, & Interdictio conjugii Sacerdotum, quæ quidem uſque adeo Dei Verbo adverſantur, adeoque etiam honeſtati publicæ repugnant, ut vel ex his ſolis apertiſſime intelligi poſſit Romanum Pontificem verum Antichriſtum, & omnis idololatriæ, impietatis, erroris, & turpitudinis, in Chriſti Eccleſiam introductæ auctorem eſſe; de quibus ſane articulis nos pauca quædam Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Veſtræ optimo ſtudio ſcribemus, & ejuſdem ut Regis ſumma ſapientia, acerrimo judicio, & excellenti doctrina præditi, cenſuræ committemus, perſuaſiſſimum nobis habentes Veſtram Majeſtatem Illuſtriſſimam Principum noſtrorum, & Statuum confœderatorum conſilium & inſtitutum, in hiſce articulis non improbaturam eſſe.

Primum enim, Sereniſſime ac Potentiſſime Rex, non exiſtimamus quenquam inficias iturum, quin Chriſti Doctrina, mandata, & ordinationes omnibus aliis præceptis, traditionibus aut cæremoniis humanis præferri debeant; hic enim cum ipſe ſit vita & veritas, errare non poteſt, humana vero omnia, præcipue in rebus divinis, incerta & dubia ſunt. Porro conſtat Chriſtum ipſum utramq; ſpeciem inſtituiſſe, cum ait, Bibite ex hoc omnes; & Paulum idem docuiſſe, cum inquit, 2 Cor. 11. probet ſeipſum homo, & ſic de pane comedat & poculo bibat. Quibus ſane locis, non de una parte Eccleſiæ, id eſt, de Sacerdotibus tantum, ſed *De utraque ſpecie.*

ſed de tota Eccleſia mentio fit: Nam quod quidam ita Argumentantur ſolis Apoſtolis Chriſtum id dixiſſe, eaque de cauſa utramq; ſpeciem ad ſolos Sacerdotes pertinere, infirmum admodum eſt Argumentum; quia eadem ratione ſequeretur, quod Laicis ne altera quidem ſpecies danda eſſet; neque enim alio loco Chriſtus mandavit ſolum corpus laicis dari, & utramque ſpeciem pro Sacerdotibus inſtituit: ſed hoc fatendum eſt, quod illud mandatum Chriſti de Sacramento, aut ad omnes, hoc eſt, Laicos & Sacerdotes pertineat, aut Laici prorſus a Sacramento Corporis etiam arcendi fuerint, cum nuſquam alibi in Evangelio, niſi tunc cum dedit Apoſtolis ſimul corpus & ſanguinem, Sacramentum pro Laicis inſtitutum reperiatur; idque ad omnes pertinere Paulus declarat, cum addit, & de poculo bibat, &c. Quod enim dicunt Sacramenti diviſionem, urgentibus quibuſdam cauſis, ab Eccleſia inſtitutam eſſe, & ſub una ſpecie, non minus quam ſub utraque contineri, non multum ad rem facit: Quis enim non intelligit hic de Chriſti inſtituto & mandato agi, idque humanæ auctoritati & opinionibus longe præferendum eſſe; neque enim Eccleſia ſumit ſibi hanc libertatem, ex Chriſti Ordinationibus res indifferentes conſtituendi; & rationes illæ vel de diſcrimine ordinum, ſeu dignitate Sacerdotali, vel periculo effuſionis & ſimiles, nullo modo tantam queunt vim habere, ut propterea Divinæ Ordinationes mutandæ ſint; neque ulla etiam conſuetudo contra mandata Dei introducta, ipſis canonibus Pontificiis atteſtantibus, probanda eſt. Conſtat vero uſum utriuſque ſpeciei, & clarum habere mandatum Chriſti, & adprobationem Sanctorum Patrum, ac conſuetudinem veteris Eccleſiæ; ſic enim, inquit Divus Hieronymus, Sacerdotes qui Euchariſtiæ ſerviunt, & ſanguinem Chriſti populis diſtribuunt: & Gelaſius Pontifex, Sacramenti Corporis & Sanguinis Domini diviſionem prohibet, eamque grande Sacrilegium adpellat.

Adhæc, durat hodie hic mos Communionis utriuſque ſpeciei in Græcis Eccleſiis, quæ hac in re Romani Pontificis tyrannidi ſemper reſtiterunt, neque ejus jugum recipere voluerunt, & teſtantur Hiſtoriæ tum in Germania, tum in multis aliis regionibus ac provinciis, verum Communionis uſum diu conſervatum fuiſſe, ſed tandem fulminibus Romani Antichriſti, quibus totum pæne orbem terrarum conterruit & ſubjugavit, homines, ut veriſimile eſt, victi, verũ Euchariſtiæ uſum mutarunt, ad quem tamen, per ſingularem Dei Gratiam, agnita iterum veritate Evangelica, cum Principes noſtri, tum alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes, jam redierunt, & ſeſe ac ſuos in re Univerſæ Eccleſiæ maxime ſalutifera, tanquam in libertatem, excuſſo jugo Pontificio, vendicarunt & adſeruerunt. Nam quæ cauſæ Pontificem permoverint, ut contra Chriſti mandatum & inſtitutum, contra ſententiam Sanctorum Patrum, contra conſuetudinem Univerſæ Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ, Sacramentum divideret, & Laicos Sanguine Domini nefarie ſpoliaret, facile Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra perſpicit. Veriſimile quidem videtur, eum voluiſſe ſuam, ſuique ordinis auctoritatem ac dignitatem, ea ratione augere, & hoc diſcrimen inter Laicos & Sacerdotes conſtituere; nam etiam nunc clamitant adverſarii, laicos debere eſſe altera ſpecie contentos; quaſi regnum aliquod poſſideant, & ita imperare ipſis liberum ſit, ut etiam Chriſti beneficium hominibus eripere queant, ad quod potius, ſi ſuo officio fungi vellent, omnes invitare & pellicere deberent. Sed quid Chriſto cum Belial? quid Pontifici cum Chriſti inſtituto, cujus ipſe ſe ſummum adverſarium

eſſe

eſſe ſatis declarat, ideoque tum in hoc, tum aliis ſalutaribus Religionis Chriſtianæ Articulis oportuit ipſum a ſcriptura diſcedere, imo Doctrinam Evangelio conſentaneam damnare, ut manifeſtum fieret, eum eſſe Antichriſtum, de quo paſſim Scriptura talia prædixit.

Porro in altero Articulo, De Miſſa Privata, adhuc magis adparet a Romano Pontifice Religionem Chriſtianam adeo oppreſſam & obſcuratam, ut Chriſti Beneficium qui ſua morte nos redemit, ſoluſque eſt hoſtia & ſatisfactio pro peccatis noſtris, penitus ſuſtulerit, & in ejus locum idololatricum cultum pro abolendis peccatis in Eccleſiam invexerit, eamque ſuis erroribus & prophanationibus miſerabiliter implicaverit, turbaverit & deformaverit. Cum enim Miſſa nihil aliud ſit, nec eſſe debeat, quam communio ſive Synaxis, ut Paulus adpellat, neque etiam alius ejus uſus fuerit tempore Apoſtolorum & veteris Eccleſiæ, quemadmodum hoc clare ex S. Patribus probari poteſt, plane diverſum quoddam opus, prorſus pugnans cum communione & vero Miſſæ uſu inde factum eſt, quod docent ex opere operato, ut loquuntur, mereri gratiam, & tollere peccata vivorum & mortuorum. *De Miſſa privatæ.*

Hæc opinio quantopere diſtet a Scripturis, ac gloriam Paſſionis Chriſti lædat, Sereniſſ. Regia Majeſtas Veſtra facillime judicabit. Si enim hoc verum eſt, quod Miſſa pro aliis applicari poteſt, quod peccata tollit, & prodeſt tam vivis quam mortuis, ſequitur Juſtificationem ex opere Miſſarum contingere non ex fide; verum hoc omnino Scripturæ repugnat, quæ tradit nos gratis propter Chriſtum per fidem juſtificari, ac peccata nobis condonari, & in gratiam nos recipi, atque ita non alieno opere, ſed propria fide propter Chriſtum, ſingulos juſtos fieri: At illi docent alienum opus pro remittendis peccatis alteri, quod quidem merum eſt ſomnium & figmentum humanum, repugnans Evangelicæ Doctrinæ; nam tunc demum adplicatur gratia per Verbum & Sacramentorum uſum, cum ipſi utimur Sacramentis, ſed iſti pro aliis utuntur, quod perinde eſt ac ſi pro aliis Baptizarentur. Neque vero poteſt dici quantopere deformet Chriſti Gloriam opinio illa de Miſſa, quæ ex opere operato conferat gratiam, aut applicata pro aliis mereatur eis remiſſionem venialium & mortalium peccatorum culpæ & pœnæ; idque aperte adverſari Scripturæ, & a vero uſu Miſſæ ſive communionis longe diſcedere, vel inde liquet, quia Miſſa ſive Synaxis ideo eſt inſtituta, ut fides Lis qui utitur Sacramento recordetur quæ beneficia accipiat per Chriſtum, & erigat ac ſoletur pavidam conſcientiam; ideoque ibi porrigi debet Sacramentum, his quibus opus eſt conſolatione, ſicut Ambroſius ait, quia ſemper pecco, ſemper debeo accipere Medicinam. Atque hic uſque ad tempora Gregorii in Eccleſia Miſſæ uſus fuit, neque antea privatæ Miſſæ cognitæ fuerunt; quod quidem cum multis aliis Patrum Sententiis patet, tum Chryſoſtomi, qui inquit, Sacerdotem ſtare ad altare & alios ad Communionem accerſere, alios arcere: Et ex veteribus Canonibus conſtat, unum aliquem celebraſſe Miſſam, a quo reliqui Presbyteri & Diaconi ſumpſerunt corpus Domini, ſic enim inquit Canon Nicenus, Accipiant Diaconi ſecundum Ordinem poſt Presbyteros ab Epiſcopo vel Preſbytero, Sacram Communionem. Et ſcribit Epiphanius, in Aſia Synaxim ter celebratam ſingulis ſeptimanis, nec quotidianas fuiſſe Miſſas, eumque morem ab Apoſtolis traditum eſſe; qui quidem Miſſæ uſus etiam hodie in Græcis Parochiis durare dicitur, nam tantum ſingulis dominicis diebus & feſtis, fit ibi una publica Miſſa, privatas vero

non

non habent : fuitque Græca Eccleſia hoc nomine longe fœlicior quam Latina, quæ meliorem uſum cœnæ Domini, Synaxis, ſive Miſſæ retinuerit, neque vel Sacramentum Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, contra claram Evangelii Doctrinam diviſerit, ut paulo ante diximus, neque etiam privatas Miſſas Sacræ Scripturæ acerrime repugnantes, receperit; cujus quidem rei hanc potentiſſimam cauſam fuiſſe arbitramur, quod Græca Eccleſia Romanum Epiſcopum auctorem perverſæ & Idololatricæ Doctrinæ, & omnium pœne abuſuum qui in Eccleſiam introducti ſunt, pro ſummo Eccleſiæ Univerſalis ſive Catholicæ capite, nunquam agnoverit.

Sed concedunt quidam adplicationes quæ fiunt in Miſſa prò vivis & mortuis, & item opiniones, quod ex opere operato gratiam mereri traduntur, non eſſe probandas, & diſputant abolitis illis opinionibus impiis, alia ratione Miſſas privatas retinendas, nempe quia ſunt grâtiarum actiones, quæ poſſint ab uno vel a pluribus fieri. Hæc ſane ratio videtur aliquam habere ſpeciem, eſtque σοφὸν φάρμακον, ut inquit Sophocles, quo in cauſis invalidis, & ut ipſe ait, morbidis utendum ſit. Si Miſſa tantum eſſet gratiarum actio, poſſit fortaſſis tali aliquo prætextu colorari; verum conſtat eam principaliter inſtitutam eſſe, ut ſit Sacramentum quod per miniſtrum alteri exhibeatur, ut accipiens & credens conſequatur gratiam. Et hoc quidem principali fine poſito, accedit alter de gratiarum actione; quare nullo modo ab inſtitutione Chriſti recedere, ſed modum & formam illius Inſtitutionis, & exemplum veteris Eccleſiæ ſequi & retinere debemus : Nulla enim novitas, præſertim in Sacramentis, recipienda eſt, contra formam a Chriſto traditam, & contra exempla veteris Eccleſiæ.

Porro conſtat privatas Miſſas eſſe recentes, & a Romanis Pontificibus introductas, & ne hodie quidem, ut paulo ante dictum eſt, in Græcis Eccleſiis eſſe, niſi Parochiales diebus feſtis, cum quibus adhuc manet veſtigium Communionis : Cum igitur contra Dei Verbum Miſſa privata introducta ſit, eamque humanum tantum & commentitium cultum eſſe appareat, quis dubitat quin talis Miſſa, ſine ullo periculo omitti poſſit, imo debeat, cum repugnet Evangelio ? Eſtque pium & ſanctum opus, verum Miſſæ ſive Synaxis uſum Eccleſiæ reſtituere ac reddere, quo per Romanum Pontificem, hoc eſt Antichriſtum, multis jam annis miſerabiliter privata fuit, qui quidem adhuc mordicus privatas Miſſas tenet, aſſerit, & defendit. Neque id immerito, facile enim ſentit quod labefactata Miſſa privata, labefactetur imo ruat Univerſum ejus Regnum & Tyrannis, quæ Miſſis illis nititur; ut enim in ſeminibus cauſa eſt Arborum & ſtirpium, ita hujus luctuoſiſſimi dominatus, imperii, tyrannidis, nundinationis & idololatriæ Pontificiæ ſemen fuit ſuperſtitio Miſſarum privatarum : Nam hæ pepererunt & ſuſtinuerunt, veluti Atlas quidam, totum Papatum; ad harum normam omnia redacta ſunt, ſiquidem nihil fuit, quod non Miſſa aliqua expiari poſſe creditum eſt. His aucupatus Pontifex Romanus indulgentias, quibus immenſam pecuniam ex toto orbe terrarum prædatus eſt; hæ Monachorum turbas infinitas coacervarunt, cum eorum nullus alius eſſet uſus, quam demurmurandi Miſſas privatas, & alioquin inutile terræ pondus forent. Hæ ſunt & fuerunt univerſa pietas, quam Pontifex Romanus profitetur, hanc ſolam novit ille Religionem, quæ in Miſſis privatis conſiſtit; Doctrinam enim Evangelii non modo non habet, verum acerrime odit & proſequitur, & in

ſumma

ſumma his Miſſis ipſam prædicationem Verbi Divini Pontifex exterminavit, ut per omnia Antichriſti munere fungeretur : Nam in loco unius concionis Verbi, amplius mille Miſſæ privatæ, hoc eſt, humani & commentitii cultus, contra Divinum Verbum ſucceſſerunt ; cum non Miſſas fieri ſed Evangelium prædicare, & Sacramenta rite diſtribuere & administrare, Chriſtus Apoſtolis, quorum illi volunt eſſe ſucceſſores, mandaverit.

Curarunt igitur Illuſtriſſimi Principes noſtri, & alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes Principes & Status, privatas Miſſas penitus aboleri, & verum Miſſæ uſum ſive Synaxim Chriſti inſtitutioni, exemplo Apoſtolorum, veteris Eccleſiæ ac Patrum ſententiis conformem, in Eccleſiam revocarunt & reſtituerunt. Quæ quidem Miſſa ſive Synaxis ſumma cum reverentia celebratur, ſervatis pene omnibus uſitatis Cæremoniis, quæ non repugnant pietati ; & admiſcentur Germanicæ ſive vernaculæ cautiones ad docendum populum, præcepit enim Paulus, in Eccleſia uti lingua intellecta a populo. Porro, [illegible]ia propter communionem ſive uſum Sacramenti Miſſa inſtituta eſt, hi qui ſunt idonei & antea explorati, ſacramento utuntur ; ac dignitas & uſus Sacramenti, ſumma diligentia ac cura ex Verbo Dei populo commendatur, ut ſciant & intelligant homines, quantam conſolationem pavidis conſcientiis adferat, ac diſcant Deo credere, & optima quæque ab eo expectare & petere.

Et hunc quidem Sacramenti & Miſſæ uſum, Scripturæ conſentaneum, Deo gratum, & pietati conducibilem eſſe, Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra facile agnoſcit ; neque enim hic aliquid contra Dei Verbum admittitur, imo ſecundum Chriſti mandatum & ordinationem, qui hanc Sacram Communionem ad hunc finem inſtituit, omnia geruntur : Nulla eſt hic admixta, prava, aut impia opinio, ut in Miſſa privata Papiſtica, cujus finis & inſtitutio cum Evangelio pugnat. Nihil hic etiam abſque ſumma reverentia, ordine, & decoro, digno Eccleſiæ, fieri cernitur. Audemuſque adfirmare, majore Religione hunc verum Miſſæ uſum exhiberi apud nos, quam hactenus unquam ſub Papatu privatæ Miſſæ celebratæ fuerint, provocamuſque ad teſtimonia doctiſſimorum virorum, qui a Majeſtate Veſtra miſſi in illis locis fuerunt, & hæc omnia coram fieri viderunt & audierunt.

Quod enim Adverſarii clamitant, Noſtros omnes cultus Divinos, omnes Cæremonias, omnem denique Religionem abolere & labefactare, ea in re Principibus noſtris, & aliis Evangelii Doctrinam profitentibus, injuriam faciunt ; & hæc eos inſigni quadam malevolentia & odio pluſquam Vatiniano, ut dici ſolet, confingere & comminiſci clare adparet, cum ex Doctrina noſtrorum, quam conſentientem Sacris Literis in lucem ediderunt, & Scriptis ſuis univerſo orbi Chriſtiano promulgarunt, tum etiam exemplis noſtrarum Eccleſiarum, in quibus nolint velint coguntur fateri, omnia religioſius & ſanctius fieri, quam apud ipſos ; immo Dei beneficio univerſus populus, non tantum in templis eſt religioſior, ſed in tota diſciplina publica modeſtius ſe gerit, majoremque erga Magiſtratum civilem, & eos qui Eccleſiis præſunt, reverentiam & honorem exhibet, quam unquam antea factum fuerit : & hoc ſinceræ Evangelii Doctrinæ acceptum referre debemus, quæ ſingulos, rectius omnibus Pontificiis conſtitutionibus, ſui officii admonet, & ſola in quibus re vera pietas ac cultus divinus conſiſtat, tradit ac docet.

Porro, quod Miſſæ collocatæ ad quæſtum, ut ſub Papatu accidit, tur-

piter prophanentur, quodque hic abuſus in omnibus pene templis latiſſime pateat, non eſt obſcurum: Nam Chriſti beneficium qui nos precioſo ſuo ſanguine redemit, idque gratuito pro vili ſtipe & mercede vendere, & tale etiam opus inde conſtituere velle, quod ex ſui natura, hoc eſt ex opere operato, mereatur gratiam, & poſſit adplicari pro peccatis aliorum, mortuorum & vivorum, quis non videt ſummam eſſe impietatem? Quid enim eſt corpus Domini indigne tractare & ſumere, ſi hoc non eſſet? An poteſt etiam magis impium quidquam dici, quam illi de Miſſis iſtis docuerunt? Nempe quod Chriſtus ſua paſſione ſatisfecerit pro peccatis Originis, & inſtituerit Miſſam, in qua fieret Oblatio pro quotidianis delictis mortalibus & venialibus: cum Chriſtus pœnitentiam & remiſſionem peccatorum prædicari mandaverit; Miſſam vero, hoc eſt Synaxim, ad alium plane finem inſtituerit, viz. ut porrigatur Sacramentum his quibus opus eſt conſolatione, & ut per Verbum & Sacramentum credentes gratiam recipiant, & remiſſionem peccatorum conſequantur, non ut ipſi ſuum opus, quod quale quale ſit, humanum figmentum, humanus cultus eſt, contra Scripturam Deo offerant ac ſacrificent. Hoc enim non placat Deum, ut Chriſtus ipſe inquit, ſe fruſtra coli mandatis hominum: Nam Miſſam non eſſe tale opus ſive Sacrificium, quod mereatur gratiam & profit etiam aliis, inde adparet, quia Miſſa ſive Synaxis ad hoc eſt inſtituta, non ut Deo aliquid offeratur, ſed ut communicantes conſolationem hauriant, & veluti pignus ſeu certum ſignum gratiæ ac bonæ voluntatis Dei erga ſe recipiant, atque ita recordentur mortis Chriſti, hoc eſt, beneficiorum quæ per Chriſtum accipiunt, qui quidem pro nobis mortuus eſt, ſoluſque pro peccatis noſtris ſatisfecit, idque probant Verba ipſa quibus & Chriſtus & Paulus de Miſſa ſive Synaxi uſi ſunt.

Primum enim inquit Chriſtus, hoc eſt Corpus Meum, quod pro vobis traditur. Hæc ſunt Verba promiſſionis Divinæ quæ ſolam fidem exigunt, quibuſque offertur nobis gratia & remiſſio peccatorum, ergo non eſt Sacrificium, hoc eſt, opus quod Deo offeratur & quidem pro abolendis peccatis. Item Paulus ait, Annunciantes mortem Domini: Annunciare autem non eſt Sacrificare, hoc eſt tale opus Deo reddere, quo peccata deleantur. Præterea Evangelii textus ita ſonat, Fregit & dedit Diſcipulis, inquiens, accipite & comedite, &c. item, bibite ex hoc omnes, &c. accipere autem, comedere, & bibere, non eſt ſacrificare, quia hæc opera ex opere operato non delent peccata.

Neque mandatur hiſce verbis, ut nos Deo aliquid offeramus, ſed potius ut ab eo accipiamus, quia addit, pro vobis traditum, & ſanguis qui pro vobis effunditur; quæ Verba oſtendunt, non exhiberi a ſumentibus Euchariſtiam Deo Sacrificium, ſed donum hominibus datum. Præterea vero nemo dicit Laicos cum ſumunt Sacramentum, Sacrificare: at quantum ad hanc Sacram Communionem, Miſſam, ſive Synaxim pertinet, nulla eſt ratio diverſitatis, cum idem Chriſtus uno eodemque tempore ac momento, propter eundem finem & uſum, hoc Sacramentum abſque differentia utentium Sacerdotum vel Laicorum inſtituerit. Et quemadmodum prohibitio utriuſque ſpeciei, humanum tantum commentum & mandatum eſt; ita quod de Sacrificio Miſſæ ex opere operato gratiam promerente traditur, humana tantum opinio eſt, contra Verbum Dei, a quo in rebus maximis, nempe ad remiſſionem peccatorum, ſalutem animarum, & vitam æternam pertinentibus, nullo modo eſt diſcedendum:

Non

Non enim fruſtra Paulus inquit & bis repetit, Si nos aut Angelus de Cœlo Evangelizet vobis præter id quod Evangelizavimus & accepiſtis, Anathema ſit.

Præterea nec poteſt ratio diverſitatis adſignari ex Sacris Literis, cur magis dicant eos qui Sacramento Euchariſtiæ fruuntur Sacrificare, quam illos qui alio Sacramento, ut Baptiſmo, utuntur, cum utrumque nihil aliud ſit, quam Sacramenta, quæ Chriſtus horum inſtitutor & auctor prorſus ad alium finem, quam ut ſint talia Sacrificia, qualia illi comminiſcuntur, ordinavit. Sed oportuit Romanum Pontificem Miſſas privatas, ad opprimendam Chriſti, cum ipſe hoſtis eſt, gloriam attollere, ut populum Chriſtianum a veritate Evangelica & agnitione Chriſti, & Sacramentorum legitimo uſu, prorſus abduceret, Chriſtique bonitatem & miſericordiam obliteraret. Qui enim Miſſam tale Sacrificium eſſe cogitant, quo Deus placetur, hi non queunt Chriſti beneficium expendere pro dignitate, & in terroribus ac doloribus iræ & judicii Dei non habebunt refugium, neque bona conſcientia poterunt dona & ſigna amoris divina agnoſcere, ſi alieno opere Deum placari & peccata remitti ſibi perſuaſum habeant: Nam illi ipſi qui nituntur impias opiniones de Miſſa privata excuſare, hoc prætextu, quaſi Miſſa ideo vocetur Sacrificium, quia ſit gratiarum actio & ſacrificium laudis, hi convincuntur propriis ipſorum teſtimoniis & Scriptis quæ de Miſſis extant, hæque perſuaſiones hominum animis etiam hodie de Miſſis privatis inhærent: ſic enim Thomas inquit in Opuſculo de Sacramento Altaris, cur Miſſa inſtituta ſit? Corpus Domini ſemel oblatum eſt in cruce, pro debito originali, ſic offeratur jugiter pro quotidianis delictis in Altari, ut habeat in hoc Eccleſia munus ad placandum ſibi Deum, ſuper omnia legis Sacrificia precioſum & acceptum.

Alexander Papa, nihil in Sacrificiis Eccleſiæ majus eſſe poteſt, quam Corpus & Sanguis Chriſti, nec ulla oblatio hac potior eſt, ſed omnes præcellit: item ipſa veritas nos inſtruit, Calicem ac Panem in Sacramento offerre, quando ait, accipite & comedite, nam crimina atq; peccata, oblatis his Domino Sacrificiis, delentur. Et rurſus inquit, talibus hoſtiis delectabitur & placabitur Deus, & peccata dimittet ingentia. Gabriel de Canon. Miſſæ, Sacramentum Euchariſtiæ veluti Sacrificium ſummo patri oblatum, nedum veniale ſed etiam mortale, non dico ſumentium ſed omnium eorum pro quibus offertur, & quantum ad reatum culpæ & pœnæ, plus vel minus ſecundum diſpoſitionem eorum pro quibus offertur, tollit: unde Thomas in Quarto Diſt. 1, 2. q. 2. Euchariſtia in quantum eſt Sacrificium, habet effectum etiam in aliis pro quibus offertur, in quibus non præ-exigit vitam ſpiritualem in actu, ſed in potentia, & ideo ſi eos diſpoſitos inveniat, eis gratiam obtinet, virtute illius veri Sacrificii a quo omnis gratia in nos fluxit, & per conſequens peccata mortalia in eis delet, non ſicut cauſa proxima, ſed in quantum gratiam contritionis eis impetrat.

His & ſimilibus omnes libri Scholaſticorum pleni ſunt, quibus uno ore docent, Miſſam tale eſſe Sacrificium, quo gratiam homines mereantur ex opere operato, quod ad delenda aliorum peccata adplicari poſſit. Quæ Doctrina aut potius perverſum & impium figmentum, an pugnet cum Sacris Literis necne? An verum Miſſæ ſeu communionis uſum tradat necne? An Chriſti beneficium non magis obſcuret quam illuſtret, imo etiam prorſus tollat? Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati dijudicandum relinquimus, quæ pro ſua ſapientia, & non tantum in rebus politicis, ſed etiam Sacris & in omni genere doctrinarum acerrimo judicio, facile cenſebit, juſtiſſimam cauſam habuiſſe Principes noſtros & alios Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes, Miſſas privatas abrogandi, & verum Miſſæ ſive Communionis uſum, pro Chriſti gloria & conſolatione totius Eccleſiæ Chriſtianæ, reſtituendi & revocandi, poſtquam ex Dei Verbo cog-

noverunt,

noverunt, quantum privatæ Miſſæ a veritate Evangelica diſtent, quantumq; in iis inſit impietatis & idololatriæ: fuit enim unicum Sacrificium propitiatorium in mundo, viz. Mors Chriſti, qui, ut Paulus inquit, ſemel eſt pro nobis oblatus, & factus hoſtia pro peccatis noſtris, quod cætera legis Sacrificia propitiatoria ſignificarunt, quæ ſimilitudine quadam, erant ſatisfactiones redimentes juſtitiam legis, ne ex politia excluderentur illi qui peccaverant, eaq; ceſſaverunt poſt Revelatum Evangelium: in Novo Teſtamento, neceſſe eſt cultum tantum eſſe Spiritualem, hoc eſt, juſtitiam fidei & fructus fidei, quia adfert juſtitiam & vitam ſpiritualem & æternam, juxta, Dabo legem meam in cordibus eorum; & Chriſtus ait, veri adoratores adorabunt Patrem in ſpiritu & veritate, id eſt, vero cordis adfectu, qua de cauſa abrogati ſunt Levitici cultus, quod debeant ſuccedere cultus Spirituales mentis, & horum fructus ac ſigna, ut in Epiſtola ad Hebræos manifeſte docetur.

Ex quibus omnibus ſequitur Miſſam non eſſe Sacrificium, quod ex opere operato mereatur, faciente vel aliis remiſſionem peccatorum, ut illi docuerunt. Et quocunq; quidam fuco nitantur excuſare Miſſas privatas, ſemper eis refragatur & reclamat Doctrina ipſorũ de Miſſa, qua tam aliis poſſe adplicari tradiderunt, & peccata delere hominibus perſuaſerunt. Hæc opinio niſi reſtituto vero Miſſæ uſu, nunquam ex animis hominum delebitur, ſed perpetuo manet & redit is error, quod oporteat talem eſſe cultum in Eccleſia, quo Deus placetur.

Et ut videatur fictione juris; ut Jureconſulti loquuntur, Miſſam poſſe vocari ſacrificium memoriale ſive laudis: at cum id non ſit ſatisfactorium pro facientibus, vel adplicabile pro aliis, quo quis mereatur remiſſionem peccatorum, quorſum attinebit, relicto vero ejus uſu & inſtitutione, id in Eccleſiam introducere, ubi propter nullam humanam rationem, commentum, aut opinionem, a Chriſti mandato & ordinatione eſt diſcedendum? Eadem enim ratione; Natalis Domini & ſimilia feſta, quæ in Chriſti memoriam celebrantur, ſacrificia memorialia ſive Euchariſtica dici poſſent; imo talia Sacrificia verius ſunt, Evangelii prædicatio, fides, invocatio, gratiarum actio, adflictiones, aut adplicationes pro aliis; & Miſſæ principalis finis, ut ſupra diſſeruimus, is eſt, ut ſit Sacramentum, quod per miniſtrum alteri exhibeatur, quare non poteſt dici Sacrificium; cum nemo ignoret magnum inter Sacrificia & Sacramenta diſcrimen eſſe, his enim nos dona a Deo oblata accipimus, illis vero noſtrum Deo reddimus & offerimus.

Neque vero habent privatæ Miſſæ alios auctores quam Pontifices, qui a tempore Gregorii, nunc hanc, nunc illam cæremoniam, cantionem, aut orationem, ſinguli pro ſua ſanctitate & opinione adjecerunt, ut hiſtoriæ uno conſenſu teſtantur, donec eandem, egregium illud opus, dignum iſtis auctoribus exædificarunt, & relicto vero Miſſæ ſive Communionis uſu, ac obliterata doctrina de Chriſto, Univerſa Eccleſia Miſſis privatis in qua ſola omnem pœne ſanctitatem poſuerunt, repleta & obruta fuit.

Hæc Sereniſſime ac Potentiſſime Rex, noſtrorum Principum & aliorum Imperii ordinum, Evangelicam Doctrinam profitentium, Theologi & Doctores, juſtis voluminibus explicarunt, quæ quidem hac Epiſtola nos breviter adtingenda duximus; non quod Sereniſſimam Regiam Majeſtatem Veſtram hæc latere penitus putemus, neque enim ignoramus Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Veſtræ & veterũ & recentiũ ſcripta, de his & aliis Controverſiis Eccleſiaſticis diligentiſſime cognita eſſe, de quibus etiam Majeſtas Veſtra ſapientiſſime eruditiſſime ſæpe cum doctis viris conferre & diſputare ſolet: Sed hæc ideo fecimus ut Majeſtati Veſtræ quam poſſet fieri breviſſime, occaſionem & cauſas quaſdam abolitarũ privatarum Miſſarum apud nos, ſumma cum obſervantia ut decet exponeremus;

& adverſariorum calumnias, quibus cum apud Regiam Majeſtatem Veſtram tum alias, undecunque quæſita & arrepta occaſione, variis technis & figmentis, doctrinam ſinceriorem gravare & in odium omnium perducere conantur, declinaremus.

Neque vero ambigimus quin Majeſtas Veſtra, ut Rex eruditiſſimus & veritatis Evangelicæ amantiſſimus, facillime judicabit, quod non temere privatæ Miſſæ apud nos abrogatæ ſint, ſed juſtiſſimis & firmiſſimis rationibus, ex Dei Verbo quod ſolum errare non poteſt, ſincere & abſque ſophiſtica deductis, pro conſervanda & illuſtranda Chriſti Gloria, & hominum ſalute id factum eſſe: Et opponantur qualeſcunque excogitari poſſint cavillationes & ſophiſmata, tamen adparebit noſtros hoc agere quod ſit tutius, dum retinent modum & formam inſtitutionis Chriſti. Ac maxima pars Sacerdotum ſua ſponte apud nos deſiit Miſſas privatas celebrare, poſteaquam intellexerunt ex Evangelica Doctrina, quantum in iis erroris & impietatis eſſet; & plurimi ac doctiſſimi quique, qui Sacerdotia aut Parochias ſub Magiſtratibus alienis a ſincera Evangelii Doctrina tenebant, eas deſeruerunt, ne cogerentur facere contra ſuas conſcientias, ſeque ad ea loca in quibus Evangelii Doctrina libere prædicatur contulerunt; graviſſimum enim eſt quenquam in re præſertim tali, quæ Dei gloriam lædit, ac Divino Verbo repugnat, tanquam ad cultum divinum adigi, & compelli.

Sed ne Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Veſtræ prolixitate literarum ſimus moleſti, deſinemus plura de hoc articulo inpræſentiarum diſſerere.

Reſtat tertius locus inſtituti Argumenti, viz. de Conjugio Sacerdotum, quod itidem Romanus Epiſcopus contra Scripturam, contra leges naturæ, & contra omnem honeſtatem prohibuit, ac multorum peccatorum, ſcelerum & turpitudinis occaſionem præbuit: ſed fortaſſis ne poſſit dubitari eum eſſe Chriſti adverſarium, de quo cum illam ipſam prohibitionem, tum alia quædam quæ in illum ſolum adperte quadrant, Scriptura clare prædixit, oportuit eum talem legem Cælibatus Sacerdotalis ſancire, ut ſicut leo ex unguibus, ita Papa, hoc eſt Antichriſtus, ab hac prohibitione Sanctiſſimi & in omnibus honorabilis conjugii, agnoſceretur; ſic enim Paulus inquit, Spiritus autem manifeſte dicit, quod in noviſſimis temporibus diſcedent quidam a fide, attendentes Spiritibus Erroris & Doctrinis Dæmoniorum, in hypocriſi loquentium mendacium, cauteriatam habentium conſcientiam ſuam, prohibentium nubere: hæc ſi non in Romanum Epiſcopum congruunt, in quem alium convenient? nemo enim alius quam ipſe conjugium Sacerdotibus injuſtiſſime eripuit, & cælibatum impuriſſimum ſub ſpecie Sanctitatis, & ut Paulus ait in Hypocriſi & per mendacium introduxit. *De Conjugio Sacerdotum.*

Scriptura non minus Sacerdotibus, quam alterius ſortis hominibus matrimonium liberum permittit, ſunt enim de eadem carne, quæ totum genus humanum veſtit & continet, nati: non poſſunt igitur naturam ſuam mutare, non poſſunt carnem abjicere, nec abſque ſingulari Dei dono cælibes vivere, nam non quilibet, ut Chriſtus inquit, capit Verbum hoc: & Paulus, propter Fornicationem unuſquiſque ſuam Uxorem habeat; & peculiariter de Sacerdotibus ait, conſtituas per civitates Preſbyteros ſicut diſpoſui tibi, ſi quis ſine crimine eſt, unius Uxoris vir, Filios habens fideles, non in accuſatione luxuriæ; item, oportet Epiſcopum eſſe irreprehenſibilem, unius Uxoris virum: patet igitur hanc prohibitionem

non ex jure Divino, ſed potius contra Sacram Scripturam decretum eſſe.

At ſolet a quibuſdam Pontificiis defenſoribus opponi, quod licet conjugium Sacerdotum non videatur vetitum Divinis Literis, tamen Sacerdotes a veteribus temporibus in hunc uſque diem in cælibatu vixiſſe, eaque de cauſa addunt non eſſe diſcedendum hac in re a tali exemplo, neque permittendum conjugium Sacerdotibus. His, Sereniſſime ac potentiſſime Rex, adperte refragantur hiſtoriæ, tum Eccleſiaſticæ tum aliæ, ex quibus clare patet, Epiſcopos & Sacerdotes veteribus temporibus conjugatos fuiſſe.

Primum enim Spiridion Cyprius Epiſcopus, vir unus ex ordine prophetarum, ut Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica ait, Uxorem habuit ex qua filiam nomine Irenen ſuſcepit; deinde ordine pene omnes Epiſcopi Uxorati fuerunt, quorum plurimi Filii poſtea, tum Romani, tum alii Epiſcopi creati ſunt: fuit enim Sylverius Papa Hormiſdæ Epiſcopi Filius, Papa Theodorus Theodori Epiſcopi Hieroſolymitani, Papa Adrianus ſecundus Talari Epiſcopi, Joannes decimus Papa Sergii Papæ, Gelaſius Valerii Epiſcopi, Papa Joannes decimus quintus Leonis Preſbyteri Filius; & ne omnes enumeremus, patet vel unica hiſtoria Polycratis, ex cujus parentibus ſeptem fuerunt per ordinem Epiſcopi, ipſe vero fuit octavus: at non eſt credibile omnes illos ex illegitimis nuptiis prognatos eſſe, cum ipſi canones & decreta Synodorum doceant, conjugia Sacerdotum eſſe licita; ſic enim inquit Canon Apoſtolorum, ſi quis docuerit Sacerdotem ſub obtentu Religionis propriam Uxorem contemnere, Anathema ſit.

Item extat præclarum exemplum de Paphnutio confeſſore, qui univerſæ Synodo Nicenæ prohibitionem conjugii diſſuaſit, & obtinuit ne hac ex parte ſancitum, ſed hoc in uniuſcujuſque voluntate non neceſſitate permiſſum fuerit. Quæ Hiſtoria etiam in jure Pontificio recenſetur, extatque decretum quoddam ſextæ Synodi, in quo palam damnatur prohibitio conjugii Sacerdotalis.

Sed objicitur iterum, propter votum caſtitatis, quod Sacerdotes præſtiterunt, non poſſe eis permitti nuptias. Hoc quale votum ſit, quamque obligatorium, quod ſine peccato ſervari non poteſt, Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra pro ſumma ſapientia & Doctrina, facile æſtimabit: neque enim donum caſtitatis omnibus datum eſt, idque cælibatus ipſe Sacerdotum, & quotidiana experientia etiam nunc teſtatur; & quid de tali voto ſentiendum ſit, Sanctorum Patrum ſententia declaravit, ſic enim Auguſtinus ait, quidam nubentes poſt votum adſerunt adulteros eſſe, ego autem dico vobis quod graviter peccant qui tales dividunt. Et Cyprianus de virginibus qui continentiam voverunt, ſic inquit, ſi perſeverare noluit, vel non poſſunt, melius eſt ut nubant, quam ut in ignem deliciis ſuis cadant.

Cenſent itaque prædicti Sancti Patres, tale votum non debere impedire Matrimonium, ſicut revera etiam non poteſt obſtare quo minus hi quibus donum continentiæ non contigit, matrimonium contrahant: nam melius eſt nubere quam uri, ut inquit Paulus; Quid autem eſt impurius cœlibatu illo Sacerdotali? quam pauci vero continent? quam plurimi in fornicationibus, adulteriis, & id genus ſimilibus ac gravioribus peccatis & flagitiis pene quotidie deprehenduntur, contra quod ſi leges ſevere animadverterent, non habituri eſſent, quo de illo ficto & hypocritico cœlibatu adeo gloriarentur?

Ac

Ac tradunt Hiſtoriæ in Germania triennium aut amplius, Sacerdotes acerrime reſtitiſſe Sanctioni Pontificis Hildebrandi de cælibatu, qui ſumma vi eis Uxores adimere conatus eſt, hique juſtiſſimas cauſas contra illam conſtitutionem ac tyrannidem Pontificiam, pro Matrimonio defendendo allegarunt, in qua re cum nihil æqui obtinere potuerint, tandem ingens orta eſt ſeditio contra Archiepiſcopum Moguntinum, qui decretum pontificium detulat, adeo ut is ab incæpto deſtiterit; & vix tandem Papa poſt multas diras execrationes & bullas, quibus etiam cœlum ipſum expugnare conatus eſt, miſeris Sacerdotibus facultatem liberam conjugii, contra divina & humana jura abſtulerit, & omnis generis libidinis & impuritatis exercendæ occaſionem præbuerit: Extat quoque Epiſtola ad Nicolaum Epiſcopum Romanum I. Divi Udalrici Epiſcopi Auguſtenſis, qua is graviſſimis & optimis argumentis diſſuadet & damnat prohibitionem conjugii Sacerdotum.

Cum igitur Principes noſtri, & alii profitentes Evangelii Doctrinam, patefacta per Dei Gratiam iterum veritate, intellexerint quid de prohibitione illa pontificia conjugii Sacerdotalis ſentiendum eſſet, & palam viderent & experirentur, quod non poſſet cœlibatus ille ſine peccatis & ſcandalis conſiſtere, ruperunt in ea etiam vincula pontificia, ac Matrimonium Sacerdotibus, ſicut hoc Scriptura Sacra & exempla Sanctorum Patrum ac veteris Eccleſiæ exigunt & teſtantur, liberum permiſerunt. Exiſtimarunt enim hoc quoque ad ſuum officium pertinere, ut infinitorum ſcandalorum & ſcelerum, quæ neceſſario ſecum trahit cælibatus Sacerdotalis, occaſionem & materiam præſcinderent & auferrent; publicæque honeſtati hac quoque in re conſulerent; maxime cum animadverterent quantæ etiam abominationes, & in ordine Sacerdotali, & in Monaſteriis Veſtalium ac Monachorum evenerint, in quibus compertum eſt ſæpe infantes crudeliter necatos, pharmacis fœtus depulſos, & ſimilia nefaria crimina commiſſa, quos ſolos fructus cælibatus ille protulit: ideoque plurimi nunc ſunt conjugati Sacerdotes apud nos, multi etiam cælibes, idque ejuſque conſcientiæ ut vel ducat uxorem, vel a conjugio abſtineat, permittitur; modo ita vivat ne ſit aliis offendiculo, alioqui enim non minus in Sacerdotes quam reliquum vulgus, hac quoque parte, ſecundum leges politicas animadvertitur. Ac per Dei Gratiam, hoc inde ſecutum eſt, quod eorum conſcientiis, quibus continentiæ donum non contigit, conſultum fuerit, plurimorum flagitiorum & ſcelerum occaſio ceſſaverit, matronis ac puellis quibus plerique iſtorum ſub ſpecie pietatis ſæpiſſime inhiabant, & laqueos nectebant, nihil ejuſmodi periculi ſit; & in ſumma, quod quum tum Officia Eccleſiaſtica tum politica majore reverentia & honeſtate tractentur, quodque ab univerſis in majore honore & favore habeantur Sacerdotes, quam antea in illo pleno ſcandulis cælibatu acciderit, id quoque magna ex parte honeſtum conjugium Sacerdotum præſtat.

Adhæc, nulli acrius & conſtantius oppugnant Romanum Pontificem, & tum Matrimonii libertatem, tum ſanam Doctrinam ab illo obſcuratam & oppreſſam defendunt, quam hi qui ab ejus jugo impuri illius cælibatus liberati ſunt: & honeſte etiam ſuos liberos, quos ex conjugio ſuſcipiunt educare ſolent, quibus haud dubie Deus etiam poſt mortem parentum, ubi in timore Domini aliti & edocti fuerint, proſpiciet; graviſſimum enim eſſet, Sacerdotes ideo a conjugio arcere, quia ſua munia ſive officia tantum ad vitam ſuam, non autem jure hæreditario tenent;

eadem

eadem ratione multis aliis qui ſunt aut in publicis muneribus, aut in privatis Miniſteriis, Matrimonium interdicendum foret. Quod quidem ſi fieret, Reip. plus incommodi quam boni allaturum eſſet; cum & Sacrarum Literarum Auctoritate, Sanctiſſimorum Patrum Sententiis, legum naturæ & gentium teſtimonio, & omnium ſapientiſſimorum virorum judicio ac ſuffragiis conſtet, Matrimonium ſemper iis qui cælibes vivere non queant, ad vitanda graviora pericula, conceſſum & liberum eſſe debere.

Hæc, Sereniſſime ac invictiſſime Rex, coram Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtate Veſtra, breviter diſſerenda duximus, ut Majeſtati Veſtræ rationes quaſdam commemoraremus, cur Illuſtriſſimi Principes noſtri, & alii Evangelii Doctrinam profitentes Principes & Status Imperii, in his tribus Articulis adeo diſſentiant a Romano Pontifice, ut ſicut in reliquis Doctrinæ Chriſtianæ partibus, a veritate vel latum digitum non diſcedendum eſſe exiſtiment, ita in his etiam decreverint, abjecta ejus tyrannide, pro Gloria Evangelii, & ad vitanda infinita ſcelera, perdurare: neque vero hic dicemus de aliis abuſibus a Romano Pontifice introductis, in quos imprimis Confeſſio Auricularis recenſeri meretur, qua ille, & Poteſtatem clavium tantum ad turpiſſimum quæſtum & tyrannidem redegit, & Confeſſionem ipſam, quæ informandarum & conſolandarum conſcientiarum gratia ſalubriter inſtituta fuit, carnificinam tantum Conſcientiarum reddidit, perque eam tum omnes Reges, Principes, & Potentatus ſub ſuo jugo tenuit, tum multorum malorum auctor extitit; de qua quid noſtri ſentiant, ac qua reverentia in Eccleſiis retineant, edita ipſorum ſcripta teſtantur.

Ac gratulamur nobis datam occaſionem hæc Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtati Veſtræ exponendi, ejuſq; cenſuræ committendi: Cum enim Majeſtas Veſtra & ſumma Doctrina, ſapientia ac ſtudio veritatis prædita ſit, & Romani Epiſcopi tyrannidem (haud ſine mente deum, ſive numine divum, ut Poeta inquit) itidem ex ſuis ampliſſimis Regnis exterminari curaverit, neque amplius per Dei Gratiam illius impiis opinionibus captiva teneatur; perſuaſiſſimum nobis habemus Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ Regiæ Majeſtatis hiſce de rebus maximis, quæ ad Dei Gloriam, ſalutem Eccleſiæ, & perpetuam profligationem Romani Antichriſti pertinent, æquiſſimum ac liberrimum fore judicium, quod ſane ii, quibus vel Doctrina aut veritatis ſtudium deeſt, vel animum habent addictum Pontificiis Opinionibus, vel metu interdum prohibentur, aut etiam ab affectibus diverſe trahuntur, non adeo facile præſtare poſſunt; & plurimi interdum inſervientes tempori, fingunt ſe odiiſſe pontificem, ſimulantque ſtudium veritatis, quibus tamen revera aliud eſt cordi, hi vero quum non poſſint nec debeant de hiſce controverſiis ferre ſententiam, Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra nequaquam ignorat.

Non autem dubitamus, quin ut quiſque eſt eruditiſſimus, & veritatis Evangelicæ amantiſſimus, ita facillime eum cauſam noſtram immo Chriſti & Eccleſiæ adprobaturum eſſe, neque enim ea ullum commodum aut emolumentum privatum quæritur, ſed ſolum agitur de abolendis impiis abuſibus in Chriſti Eccleſiam per Antichriſtum invectis, & Chriſti Gloria illuſtranda, ac veris cultibus reſtituendis, & ut hominum Conſcientiæ jugo ac tyrannide pontificia liberentur, ac ſcandala publica, quantum fieri poſſit è medio tollantur. Quarum quidem rerum ſtudium quo jure reprehendi queat, ut etiam magis favore & imitatione dignum cenſendum

dum ſit: Cum enim omnium bene conſtitutarum Rerumpub. hic præcipue finis & ſcopus eſſe debeat, ut & Dei Gloria ornetur, & publica ſalus, honeſtas, pax, & tranquillitas conſervetur, quis dubitat eos qui ſedent ad gubernacula Rerumpub. & ad hæc tanquam ad Cynoſuram ut dici ſolet, curſum ſuum & omnem rationem regendi Rempublicam inſtituunt, maximis laudibus dignos eſſe? Et quoniam Sereniſſima Regia Veſtra Majeſtas, ut Rex ſapentiſſimus & eruditiſſimus, hunc quoque ſcopum in gubernandis ampliſſimis & laudatiſſimis Regnis & Provinciis ſuis, ob oculos habere luce meridiana clarius adparet, non poſſumus non nobiſipſis, quum in hac honeſtiſſima cauſa promovendæ Chriſti gloriæ & publicæ utilitatis ad Sereniſſimam Regiam Majeſtatem Veſtram Oratores miſſi ſumus, non gratulari? non poſſumus etiam non fælices judicare univerſos ſubditos Majeſtatis Veſtræ, quibus divina bonitate talis Rex & Princeps contigerit, qui cum aliis regiis virtutibus excellit, tum ſtudio veræ pietatis & veritatis Evangelicæ omnibus modis admirandus conſpicitur.

Sunt quidem illa maxima Remp. certis & juſtis legibus civilibus conſtituere, bonos tueri & juvare, improbos pœnis adficere, arcere injurias, pacem & concordiam ſubditorum conſervare; quis enim non tanquam Deum aliquem talem Principem amplectendum & honorandum putet, a quo iſta præſtentur: ſed adhuc ſunt majora, ſi vera pietas acceſſerit, ſi Chriſti Gloria ornetur, ſi Dei Verbum in pretio habeatur, ſi cultus Divinæ voluntati conſentanei inſtituantur, ſi hominum conſcientiis conſulatur, & publica ſcandala e medio tollantur; illa enim tantum hanc civilem vitam attingunt, quam unumquemq; quum tempus præfinitum advenerit, deſerere oportet; hæc vero ad æternam ſalutem pertinent quæ bonos & pios, ceſſante hac miſera conditione humanæ vitæ, expectat, quibuſq; & in hoc, & in futuro ſæculo, maxima præmia propoſita ſunt. Hoc eſt cur Deus Reges honore ſui nominis ornat, cum ait, ego dixi Dii eſtis, maxime ut res divinas intelligant, & veram Religionem in mundo conſervent; huc præcipue Scriptura hortatur, cum inquit, nunc Reges intelligite, & erudimini qui judicatis terram, ſervite Domino, &c. huc invitant exempla præſtantiſſimorum regum in Sacris Literis, qui ſumma cura, opera, ac ſtudio veram Religionem promoverunt, & impios cultus abrogarunt: hoc David, hoc Joſias, hoc Joſophat, hoc Ezechias, & deinceps omnes Sanctiſſimi Reges præſtiterunt. Eadem cum Sereniſſ. R. M. Veſtra haud dubie etiam cogitet, imo jam nunc in hoc totis viribus incumbat, ut ſincera Evangelii Doctrina Papæ Tyrannide oppreſſa reſtituatur, Gloria Chriſti itidem a Pontifice obſcurata iterum illuſtretur, & impii abuſus ab illo ipſo Antichriſto in Eccleſiam tanquam venenum quoddam peſtilentiſſimum ſparſi & introducti abolcantur, ac veri & Divinis Literis conſentanei cultus & cæremoniæ, conſtituantur, non dubitabimus quin Deus Opt. Max. Sereniſſ. R. Majeſtatis Veſtræ conatus & conſilia, in hiſce rebus Sanctiſſimis & Honeſtiſſimis fortunaturus ſit, & pro ſua bonitate clementer effecturus, ut inter Sereniſſ. R. M. Veſtram & Principes noſtros, ac eorum in cauſa Religionis confœderatos, talis concordia conſtituatur, quam & in laudem Evangelii, & publicam totius Chriſtiani Orbis utilitatem ceſſuram, & majori exitio Romano Antichriſto futuram eſſe, minime ambigimus; eſtque optima ſpes, ut volente Deo, plures Reges, Principes, & potentatus, ad hanc Sanctiſſimam cauſam accedant, ac Evangelicæ veritatis Doctrinam agnoſcant &

recipiant, ſicut etiam hactenus per Dei Gratiam, maximi progreſſus facti ſunt, & non tantum in Germania, verum etiam extra Germaniam, Potentiſſimi Reges, Principes & civitates, Divini Verbi Doctrinam receperunt.

Adparetque homines paſſim agnita veritate, ex Scriptis eorum qui Evangelii Doctrinam profitentur & docent, per totum pene orbem terrarum ſparſis, ſanioris Doctrinæ admodum cupidos eſſe, quorum preces aliquando Deus pro ſua benignitate exaudiet, ac ſuum Verbum illuminatis mentibus Regum & Principum latiſſime propagabit, ut ſit unus paſtor, hoc eſt Dominus noſter Ieſus Chriſtus, & unum ovile quod eſt Eccleſia Catholica, quæ profitetur ſincerum Chriſti Evangelium, & illi conſentaneum uſum Sacramentorum retinet, non Papiſtica aut Romana, quæ utrumque reprobat, odit, & oppugnat.

Quod reliquum eſt, Sereniſſime ac Potentiſſime Rex, Domine Clementiſſime, precamur & optamus ut Sereniſſ. Regia Majeſtas Veſtra in cæpto negotio veritatis Evangelicæ pro illuſtranda Chriſti Gloria & ſalute publica, per Dei Gratiam fortiter pergat, quod quidem Majeſtatem Veſtram, ut Regem veræ pietatis & omnis virtutis ac Doctrinæ amantiſſimum, facturam nihil dubitamus: Oramuſque ut Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra dato benigno reſponſo, ad Illuſtriſſimos Principes noſtros, quam primum fieri queat, ne commodam præſentis Navigationis occaſionem negligamus, clementer nos dimittat; & ut Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra, erga quam noſtra debita officia atque ſervitia ſumma cum obſervantia perpetuo conſtabunt, has noſtras literas pro ſua inſigni humanitate, bonitate ac clementia, in optimam partem accipiat, noſque etiam clementer commendatos habeat. Bene valeat Sereniſſima Regia Majeſtas Veſtra, quam Deus Opt. Max. pro illuſtranda & propaganda nominis ſui Gloria & publica ſalute, diu ſervet incolumem. Datæ Londini quinto die Auguſti Anno Dom. 1538.

Veſtræ Sereniſſimæ Regiæ

Majeſtatis

Addictiſſimi & obſequentiſſimi,

Franciſcus Burgratus
Vicecancellarius.

Georgius a Boyneburgh
D. Oratores.

Friderichus Myconius
Eccleſiaſtes Gothanus.

VIII. *The King's Answer to the former Letter.*

LIteras Veſtras, Egregii ac præſtantiſſimi Oratores, per miniſtrum veſtrum nuper ad nos miſſas ſumma humanitate plenas, atque ingentem erga nos benevolentiam ſpirantes, tum libenter accepimus, tum magna cum voluptate legimus; quibus ſignificatis vos, poſt expoſita nobis mandata, cum quibuſdam Epiſcopis & Theologiæ Doctoribus a nobis deſignatis de Chriſtianæ Religionis nonnullis articulis per duos menſes contuliſſe; non dubitare quoque quin inter Principes veſtros & nos, atq; utrorumq; Epiſcopos Theologos & ſubditos, firma perpetuaq; concordia in Evangelii Doctrina ad laudem Dei, & Romani Antichriſti perniciem ſit ſequutura: Verum quia reliquam diſputationem de abuſibus expectare non poteſtis, cum jam naves appulerint vos in patriam deportaturæ, ante diſceſſum veſtrum exiſtimatis veſtri officii eſſe ut ſententiam veſtram de quibuſdam abuſuum articulis nobis declaretis, de quibus nos poſt diſceſſum veſtrum cum Epiſcopis & Theologis noſtris conferre poſſemus. Et quia tria capita præcipua putatis quæ fundamentum Pontificiæ Tyrannidis ſuſtentare videntur, nempe Prohibitionem utriuſque ſpeciei in cæna Domini, Miſſas privatas, & Prohibitionem Conjugii Sacerdotum; de his articulis ſententiam veſtram ingenue aperitis, atque eam judicio noſtro quantumcunq; id ſit, & cenſuræ committitis: Quis non hanc veſtram benevolentiam, Egregii Oratores, ſummopere amplectatur, Quis non hanc Veſtram gratitudinem modis omnibus admiretur? Qui nobiſcum ea communicare ſtudetis, quæ non modo ad præſentem vitam tranſigendam ſed ad futuram quoque aſſequendam conferunt? Enimvero ſi illos non abs re exiſtimamus amicos, qui in Regionum commerciis ea quæ ſunt grata atque commoda important, ne quid uſquam deſit quod ad præſentem vitam degendam pertinet, quanto magis illi ſunt amici judicandi, qui quæ ad æternam vitam conferunt impertiri non gravantur! nam quæ præſentis vitæ ſubſidia parantur durabilia diu non ſunt, quæ vero ad æternam promovent nunquam intermoriuntur; quinimo amicitia ipſa terrena, quantumvis ingens, quantumvis firma, finem habet è vita exceſſum, charitas vero quæ nunquam excidit poſt hanc vitam ſplendeſcit magis. Et quia noſtrum judicium non aſpernari videmini, quod nos ipſi indignum exiſtimamus, ut de rebus tam arduis judicemus, atque ea proponitis quæ putatis inprimis amplectenda, qua in re non vulgarem ſed ingentem vim erga nos amoris oſtenditis, ne nos non reſpondere huic veſtræ tantæ gratitudini videremur, ſi quæ nobis ad præſens videntur vobiſcum non communicaremus, decrevimus itidem de his tribus Articulis nonnihil attingere, & pectus noſtrum ingenue vobis aperire: Quo fiet ut mutuus inter nos & Principes veſtros amor eo magis augeſcat, eo diutius foveatur, ſi nihil occultum inter amicos retentetur, ſed ſumma ſinceritate gerantur omnia, id quod nos cum omnibus amicis ſemper facere conſuevimus; quod noſtrum perpetuum inſtitutum in præſentia apud Amiciſſimos, eoſque quos habemus chariſſimos, mutare nequaquam libuit. Verum de Articulis ipſis tandem agamus.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

De utraque Specie.

Quod inprimis ſub utraq; Specie ſemper Euchariſtiam populis ſecundum primariam Chriſti inſtitutionem dandam eſſe exiſtimetis,& nullo pacto ſub altera tantum, non poſſumus quovis pacto adduci, egregii & præſtantiſſimi Oratores, ut putemus vos id ſerio affirmaſſe, ſed forſan probandi cauſa nobis id protuliſſe, ut quid ſentiamus intelligeretis; nam ipſa opinio tam aliena eſt a recta Scripturæ intelligentia, ut vix quivis id ſerio affirmare præſumeret, quod latius in hac Epiſtola declarabimus. Nec nobis perſuadere poſſumus, etſi occaſio ſit, vos non nobiſcum credere, quod ſub ſpecie Panis ſit realiter & ſubſtantialiter verum & vivum Corpus Chriſti, & una cum Corpore Sanguis verus, alioqui fatendum eſſet Corpus ibi exſangue eſſe, quod nefas eſſet dicere, cum Caro illa Chriſti non modo viva, ſed & vivificatrix ſit; & quod ſub ſpecie vini non modo vivus & verus Chriſti Sanguis ſit, ſed etiam una cum vero Sanguine viva & vera etiam Corporis ſit Caro. Quod cum ita ſit, neceſſario conſequetur etiam eos qui ſub altera ſpecie communicant, & ſolum ſub ſpecie Panis Corpus Chriſti ſumunt, non fraudari Communione Sanguinis Chriſti, atque eos etiam qui ſub ſpecie vini Communicant non fraudari communione Corporis Domini; Quocirca cum ſub alterutra ſpecie utrumq; contineatur, viz. & Corpus & Sanguis Chriſti, utravis ſolum ſpecies porrigatur populis, utrumque, id eſt tam Sanguis quam Corpus Chriſti,per hoc eiſdem exhibeatur. Nam Chriſtus ipſe ſub altera ſpecie dediſſe legitur in Evangelio Lucæ Diſcipulis duobus in Emaus euntibus, quando agnitus eſt in fractione Panis; ſcribitur enim, quod cum recumberet cum eis, accepit panem & benedixit, ac fregit & porrigebat illis, & aperti ſunt oculi eorum,& cognoverunt eum fractione panis. Ubi de Euchariſtia eum locum vetuſtiſſimi Authores Chryſoſtomus, Theophylactus, & Auguſtinus intelligunt, & tamen de vini poculo nulla ibi fit mentio: Unde Chriſtus qui in altera ſpecie miniſtravit Euchariſtiam, libertatem Eccleſiæ ſponſæ ſuæ reliquiſſe videtur, ut imitetur ſponſi ſui veſtigia, ac ſimiliter ſub altera ſpecie, ſicut ſub utraque, communicare libere poſſit. Nam Chriſtus qui ſub utraq; ſpecie Communionem docuit, etiam de Communione ſub altera ipſe exemplum reliquit, qui ſecum tamen nuſquam vel in præceptis, vel in exemplis diſſidet.

Simile idem Lucas in Actis Apoſtolorum citat, quando poſt adventum Spiritus Sancti, prædicante Petro, appoſitæ ſunt animæ circiter tria millia, inquiens, Erant autem perſeverantes in Doctrina Apoſtolorum & Communicatione & fractione panis & orationibus; Ubi ſimiliter de Euchariſtia eum locum intelligunt veteres, & de poculo nulla fit ibi mentio. Jam ſi Chriſtum ipſum Autorem, ſi Apoſtolos ab eo ad docendum orbem miſſos patronos habet, Communio ſub una ſpecie nempe Panis, uſitata in Eccleſia non eſt tanquam Evangelicis præceptis contraria, ſtatim repudianda; nam Apoſtoli, qui per adventum Spiritus edocti ſunt omnem veritatem, nunquam in fractione Panis Communionem dediſſent populo, ſi utraq; ſpecies de præcepto Chriſti ſemper neceſſario fuiſſet porrigenda, ne Chriſti jubentis parum memores inſtitutum ejus mutaſſe viderentur.

Porro ipſa Chriſti Verba, quæ poſt Evangeliſtas Paulus totam cœnam dominicam Corrinthiis enarrans citat, nos admonent Chriſtum ſeparatim

de

de alterutra ſpecie locutum eſſe ; ait enim, Dominus Ieſus in qua nocte tradebatur, accepit panem & gratias agens fregit, & dixit, accipite & manducate, Hoc eſt Corpus meum quod pro vobis traditur, hoc facite in mei commemorationem. Ecce Chriſtus de Corpore ſuo ſub ſpecie panis ſumendo ſeparatim locutus eſt, inquiens, Hoc facite, priuſquam ullam de poculo faceret mentionem. Poſtea autem de Calice ait Paulus, Similiter & Calicem poſtquam cænavit accepit dicens, Hic calix Novum Teſtamentum eſt in meo ſanguine, hoc facite quotieſcunq; bibetis in mei commemorationem : Nec dixit ſicut de corpore dixerat ſimpliciter, Hoc facite in mei commemorationem, ſed dixit, Hoc facite, cum hâc adjectione, nempe quotieſcunq; bibetis, in mei commemorationem, per hoc nobis indicans non ſemper ſub ſpecie vini ſumendum eſſe ſanguinem una cum corpore ſub ſpecie Panis, ſed quotieſcunq; ſumeretur Sanguis ſub ſpecie Vini in Commemorationem Chriſti id faciendum.

Ecce rurſum Chriſtus poſt diſtributionem corporis ſui, peracta cœna in qua corpus ſuum ſub ſpecie Panis ſeparatim prius dederat, iterum ſeparatim ſub ſpecie Vini Sanguinem ſuum offert, inquiens, Hoc facite quotieſcunq; bibetis in mei commemorationem, ſignificans nobis & ſeorſum nonnunquam alterum porrigi poſſe, & tamen cum ita ſit, utriuſq; vim integram populis dari, alioqui ſuffeciſſet ſemel duntaxat de utroq; fuiſſe dictum, Hoc facite, nec de Calice adjeciſſet Hoc facite quotieſcunque bibetis, cum prius de ſpecie Panis ſimpliciter dixiſſet Hoc facite, niſi ſeparatim ea ſumi poſſe judicaret.

Neque quiſquam negare poteſt Diſcipulos in cœna ſub ſpecie panis ſumpſiſſe Corpus Chriſti, nam cœnantibus illis, accepit panem & benedixit, ac fregit deditq; illis, dicens Hoc eſt Corpus meum ; Calicem autem non niſi poſt intervallum ac peracta cœna porrexit, niſi quis adeo ſtupidus eſſet, ut crederet poſt ſumptionem ſpeciei panis non prius eos ſumpſiſſe Corpus Chriſti, quum poſtquam cænavit porrexiſſet Calicem ; quaſi vero priora Verba Chriſti irrita fuiſſent, cum de ſpecie panis diceret Hoc eſt Corpus meum, aut ipſa diſtributio facta Diſcipulis nullam vim haberet, priuſquam de Calice peracta Cæna bibiſſent ; Quod cum impium ſit ſentire, tum ipſum Verbum & factum Chriſti, proh nefas ! evacuat. Denique ipſe Paulus, poſtquam etiam de utraque ſpecie conjunctim locutus eſt, rurſum de ipſis ſpeciebus disjunctim infert, inquiens ὥϛε ὃς ἂν ἐσθίῃ τ ἄρτον ἢ πίνῃ τὸ ποτήριον τ Κυ ἀναξίως, ἔνοχός ἔϛαι τ σώμαϛ καὶ αἵμαϛ τ Κυ.

Quæ verba latine ſic tranſtulit Eraſmus, Itaq; quiſquis ederit panem hunc aut de Calice biberit indigne, reus erit corporis & ſanguinis Domini ; ubi ex Pauli verbis aperte liquet, Quiſquis indigne panem hunc ſumpſerit, reum eſſe Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, aut ſi quis de Calice biberit indigne, ſimiliter reum eſſe Sanguinis & Corporis Domini, quod tamen nullo modo crimini daretur, niſi ſeorſum ſub ſpecie panis eſſet & Corpus & Sanguis Chriſti, atq; itidem ſub ſpecie vini ſeorſum eſſet & Corpus & Sanguis Chriſti ; nec disjunctim de ſpecie panis locutus fuiſſet Paulus, ſi nunquam niſi conjunctim cum Calice ſumeretur : Neq; rurſum disjunctim de Calice dixiſſet, ſi nunquam niſi conjunctim cum ſpecie panis eſſet ſumendus. Quorſum enim ea disjunxiſſet ſi nunquam niſi conjuncta eſſe poſſent ? At Verba ipſa Scripturæ ſingula ſunt attendenda, nam Propheta inquit, Inclinate aurem veſtram in Verba oris mei ; & Moiſes in Deuteronimo ait, Ponite corda veſtra in omnia verba quæ ego teſtificor

teſtificor vobis hodie, quia non incaſſum præcepta ſunt vobis. Et iterum, non addetis ad verbum quod vobis loquor, nec auferetis ab eo. Verba igitur Domini atque ipſius Pauli,& ſeparatim de alterutra ſpecie primum poſita, & poſt utriuſque conjunctionem etiam iterum disjuncta, ſignificare nobis videntur, & poſſe alterutram ſpeciem ſeorſum porrigi ſecundum Verbum Chriſti.

Nec per hoc quod Chriſtus dixit, Bibite ex hoc omnes, ſtatim conſequetur Chriſtum juſſiſſe Communionem cuilibet de populo ſemper ſub utraq; ſpecie & nunquam ſub altera dandam eſſe: Nam illorum Verborum ſenſum non alium eſſe apparet, quam quem ipſe Dominus Apoſtolum ſuum Paulum, qui a Domino de hoc Sacramento omnia ſe accepiſſe teſtatur, edocuit, nempe quod quotieſcunq; de Calice hoc quiſquam biberet, id in Chriſti memoriam faceret, ſicuti fecerunt Diſcipuli, qui tunc aderant præſentes & de eo biberunt omnes: Itaque quotieſcunque Sanguis Chriſti bibendus a quoquam eſſet, in memoria Paſſio Chriſti recordanda eſt; ſicut ſimiliter quiſquis Corpus Chriſti ſumpſerit ad memoriam paſſionem ejus revocare debet. Neque ex præcepto Chriſti toties bibendum eſſe de hoc Calice, quotieſcunq; Corpus Chriſti ſumendum eſt, apparet per ea quæ de verbis & de exemplo Chriſti ſupradicta ſunt. Certe quicquid Chriſtus omnino obſervari præcepit, non poſſe ulla humana ſanctione prohiberi putamus, cum humana lex divinam abolere non poſſit. Similiter etiam exiſtimamus, nec morem ullum, nec ullam conſuetudinem tantopere apud homines valere debere, ut Dei Verbum expugnet & Chriſti præceptum ſubvertat.

Verumtamen cum Chriſtus nobis libere reliquerit ut eum tribus modis corporaliter ſumere poſſimus, & quarto ſpiritualiter, nempe primo ſub utraque ſpecie, ſecundo, ſub Panis ſpecie tantum; tertio, ſub Vini; quarto, voluntate & deſiderio ſolo cum aliter neceſſitate coacti eum ſumere nequimus; exiſtimamus pro primo,ut ſi quis fidelis ardenti in Deum amore flagrans, pietateq; ingenti æſtuans, magnopere deſideraret Sacramentum ſub utraq; ſpecie ſumere, ſi nullum vel valetudinis vel imbecillitatis obſtaret impedimentum,ei ſub utraq; ſpecie Communio præberi poſſit, dummodo neq; poſtulans neq; miniſtrans Sacramentum in ſcandalum populi, aut in contemptum Eccleſiæ id faciat, neque ſuo jure leges regionis in qua degit ſive Eccleſiaſticas ſive laicas infringere præſumat.

Pro ſecundo & tertio ſic, Quod ſi impedimentum aliquod hujuſmodi intervenit, ut in utraque ſpecie abſq; periculo ſumi non poſſit, ut ſi quis Paralyſi correptus, aut ab alio quovis naturæ aut morborum impedimento utramq; ſpeciem recipere commode non poſſit, hic ſi deſideret Sacram Communionem ſumere, ei ſub altera tantum ſpecie porrigatur. Pro quarto autem, Quod ſi quis nauſea, vel alia corporis moleſtia adeo ſit infeſtatus, ut nihil in ſtomachus receptum non rejectet, huic ſi id petat Sacramentum ſaltem oſtendi poſſet, ut viſo eo mortem Chriſti redemptoris ſui citius revocans in memoriam compunctus corde ſpiritualiter communicet.

Plurimum igitur demiror, quod hi qui Chriſtianæ Libertatis aſſertores & acerrimi propugnatores videri volunt, libertatem hanc noſtram in hoc uno Corporis & Sanguinis Domini Sacramento, quo nihil ſuperexcellentius, nihil celebrius, nihil incomparabilius, nihil deniq; ad conſolandos fidelium animos ſolidius, Chriſtus hinc abiturus Eccleſiæ ſuæ reliquit, nobis

nobis tollere velint; Quid enim majus donare potuit Chriſtus in hoc Sacramento ſumendum quam ſeipſum? Deinde cum ipſe omnino liberum nobis reliquerit, & poſſe aliquos ſub utraq; ſpecie Communionem accipere, & poſſe alios ſub altera, nonnullos quoq; morborum neceſſitate impeditos, ſaltem in conſpectum prolato Corpore Domini compuncto corde poſſe Spiritualiter communicare, quanta immodeſtia, quanta inclementia eſſet, libertate hac fraudare Chriſtianos? Ut quibus ſub utraq; ſpecie, ob impedimenta quæ ſunt innumera, Communio præberi non poſſet, his ſummi boni fruitione privatis ſub neutra daretur! Nec adhuc fatentur etſi non corporaliter ſumatur ſaltem Spiritualiter capi poſſe. Qua non ſervitute durior eſſet hæc conditio, ut Chriſti redemptoris noſtri corpus, quod ille a fidelibus ſumi voluit, nobis id ſummopere deſiderantibus violenter eripiatur? quis ingenue Chriſtianus libertatem fruitionis hujus ſibi extortam non omni morte intolerabiliorem putaret? Itaq; libertas hæc a Chriſto nobis relicta omni conatu retinenda eſt, omnibus viribus amplectenda, nec ipſis mea opinione fidendum eſt, qui eam nobis tollere velint.

Præterea quid fiat apud ſeptentrionales populos? quid apud populos Aphricæ & qui intra Tropicos habitant? apud quos non ea vini copia eſt ut populis omnino ſub ſpecie vini præberi poſſit, (nam his populis cerviſia ex frugibus eſt potui) an ideo quia ſub utraq; ſpecie his miniſtrari Sacramentum non poteſt, ab utraq; arcendi eſſent? aut ſub una non integrum Chriſtum capere poſſent? id quod abſit.

Quando autem primum populus priſcum morem deſerere, & ſub altera tantum panis ſpecie Communionem ſacram ſumere cœpit, nobis eſt incompertum; credibile eſt majores noſtros auctoritate Scripturæ motos, quæ alteram nonnunquam ſpeciem per Chriſtum & Apoſtolos datam memorat, propter periculum effuſionis in terram Sanguinis Chriſti, cum liquida omnia levi membrorum trepidante motu facile effundantur, religioſa quadam & pia reverentia, non mediocriq; Dei timore abſtinuiſſe in Sacramento a vini ſpecie, nec Chriſtum qui ſe cum Eccleſia uſque in finem omnibus diebus manſurum promiſit, tot ſæculis eam deſeruiſſe, ut ſi neceſſarium præceptum de utraq; ſpecie ſemper ab omnibus ſumenda dediſſet, in re tanti momenti eam permiſiſſet turpiter labi; ſed magis Eccleſiæ ſuæ liberum reliquiſſe videtur, ut cum in alterutra ſpecie totus & integer Chriſtus contineatur, ſub altera etiam ſumi poſſit.

Qui vero ſit mos hodie de utraq; ſpecie in Eccleſiis Græcis, quæ Romanæ Eccleſiæ Tyrannidem nunquam admiſerunt, non ſatis nobis eſt compertum, cum Græcia tota Turcarum ſubſit imperio, nec liberam habeant facultatem Chriſtum ut libet profitendi, quando nec Verbum Dei publice prædicare, nec ad Campanarum ſonitum populum convocare, nec publicas Litanias crucis vexillo præeunte facere, his ullo pacto eſt conceſſum.

Illud quoq; inprimis eſt obſervandum, nempe quod in Univerſis Eccleſiis in die Paraſceves Sacerdos & omnis populus ſub una tantum ſpecie panis communicant, non ſub ſpecie Vini, ut cum is dies repræſentat mortem Chriſti in qua ſanguis ejus pretioſus pro noſtra ſalute effuſus eſt & ſeparatus a corpore, ſeparatim illo die ſub altera ſolum ſpecie communicarent omnes ſive Sacerdos ſive populus; qui mos per univerſam Eccleſiam nunquam fuiſſet admiſſus, niſi ſub altera tantum ſpecie integer Chriſtus contineretur, atq; niſi ſub altera Sacramentum populis miniſtrari poſſet.

De

De Miſſa Privata.

Per Miſſas autem privatas multos abuſus introductos eſſe dicitis, quas velut Atlantem quendam Papatum ſuſtinuiſſe, indulgentias invexiſſe, orbem expilaſſe, utpote quæ ad quæſtum pateant, monachorum turbas coacervaſſe, Verbum Dei exterminaſſe aſſeritis, atq; ideo Germanos Principes Synaxim veteri more reduxiſſe, quam lingua vernacula facere, ritu ſatis decoro atque decenti commemoratis; privatas vero Miſſas apud vos in totum abolitas eſſe, quæ tot peperierunt abuſus & fœtus malignos. Qua de re nobiſcum diu multumq; cogitantes, conſideramus inprimis nihil unquam in Eccleſia ſua Chriſtum ordinaſſe quo malignus ſerpens aliquando non ſit abuſus, neque tamen propterea rejiciendum eſt quicquid ſancte eſt ordinatum, alioqui Sacramenta omnia antiquanda eſſent; quin magis reputavimus longe ſatius eſſe abuſus omnes in totum removere, quæ vero Sancte & pie introducta ſunt in Eccleſiam, illa ipſa ſtabilia manere.

Nam ſi ideo Miſſæ privatæ abolendæ ſunt in totum, quia de illis Thomas Aquinas, Gabriel, atque alii Doctrinas ut dicitis impias induxerunt, viz. Miſſas ex opere operato gratiam mereri, & tollere peccata vivorum & mortuorum, & applicari poſſe alienum opus ad alterum, Quicquid ſit, quod illi aſſerunt, hoc de omni Miſſa aſſerunt, non de privata duntaxat; Qua propter ſi ad tollendas illas opiniones qualeſcunque Miſſa privata eſſet abroganda, eadem ratione abroganda eſſet Synaxis & Miſſa publica, quam vos ipſi retinetis nec cenſetis abolendam, quicquid de ea alii opinentur. Miſſa vero privata, velut privata quædam eſt Communio & Synaxis, quæ ſi recte atque ut decet fiat, quicunque fideles illi intereſſe decreverint, ſi pœnitentes convenerint contriti de peccatis, Deiq; implorent miſericordiam cum filio prodigo dicentes, Pater peccavi in Cœlum & coram te, haud dubie quin ipſi Spiritualiter cum Sacerdote communicant, offerentes ſe & animas ſuas, hoſtias vivas & acceptabiles Deo, tametſi pauci fuerint, atq; a corporali Sacramenti ſumptione abſtinuerint: ac per hoc Miſſa privata Eccleſiæ adeo non obeſt, ut non parum & ad vitam corrigendam, & ad fidem in Chriſtum corroborandam prodeſſe videatur; quippe Chriſtiani per hoc peccatores ſe agnoſcunt quotidie delinquentes, quotidie veniam poſtulant, quotidie per peccatum in ſalebroſo vitæ hujus curſu cadentes, quotidie pœnitentes reſurgunt, & velut alacriores redditi, devicto ſæpius hoſte, fiunt ad pugnam audentiores.

Porro ſtatim in exordio omnis Miſſæ privatæ publica eſt peccatorum omnium generalis Confeſſio, venia poſtulatur a Deo, abſolutio impartitur a Sacerdote ſecundum Dei Verbum, quemadmodum in Miſſa publica.

Et ſi in Miſſa publica & quantumcunq; ſolenni nemo adſit alius præter Sacerdotem qui Communicare velit in eſu Sacramenti, quid quæſo differet Miſſa publica a privata? An Sacerdos in ſolenni die populo ad Sacra conveniente, ſi nemo alius communicare velit, abſtinet a Miſſa publica? atque inter Græcos ipſos, ubi ſingulis dominicis diebus fit una Miſſa publica uti aſſeritis, raro admodum communicat in eſu Sacramenti quiſquam è populo, uti a fide dignis accepimus, qui ipſi Græcorum Sacris interfuerunt.

Quod

Quod vero Epiphanium citatis qui ſingulis ſeptimanis ter celebratam Synaxim in Aſia aſſerit, eumq; morem ab Apoſtolis inductum, cum jam tantum in Græcia ſingulis Dominicis fiat populi conventus ad Sacra, ſi mutari mos potuit ab Apoſtolis inductus, ut rarius quam ſtatuerunt Apoſtoli populus congregaretur, cur non etiam mutari potuit ut ſæpius conveniret, quando per hoc celebrior fit mortis Chriſti memoria, id quod in Miſſa fit etiam privata.

Jam vero ſi Sacramentum hoc a fidelibus exerceri Chriſtus in mortis ſuæ memoriam præcepit, inquiens, Hoc facite in meam commemorationem, ne mors ejus raro admodum commemorata in oblivionem tranſiret, quo crebrius, quo frequentius, memoria ejus in Sacramento repetitur, eo mandatum ejus ſervatur magis: Etenim ſicut raro admodum memorata oblivioni ſunt obnoxia, ita crebro frequentata radices in mente agunt altius, ne obliterari unquam poſſint; itaq; ut mors Chriſti crebra memoria illuſtretur, Miſſa etiam privata non parum confert.

Certe Paulus Apoſtolus ſingulas domos privatas, ubi credentium numerus aliquis erat, Eccleſias vocat, membra Majoris Eccleſiæ, civitatis illius in qua eſſent, ſicut majores ipſas civitatum Eccleſias, membra Catholicæ & univerſalis Eccleſiæ appellat, ſcribens ad Corinthios; at quæ Eccleſia arcenda eſt a Communione Corporis Domini? Chriſtus etiam ipſe inſtituendo Sacramentum hoc Corporis & Sanguinis ſui, inquit, Hoc quotieſcunq; facitis, facite in meam commemorationem; nec tempus nec locum ullum cohibuit, quo fieri id non poſſet, quonam modo igitur arcebimus quenquam a Miſſis privatis? Et ad dies feſtos publicamq; Synaxim eum relegabimus? Cujus arbitrio Chriſtus liberum reliquit, quando & ubi id vellet decenter exequi, dum inquit quotieſcunque? nam ſi certa tempora ſervanda eſſent, non indefinite locutus fuiſſet Chriſtus, ipſum Dei Verbum, ipſa ſapientia Patris.

Jam vero ab initio naſcentis Eccleſiæ per ſingulas domos ubi erant fideles fiebat communio, atq; id quotidie, teſte Luca in Apoſtolorum Actis, ubi ait, Quotidie quoq; perdurantes unanimiter in templo, & frangentes circa domos panem; quem locum etiam de Communione veteres interpretes intelligunt, & tamen ſingulis diebus non agebant publice dies feſtos, ſed privatim per domos communicabant: Etſi terrenorum regum atq; principum miniſtri pleriq; omnes nullum diem tranſigere cupiunt, quo non fruantur vel ſolo aſpectu ſui Domini, tametſi propior congreſſus non contingat, quis fidelis Chriſtianus non omnibus optabit votis, ut quando in hac vita Chriſtum Regem Regum, & Dominum Dominantium, in Majeſtate gloriæ regnantem cernere mortales oculi non poſſunt, ſaltem per fidem in Sacramento Corporis Domini, quod ille fidelibus in memoriam ſui frequentandam reliquit, interim quotidie Regem gloriæ videat?

Quod vero Chryſoſtomus Sacerdotem ad altare ſtare, & alios ad Communionem accerſere, alios arcere ſcribit, enarrat morem publicæ Communionis, qui in initio naſcentis Eccleſiæ crebrius quam nunc fit frequentabatur; qui mos nunc in Paſchate, quando ubiq; communicat populus, apud omnes ſervatur Eccleſias: Cæterum ille ipſe expoſtulat cum fidelibus ſui temporis, quod rarius communicent, quam vel oporteret, vel vetus mos erat; cæterum nuſquam is privatas Miſſas vetuit.

At Canon Nicenus Diaconis in Communione publica ſuum locum de-

ſignat poſt Preſbyteros; cæterum nec is Canon, nec ullus alius Miſſas privatas abrogat.

Sacramentum autem Euchariſtiæ Sacrificium non eſſe arbitramini, quod unum Sacrificium ſit propitiatorium mors Chriſti, & cum is ultra non moritur, qui ſemel tantum pro nobis oblatus eſt, nullum reſtat ultra Sacrificium, niſi cultus Spiritualis, hoc eſt, juſtitia fidei & fructus fidei. Quid ſibi velit juſtitia quæ ex fide eſt ſcimus, quippe quam Paulus opponit Juſtitiæ quæ eſt ex lege: Cæterum qui ſunt fructus fidei, nobis ex Scripturis non ſatis liquet, ipſam fidem ſicut charitatem, & multas alias virtutes ſcimus eſſe fructus Spiritus. Verum enimvero non ſatis miramur, cur quiſpiam ægre ferat Miſſam Sacrificium vocari, quando omnis vetuſtas & Græcorum & Latinorum ſic eam appellare conſuevit, quum ibi fiat conſecratio Corporis & Sanguinis Domini in memoriam mortis ejus, qui, ut inquit Paulus, pro peccatis offerens hoſtiam, in ſempiternum ſedet ad dextram Dei, una enim oblatione conſummavit in ſempiternum ſanctificatos; itaq; ſi Chriſtus & Sacerdos eſſet, & Sacrificium, & hoſtia, ubicunq; eſt Chriſtus, ibi eſt hoſtia noſtra, ibi eſt ſacrificium noſtrum; at ſi in Sacramento altaris eſt verum Corpus Chriſti, & verus Sanguis Chriſti, quo pacto manente veritate Corporis & Sanguinis Domini, non eſt ibi Sacrificium noſtrum?

Porro quia in Miſſa eſt Chriſtus Sacrificium noſtrum, qui ipſe ultra non moritur, ibiq; cum ipſo capite noſtro, nos illius Corpus & membra noſmet ipſos Deo hoſtias vivas offerimus, Græci id totum ἀναίμακτον θῦσιαν, id eſt, Sacrificium incruentum vocant: ita veteres omnes intrepide Miſſam Sacrificium vocarunt, quod ibi ſit Chriſtus Sacrificium noſtrum in Sacramento.

Sic Baſilius, ſic Chryſoſtomus, ſic Hieronymus, ſic Auguſtinus eam appellare non dubitavit; Quocirca quid vetat Miſſam, in qua conſecratur Panis in Corpus Chriſti, & Vinum in Sanguinem ejus, qui vere eſt Sacrificium noſtrum, & hoc fieri in memoriam ſui juſſit, vocari Sacrificium: alioqui ſi id negabimus, non parum verendum eſt, ne cum Sacramentariis quos nunc vocant, qui veritatem Corporis & Sanguinis in Sacramento negant, & cum Anabaptiſtis conſentire videamur, a qua ſuſpicione ſicut in animo noſtro nos profitemur longe abeſſe, ita quoq; cupimus calumniantibus adverſariis omnem obtrectandi anſam auferri: Atqui cum in Miſſa tum Sacerdos, tum populus contritus de peccatis ſe, ut hortatur Paulus, hoſtiam vivam, ſanctam atq; Deo placentem exhibeat, laudes quas Deo canat & in gratiarum actione verſetur, quis dubitare poteſt, ea quoq; ratione, Miſſam jure Sacrificium nominari, cum Propheta appellat Sacrificium laudis, & Paulus omnes hortetur, ut ſe hoſtias vivas exhibeant, id quod fit in Miſſa. Malachias etiam Propheta inquit, Ab ortu ſolis uſq; ad occaſum, magnum eſt nomen meum in gentibus, & in omni loco Sacrificatur, & offertur nomini meo oblatio munda, quia magnum eſt nomen meum in gentibus, dicit Dominus exercituum. At quæ alia oblatio munda in omni loco inter gentes, niſi ſolus Chriſtus, aut quod aliud Sacrificium Chriſtianorum, niſi Miſſa, ubi Commemoratio mortis Chriſti agitur? Nam aut aliquod inter gentes Chriſtianorum oportet eſſe Sacrificium, aut mentitus eſt Propheta: quænam quæſo eſt oblatio munda, niſi ſolus Chriſtus hoſtia noſtra, qui in Sacramento altaris eſt ſub Panis & Vini ſpeciebus? quippe quantumcunq; nos ipſi nos

Deo

Deo offeramus, hoſtiæ mundæ non meremur nomen, quorum omnis juſtitia velut pannus eſt menſtruatæ: Itaq; conſtat Miſſam Sacrificium vocari ex Verbo Dei per Malachiam enunciato, quod cum ita ſit, cur Miſſæ invidemus nomen Sacrificii, quod Propheta prædixit, & in qua Chriſtus in Sacramento præſens eſt ipſe mundi Sacrificium?

De Conjugio Sacerdotum.

Cælibatum Sacerdotum contra Scripturam, contra leges naturæ, contra honeſtatem, per Pontificem Romanum aſſeritis introductum, cum Scriptura Sacerdotibus, ſicut cæteris hominibus, conjugium permittat, nec poſſint naturam ſuam mutare, nec abſq; ſingulari dono cælibes vivere: nam non omnes capiunt verbum hoc, & Paulus inquit, propter fornicationem unuſquiſq; Uxorem ſuam habeat.

Hic primum ordiri juvat, ut locum illum Evangelii de tribus Eunuchorum generibus conſideremus, quandoquidem Chriſtus alios a natura Eunuchos eſſe aſſerit, alios per vim factos, quorum neutrum genus continentiæ virtute ſplendet; quoniam alteros ad generandum natura, alteros violentia reddidit inutiles. Tertium vero genus eorum eſt, qui quanquam terrena generatione uti poſſunt, malunt continere, & ſe caſtrare propter Regnum Cœlorum; de quo genere Chriſtus ſtatim infert, qui poteſt capere, capiat, id quod nec de primo, nec de ſecundo Eunuchorum genere intelligi poteſt, quibus continentiæ palma negata eſt, cum deſcendere in certamen nequeunt: tertium vero genus eorum eſt, qui continentiæ ſtudent, & a licitis nuptiis abſtinere malunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, quo Chriſtum liberius atq; expeditius ſequantur, ne terrenis nuptiis implicati, cogitare cogantur, ut inquit Paulus, quæ ſunt mundi; ad quod genus Chriſtus virginitatis autor homines ſapientiſſime invitat, inquiens, Qui poteſt capere, capiat: per hoc quod inquit, capiat, homines adhortans ad capeſcendum certamen ut palmam arripiant, nempe Regnum Cœlorum, ad quod neminem hortaretur, ſi nemo carnem poſſet vincere; per hoc vero quod ait, qui poteſt capere, poſſe capi palmam indicans; alioqui ſi impoſſibile eſſet carnem ſuperare, quorſum attineret dicere, Qui poteſt, ſi nemo id poſſet.

Præterea per ea verba Qui poteſt capere, quoſdam etiam eſſe declarat, qui non facile poſſunt, nam niſi aliqui non facile poſſent capere, cur ſeorſum eos qui poſſunt; itaq; conſiderandas animi vires admonet, priuſquam certamen aggrediare, ne temere arrepto certamine turpiter ſuccumbas: Nec dixiſſet quoſdam eſſe, qui ſe caſtraverunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, ſi caro eſſet inſuperabilis, & nemo ſe caſtrare poſſet. Nec dubitandum eſt quin is qui hortatur ad ſubeundum certamen, gratiam ſuam ſine qua nihil poſſent, his non defuturam demonſtrat, qui nomina ſua in militiam ei dederunt, quorum ille ipſe dux futurus eſt, qui non modo in periculis ſuos milites invocatus nunquam deſerit, ſed ſtat ante januam & pulſat, paratus ſemper ad ſuccurrendum, ſi quis ei aperiat: Nam Paulus tentationes ſuperari poſſe nos admonet, modo Dei auxilium imploremus, inquiens, Tentatio vos non apprehendit niſi humana, fidelis autem Deus qui non patietur vos tentari ſupra id quod poteſtis, ſed faciet etiam cum tentatione proventum ut poſſitis ſuſtinere. Quamobrem his qui continentiam ſemel profitentur, & eam poſtea turpiter deſerunt, etiam atq; etiam conſiderandum eſt, ne nomen Dei blaſphemare videantur,

tur, Chriſtum accuſantes deſerti auxilii, cum ſint ipſi deſertores militiæ, & primo ſtatim congreſſu terga dantes hoſti: itaq; quod Paulus liberum cuiq; facit, ut propter fornicationem Uxorem ſuam habeat, id de his intelligi, qui continentiam non ſunt profeſſi, Paulus ipſe nos docet, inquiens, de viduis adoleſcentioribus, quæ cum luxuriatæ fuerunt in Chriſto nubere volunt, habentes damnationem quia primam fidem irritam fecerunt. Auguſtinus Pauli Doctrinam ſecutus, Pſal. 83. inquit, alius ex Dei munere majus aliquid vovit, ſtatuit, nec nuptias pati, qui non damnaretur ſi duxiſſet Uxorem; poſt votum quod Deo promiſit ſi duxerit damnabitur: ſic virgo quæ ſi nuberet non peccaret, Sanctimonialis ſi nupſerit Chriſti adultera reputabitur, reſpexit enim retro de loco quo acceſſerat, exemplo Uxoris Loth, & ſicut canis reverſus ad vomitum reputatur.

Itidem Auguſtinus, Pſal. 75. ample aſſerit votum ſemel emiſſum ſervandum eſſe. Hieronymus etiam adverſus Jovinianum inquit, virgo quæ ſe Deo dicavit, ſi nubat, damnationem habet; atq; alio loco adverſus eundem, Virgines tuæ quas prudentiſſimo conſilio (quod nemo unquam legerat, nec audierat de Apoſtolo) docuiſti, melius eſſe nubere quam uri, occultos adulteros in apertos verterunt maritos; non ſuaſit hoc Apoſtolus, non Electionis vas Virgilianum conſilium eſt, conjugium vocat, hoc prætexit nomine culpam. Verbum ipſum Dei palam adverſatur ubique ne rumpantur vota. Propheta inquit, vovete & reddite Domino Deo Veſtro; in Deuteronomio quoq; ſcribitur, cum votum voveris Domino Deo tuo, non tardabis reddere, quia requiret illud Dominus Deus tuus, & ſi moratus fueris, reputabitur tibi in peccatum; ſi nolueris polliceri abſq; peccato eris, quod autem egreſſum eſt de labiis tuis, obſervabis & facies, ſicut promiſiſti Domino Deo tuo & propria voluntate & ore locutus es. Eccleſiaſtes etiam inquit; ſi quid voviſti ne moreris reddere, ſed quodcunq; voveris redde: Et in Numerorum libro ſcribitur, ſi quis virorum votum Domino voverit, aut ſe conſtrinxerit juramento, non faciat irritum Verbum ſuum, ſed omne quod promiſit implebit. Quocirca Eccleſia a principio ſicut conjugatos Sacerdotes & Epiſcopos, qui ſine crimine eſſent unius Uxoris viri, propter neceſſitatem admiſit, cum tot alii quot poſſent ad edocendum orbem ſufficere tunc non reperirentur idonei, & tamen Paulus ipſe Timotheum cælibem elegit; ita quoq; ſi quis ad Sacerdotium cælebs accerſitus, poſtea Uxorem duxerit, ſemper a Sacerdotio deponebatur, ſecundum Canonem Neocæſarienſis Concilii, quod fuit ante Nicenum. Similiter in Calcedonenſi Concilio, in cujus primo capite priora Conciſia confirmantur, ſtatuitur ut Diaconiſſa, ſi ſe nuptiis tradat, maneat ſub Anathemate, & Virgo Deo dicata & Monachus jungentes ſe nuptiis, maneant excommunicati.

Hoc quoq; obſervandum eſt, quod in Canonibus Apoſtolorum habetur, tantummodo Lectores cantoreſq; non conjugatos poſſe Uxores ducere, cæteris vero in clerum admiſſis poſtea Uxorem ducere nunquam licuit.

Qui vero conjugati ad Sacerdotium admiſſi erant, Uxores ſuas prætextu Religionis abjicere nequaquam poterant, ut docet Canon Apoſtolicus; cumque in Niceno Concilio proponeretur de Preſbyterorum jam ductis Uxoribus abjiciendis, reſtitit Paphnutius ne legitimæ Uxores pellerentur, cujus ſententiam, cum Canone Apoſtolorum de

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non abjiciendis Uxoribus concordantem, omnes ſunt ſecuti.

Cæterum in Niceno Concilio nihil unquam propoſitum fuit, ut Sacerdotes poſt Sacerdotium Uxores ducerent, quod jam ante ſic erit prohibitum, ut ſi quis contrarium auderet, ducens poſtea Uxorem, deponeretur a Sacerdotio, ut ſupra dictum eſt; itaq; Paphnutius de non abjiciendis jam ductis ante Sacerdotium Uxoribus, non autem de ducendis poſt Sacerdotium aperte locutus eſt.

Itaq; neq; Canon aliquis Apoſtolicus, neq; Concilium Nicenum quicquam habet ejuſmodi ut in Sacerdotium admiſſi, poſtea Uxores ducant, ſicuti vos allegatis.

His concordat ſexta Synodus in qua ſancitum eſt, quod ſi quis è clero vellet Uxorem ducere, ante ſubdiaconatum id faceret, poſtea nequaquam liceret, nec ulla uſquam libertas Sacerdotibus in ſexta Synodo datur poſt Sacerdotium Uxores ducendi, ſicut vos aſſeritis.

Itaq; a principio naſcentis Eccleſiæ, plane compertum eſt nullo unquam tempore licuiſſe Sacerdoti poſt Sacerdotium Uxorem ducere; atq; ubicunq; id fuit attentatum, id non fuit impune, nam tantum nefas auſus deponebatur a Sacerdotio. Paulus Apoſtolus inquit, de conjugibus loquens, nolite fraudare invicem niſi forte ex conſenſu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi. Hieronymus in Apologia ad Pammachium ait, Paulus Apoſtolus dicit, Quando coimus cum Uxoribus nos orare non poſſe, ſi per coitum quod minus eſt impeditur, id eſt orare, quanto plus quod majus eſt, id eſt Corpus Chriſti, prohibetur accipere: idque late proſequitur exemplo panum propoſitionis, qui non dabantur niſi continentibus Davidi & miniſtris, ut ſcribitur in libro Regum; Panes enim Propoſitionis, quaſi Corpus Chriſti, de Uxorum cubilibus conſurgentes edere non poterant, ut inquit Hieronymus, atque exemplo dationis legis veteris, ante cujus dationem filii Iſrael in Exodo triduo abſtinere ſunt juſſi ab Uxoribus.

Hieronimus etiam adverſus Jovinianum inquit, ſi Laicus & quicunq; fidelis orare non poteſt, niſi careat officio conjugali, Sacerdoti cui ſemper pro populo offerenda ſunt Sacrificia, ſemper orandum eſt: ſi ſemper orandum eſt, ſemper ergo carenduum Matrimonio. Idem aſſerit Ambroſius ample in Epiſtola ad Timotheum prima, cum quo conſentit Auguſtinus.

Paulus Timotheum Diſcipulum in Sacerdotali Officio erudiens, admonet ſecularia negotia fugienda eſſe, inquiens, Labora ut bonus miles Chriſti Ieſu, nemo militans implicat ſe negotiis ſecularibus, ut ei placeat cui ſe probavit; & ſi Sacerdotes Uxores acciperent, curis ſecularibus neceſſe eſt involvantur, nam teſte Paulo, qui cum Uxore eſt, ſolicitus eſt quæ ſunt mundi, quomodo placeat Uxori; qui vero ſine Uxore eſt, ſolicitus eſt quæ Domini ſunt, quomodo placeat Deo: Ideoq; eundem ad cælibatum hortatur, quando ait, Teipſum caſtum cuſtodi, nam caſtitas, ubi de conjugatis non fit ſermo, cælibatus intelligitur, ſuum enim Diſcipulum ſui ſimilem reddere cupiebat; atque quodam in loco Corinthiis ſcribens, omnes homines hortatur ad continentiam; ait enim, volo omnes homines eſſe ſicut meipſum, & rurſus dico non-nuptis & viduis bonum eſt, ſi ſic permanſerint ſicut & ego. Alio in loco ſcribens eiſdem, miniſtros Eccleſiæ ſui officii admonet, adhortans ne in vacuum Gratiam Dei recipiant, & ſubdit, Nemini dantes ullam offenſionem, ut non vituperetur miniſterium, ſed in omnibus exhibeamus noſmetipſos ſicut Dei Miniſtros,

Miniſtros, &c. in vigiliis, in jejuniis, in caſtitate, in ſcientia, in verbo veritatis. Quæ omnia ad miniſtros Eccleſiæ pertinent quos caſtitatem maxime ſectari convenit, ut impuri non appropinquent altaribus, a quibus ſalaces omnino arceri decet: Nam non niſi de Sacerdotibus ea intelligi poſſunt, quando ſcientia divinæ legis & populi inſtitutio ad eos ſpectat, ut inquit Malachias, Labia Sacerdotis cuſtodiunt ſcientiam & legem requirunt ex ore ejus. Et Paulus Timotheum vult ſe exhibere operarium inconfuſibilem, recte tractantem verbum veritatis, viz. in Doctrina populi; igitur Sacerdotes Domini, qui ſe Deo jampridem dedicaverunt, qui ſe caſtraverunt propter Regnum Cœlorum, qui pro ſuis & populi peccatis orare aſſidue debent, quonam pacto, deſerto cælibatus vexillifero Chriſto, novis nuptiis operam dare ſecularibuſq; moleſtiis quibus ſcaturiunt ſe implicare decet? quid enim eſt ad aratrum manum mittere, retroq; recipere exemplo Uxoris Loth, ſi hoc non eſt? cujuſmodi homines non aptos eſſe Regno Dei, Chriſtus ipſe pronunciat, etenim ſi nemo poteſt Uxori pariter & Philoſophiæ operam dare, ut [illegible] prudentia docet, quanto magis is qui ſe Deo dicavit, duobus Dominis ſervire non poterit, nempe Deo pariter & mundo, quorum uterq; totum hominem, non dimidiatum, ad ſe raptat?

Quanquam autem & conjugati & cælibes in initio Eccleſiæ admittebantur ad Sacerdotium, id tamen non ubiq; ita ſervabatur teſte Hieronymo adverſus Vigilantium, ubi inquit, quid facient Orientis Eccleſiæ, quid Egypti, & Sedis Apoſtolicæ, quæ aut Virgines clericos accipiunt, aut continentes, aut ſi Uxores habuerint mariti eſſe deſiſtunt? Atque ad Pammachium Hieronymus inquit, Chriſtus Virgo, Virgo Maria, utriuſq; ſexus virginitatem dedicaverunt, Apoſtoli vel Virgines, vel poſt nuptias continentes, Epiſcopi, Preſbyteri, Diaconi, aut Virgines eliguntur, aut vidui, aut certe poſt Sacerdotium in æternum pudici, in morem Eccleſiæ veterem, cujus autor eſt haud dubie Paulus & Scriptura ipſa. Jam vero uti Auguſtinum citatis, qui ait, quidam nubentes poſt votum aſſerunt adulteros eſſe, ego dico vobis quod graviter peccant qui tales dividunt: at ille ipſe Auguſtinus aſſerit, lapſus & ruinas a caſtitate Sanctiori quæ vovetur Deo adulteriis eſſe pejores, neq; ſtatim legitimum eſt quicquid tolerat Eccleſia.

Cyprianus quoq; ipſe quem citatis, in illa ipſa Epiſtola de Virginibus quæ continentiam voverunt, ubi inquit, ſi perſeverare nolunt, vel non poſſint, melius eſt ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis ſuis ruant; ex quo infertis tale votum non impedire Matrimonium, longe aliud ſentit: nam conſultus a Pomponio Sacerdote, quid ſibi videretur de Virginibus his, quæ cum ſemel ſtatum ſuum continenter & firmiter tenere decreverint, detectæ ſunt poſtea in eodem lecto pariter manſiſſe cum Maſculis; ea de re altius repetens Sermonem, periculoſamq; eſſe Virginum & Maſculorum cohabitationem, confirmans per Scripturas ac graves multorum ruinas ex hoc enatas, afferens generaliter de omnibus Virginibus inquit, quod ſi ex fide Chriſto ſe dicaverint caſte & pudice ſine ulla fabula perſeverent, ita fortes & ſtabiles præmium Virginitatis expectent; ſi autem perſeverare nolunt, vel non poſſunt, melius eſt ut nubant, quam ut in ignem delitiis ſuis cadant, certe nullum fratribus aut ſororibus ſcandalum faciant, cum ſcriptum ſit, &c. Et paulo poſt infert, Chriſtus Dominus & judex noſter, cum virginem ſuam ſibi dicatam & ſanctitati ſuæ deſtinatam jacere cum altero cernat, quam indignatur & iraſcitur,

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& quas pœnas inceſtis hujuſmodi conjunctionibus comminatur! Deinde ad quæſitum reſpondens, jubet obſtetrices adhiberi ut videatur an Virgines illæ ſint corruptæ, ubi inquit, ſi autem aliquæ ex eis corruptæ fuerunt deprehenſæ, agant pœnitentiam plenam, quia quæ hoc crimen admiſit, non mariti ſed Chriſti adultera eſt, & ideo æſtimato juſto tempore & ex homologeſi facta ad Eccleſiam redeant; quod ſi obſtinatæ perſeverent, nec ſe ab invicem ſeparent, ſciant ſe cum hac ſua impudica obſtinatione nunquam a nobis admitti in Eccleſiam poſſe, ne exemplum cæteris ad ruinam delictis ſuis facere incipiant. Ecce quid ſentit Cyprianus de votis ruptis, inceſtuoſos & Chriſti Adulteros hujuſmodi flagitioſos appellat, & niſi ſeparentur, nunquam admittit in Eccleſiam; quomodo ergo talia vota non impediant Matrimonium, aut quis ad tale Matrimonium quenquam hortari audebit, quod ſine violatione voti & tranſgreſſione divini mandati, ideoq; ſine graviſſimo ſcelere contrahi non poſſit? Atqui quod Principes Germaniæ, ſcribitis, cum viderent multa flagitia de cœlibatu Sacerdotum provenire, Matrimonia Sacerdotibus liberâ permiſiſſe, ſi meum, Egregii Oratores, conſilium requiſiſſent veſtri Principes, priuſquam tot Sacerdotes apud vos ruptis vinculis ad nuptias convolaſſent, an id conſilii dediſſem quod veſtri Principes arripuerunt hæſito magnopere; nam ſi Sacerdotes qui continere nollent, erumpere ad nuptias omnino voluiſſent, quanto ſatius forte fuiſſet, exemplo veterum depoſuiſſe tales a Sacerdotio, ſuæq; de cætero Conſcientiæ quenquam reliquiſſe, ac deinde puriores altaribus admoviſſe, quam libere omnia permittendo peccatis alienis auctores videri, atq; ea ratione aliena peccata noſtra facere: Veruntamen nos, qui in aliena Repub. curioſi nunquam fuimus nec eſſe voluimus, omnia Principum veſtrorum acta atq; geſta in optimam partem interpretamur, non dubitantes, quin ad tollendos abuſus omnes ſincerus his animus, atq; ad repurgandam Dei Eccleſiam appoſitus non deſit.

Porro nos qui in Regno noſtro Romani Epiſcopi Tyrannidem profligare magna induſtria ſtuduimus, & Chriſti Gloriam ſinceriter promovere curabimus Deo propitio, quantum humano conſilio fieri poteſt, ne quis abuſus ſive a Romano Epiſcopo ſive a quovis alio inductus non aboleatur, & ſi quos comperiemus tempori inſervientes, fingenteſq; ſe odiſſe Romanum Epiſcopum, atq; in Sermone ſimulare veritatem, quam corde non amplectuntur, ejuſmodi viris conſilia noſtra de rebus Sacris non communicabimus, nec eorum vel de Sacris vel de Prophanis expectabimus ſententiam.

Quæ vero Chriſti puram atq; ſinceram Doctrinam promovere, quæ Chriſti Evangelium dilatare, quæ ad repurganda Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ vitia tendere, quæ ad extirpandos abuſus atq; errores omnes ſpectare, quæ deniq; Eccleſiæ candorem exornare poſſe videbuntur, ea totis viribus ſectabimur, his ſtudebimus, his Deo volente in perpetuum incumbemus.

De Articulis vero quos jam diſſeruimus maturius cum Theologis noſtris quamprimum vacabit agemus, atq; ea demum ſtatuemus quæ ad Chriſti Gloriam Eccleſiæque ſponſæ ejus decorem conducere exiſtimabimus.

Vobis autem, Præſtantiſſimi Oratores, qui tot labores terra marique perpeſſi eſtis, ut nos inviſeretis, qui cum Theologis noſtris tamdiu contuliſtis, qui ob Evangelii negotium a Patria abfuiſtis multis menſibus, immenſas atq; innumeras habemus gratias; nec miramur ſi dulcis amor Patriæ,

Patriæ, poſt diuturnam abſentiam veſtram, ad reditum vos invitat. Itaque poſt expleta Principum veſtrorum mandata, poſt abſoluta in totum negotia veſtra, ſi non gravabimini nos inviſere, veſter ad nos acceſſus admodum gratus erit, voſque in Patriam non modo libenter dimittemus cum bona venia, ſed ad Principes etiam veſtros, literas dabimus ſummæ diligentiæ veſtræ in exequenda legatione teſtimonium perhibentes. Valete.

IX. *A Letter written by the King to his Biſhops, directing them how to inſtruct the People. An Original.*

By the KING.

HENRY R.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5. RIght Reverend Father in God, right truſty and well-beloved, we greet you well: And whereas for the Vertue, Learning, and good Qualities which we ſaw and perceived heretofore in you, judging you thereby a Perſonage that would ſincerely, devoutly, purely, and plainly ſet forth the Word of God, and inſtruct our People in the truth of the ſame, after a ſimple and plain ſort, for their better inſtruction, unity, quiet, and agreement in the points thereof, we advanced you to the room and office of a Biſhop within this our Realm; and ſo endowed you with great Revenues and Poſſeſſions; perceiving after, by the contrariety of preaching within this our Realm, our ſaid People were brought into a diverſity of Opinion, whereby there enſued contention amongſt them; which was only engendred by a certain contemptuous manner of ſpeaking, againſt honeſt, laudable, and tolerable Ceremonies, Uſages, and Cuſtoms of the Church; we were enforced, by our ſundry Letters, to admoniſh and command you, amongſt others, to preach God's Word ſincerely, to declare abuſes plainly, and in no wiſe contentiouſly to treat of matters indifferent, which be neither neceſſary to our Salvation, as the good and vertuous Ceremonies of Holy Church, ne yet to be in any wiſe contemned and abrogated, for that they be incitements and motions to Vertue, and allurements to Devotion: all which our travail notwithſtanding, ſo little regard was by ſome taken and adhibited to our advertiſements therein, that we were conſtrained to put our own Pen to the Book, and to conceive certain Articles, which were by all you the Biſhops and whole Clergy of this our Realm in Convocation agreed on, as Catholick, meet, and neceſſary to be by our Authority for avoiding of all contention ſet forth, read and taught to our Subjects, to bring the ſame in unity, quietneſs, and good concord: ſuppoſing then that no Perſon having Authority under us, would either have preſumed to have ſpoken any word, that might have offended the ſentence and meaning of the ſame, or have been any thing remiſs, ſlack, or negligent in the plain ſetting forth of them as they be conceived, ſo as by that mean of abſtinence ſuch quiet and unity ſhould not grow thereupon as we deſired and looked for of the ſame; and perceiving eft-ſoons, by credible report, that our labours, travail, and deſire therein, is nevertheleſs defeated, and in manner by general and contemptuous words ſpoken,

ſpoken, by ſundry light and ſeditious Perſons, contemned and deſpiſed, ſo that by the abſtinence of direct and plain ſetting-forth of the ſaid Articles, and by the fond and contentious manner of ſpeaking, that the ſaid light Perſonages do ſtill uſe againſt the honeſt Rites, Cuſtoms, Uſages, and ceremonial Things of the Church, our People be much more offended than they were before; and in a manner exclaim that we will ſuffer that injury at any Man's hand, whereby they think both God, us, and our whole Realm highly offended, inſomuch that principally upon that ground, and for the Reformation of thoſe Follies and Abuſes, they have made this commotion and inſurrection, and have thereby grievouſly offended us, dammaged themſelves, and troubled many of our good Subjects: We be now enforced, for our diſcharge towards God, and for the tender love and zeal we bear unto the tranquillity and loving unity of our ſaid People and Subjects, again to readdreſs theſe our Letters to all the Biſhops of our Realm, and amongſt other unto you, as a peremptory warning to admoniſh you, to demean and uſe your ſelf for the redobbying of theſe things as ſhall be hereafter declared, upon pain of deprivation from the Biſhoprick, and further to be puniſhed for your contempt, if you ſhall offend in the contrary, as Juſtice ſhall require for your own Treſpaſs.

And firſt, we ſtraitly charge and command you, that plainly and diſtinctly, without any additions, ye ſhall every Holy day, whereſoever ye ſhall be within your Dioceſs, when ye may ſo do with your health and convenient commodity, openly, in your Cathedral Church, or the Pariſh Church of the place where ye ſhall for time be, read and declare our Articles; and in no wiſe, in the reſt of your words which ye ſhall then ſpeak of your ſelf, if you ſpeak any thing, utter any word that ſhall make the ſame, or any word in the ſame, doubtful to the People.

Secondly; We will and command you, That you ſhall in your Perſon travel from place to place in all your Dioceſs, as you may with your commodity, and endeavour your ſelves every Holy-day to make a Collation to the People, and in the ſame to ſet forth plainly the Texts of Scripture that you ſhall treat of; and with that alſo as well to declare the obedience due by God's Laws to their Prince and Soveraign Lord, againſt whoſe commandment they ought in no wiſe, though the ſame were unjuſt, to uſe any violence, as to commend and praiſe honeſt Ceremonies of the Church as they be to be praiſed, in ſuch plain and reverent ſort, that the People may perceive they be not contemned, and yet learn how they were inſtituted, and how they ought to be obſerved and eſteemed; uſing ſuch a temperance therein, as our ſaid People be not corrupted, by putting over-much affiance in them, which a part ſhould more offend, than the clear ſilencing of the ſame, and that our People may thereto the better know their duties to us, being their King and Soveraign Lord.

Thirdly; We ſtraitly charge and command you, That neither in your private communications you ſhall uſe any words that may ſound

to the contrary of this our Commandment, ne you ſhall keep or retain any Man of any degree, that ſhall in his words privatly or openly, directly or indirectly, ſpeak in theſe matters of the Ceremonies, contentiouſly or contemptouſly; but we will that in caſe ye have, or ſhall have towards you any ſuch Perſon that will not better temper his Tongue, you ſhall, as an Offender and a Seductor of our People, ſend the ſame in ſure cuſtody to us and our Council, to be puniſhed as ſhall appertain; and ſemblably to do with other Strangers whom ye ſhall hear to be notable offenders in that part.

Fourthly; Our pleaſure and commandment is, That you ſhall on your behalf, give ſtrait commandment upon like pain of deprivation and further puniſhment, to all Parſons, Vicars, Curats, and Governors of Religious Houſes, Colledges, and other places Eccleſiaſtical within your Dioceſs, that they and every of them ſhall, touching the indifferent praiſe of Ceremonies, the avoiding of contentious and contemptous Communication, concerning any of the ſame, and the diſtinct and plain reading of our ſaid Articles, obſerve and perform, in their Churches, Monaſteries, and other Houſes Eccleſiaſtical aforeſaid, the very ſame order that is before to you preſcribed. And further, that you permit nor ſuffer any Man, of what degree ſoever in learning, Strangers or other, to preach in any place within your ſaid Dioceſs out of his own Church, by virtue of any Licenſe by us, or any other of our Miniſters, granted before the fifteenth day of this month, neither in your preſence nor elſewhere, unleſs he be a Man of ſuch honeſty, vertue, learning, and judgment, as you ſhall think able for that purpoſe, and one whom in manner you dare anſwer for.

Finally; Whereas we be advertiſed that divers Prieſts have preſumed to marry themſelves, contrary to the cuſtom of our Church of *England*, our pleaſure is, Ye ſhall make ſecret enquiry within your Dioceſs, whether there be any ſuch reſiant within the ſame or not: And in caſe ye ſhall find that there be any Prieſts that have ſo preſumed to marry themſelves, and have ſithence nevertheleſs uſed and exerciſed in any thing the Office of Prieſthood, we charge you, as ye will anſwer upon the pains aforeſaid, not to conceal their doings therein, but rather to ſignify their demeanour to our Council, or to cauſe them to be apprehended, and ſo ſent up unto us accordingly. Given under our Signet at our Caſtle of *Windſor*, the 19*th* day of *November*, in the 28*th* Year of Our Reign.

X. *Tonſtall's* Arguments for the Divine Inſtitution of Auricular Confeſſion; with ſome Notes written on the Margent by King *Henry's* own Hand. An Original.

Quod Confeſſio Auricularis ſit de Jure Divino.

PRobari videtur ex illo loco Matthæi 3. ubi Joanne Baptiſta in deſerto prædicante pœnitentiam, exibat ad eum Hieroſolyma & omnis Judæa, & baptizabantur ab eo in Jordane confitentes peccata ſua; quem locum Chryſoſtomus ita exponit, inquiens, Confeſſio peccatorum eſt teſtimonium Conſcientiæ confitentis Deum, qui enim timet Judicium Dei peccata ſua non erubeſcat confiteri; qui autem erubeſcit non timet, perfectus enim timor ſolvit omnem pudorem; illic enim turpitudo confeſſionis aſpicitur, ubi futuri judicii pœna non creditur. Nunquid neſcimus quia Confeſſio peccatorum habet pudorem, & quia hoc ipſum erubeſcere pœna eſt gravis, ſed ideo magis nos jubet Deus confiteri peccata noſtra, ut verecundiam patiamur pro pœna? nam & hoc ipſum pars eſt Judicii, O miſericordia Dei! quem totiens ad iracundiam excitavimus, ſufficit ei * ſolus pudor pro pœna. *Cotton* Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5. * *Nota bene de ſolo pudore.*

Si verecundia pro pœna eſt apud Deum, ea autem non continget ex confeſſione facta ſoli Deo, nam nemo rationis compos ignorat etiam abſque Confeſſione Deum peccata noſtra ſcire, de Confeſſione facta homini neceſſe eſt intelligatur. Præterea ipſa Verba demonſtrant quod Joanni Baptiſtæ confeſſi ſunt peccata ſua, nam dixit eis, facite ergo fructum dignum pœnitentia, quod apte dicere non poterat, niſi pœnitentes eos ex confeſſione ſibi facta reſciviſſet. *Fallax.*

Beda. Marci I.

Et Baptizabantur ab illo in Jordane flumine, confitentes peccata ſua. * Exemplum confitendi peccata ac meliorem vitam promittendi datur eis, qui Baptiſma accipere deſiderant, ſicut etiam prædicante † Paulo in Epheſo multi credentium veniebant, confitentes & annunciantes actus ſuos, quatenus abdicata vita veteri, renovari mererentur in Chriſto. * *Exemplum dicit non præceptum.* † *Non præcepto.*

Scribitur quoq; in Evangelio Joannis 21. Quorum remiſeritis peccata, remittuntur eis, & quorum retinueritis, retenta ſunt: & Matth. 18. Quæcunq; ligaveritis ſuper terram erunt ligata in Cœlo, & quæcunq; ſolveritis ſuper terram, erunt ſoluta in Cœlo. Remittere autem & ſolvere nemo poteſt id quod ignorat, occulta autem peccata præter peccantem novit niſi ſolus Deus, quare niſi peccata aperiantur Sacerdoti, nec ea ligare nec ſolvere poſſet. Et * quemadmodum Sacratiſſima tua Majeſtas, ſi commiſſionem aliquibus dediſſet audiendi & terminandi negotium aliquod, non poſſent judices rem ignorantes niſi negotio coram eis patefacto cauſam finire, viz. propter culpam litigatorum non comparentium coram eis; ſic nec Sacerdotes ligare & ſolvere poſſunt peccata quæ ignorant. Itaq; cum Deus Sacerdotem velut medicum Spiritualem Eccleſiæ dederit, ſi quis enim ſua vulnera celat ipſe ſua culpa perit, cum tamen de ſalute ſua deberet eſſe ſollicitus, ſicut Paulus ad Phil. 2. admonet, inquiens, cum metu & tremore Salutem veſtram operamini. *Huic reſpondendum eſt. Abſolutio datur in remedium peccatorum petentibus tantum, nam ſi non petiero.* * *Exemplum bene declarat rem, ſed non perite poſitum.*

Origenes in Levit. Homilia 2. loquens de Remiſſionibus Peccatorum.

De ſua opinione loquens. Eſt adhuc & ſeptima, licet dura & laborioſa, per pœnitentiam remiſſio peccatorum, cum lavat peccator lachrimis ſtratum ſuum, & fiunt ei lachrimæ ſuæ panis die & nocte, & cum non erubeſcit Sacerdoti Domini indicare peccatum ſuum, & quærere medicinam ſecundum eum qui ait, * Dixi pronunciabo adverſum me injuſtitiam meam Domino, & tu remiſiſti impietatem cordis mei, in quo impletur & illud quod Jacobus Apoſtolus dicit, Si quis autem infirmatur, vocet Preſbyteros Eccleſiæ, & imponant ei manus, † ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini, & oratio fidei ſalvabit infirmum, & ſi in peccatis fuerit remittentur ei.

** Male ſentit qui abutitur Scriptura.*

† Nunquam in modum unctionis in Confeſſione utebatur.

Origenes Homilia 2. in Pſal. 37.

Intellige mihi fidelem quidem hominem ſed tamen infirmum, qui etiam vinci ab aliquo peccato potuit, & propter hoc mugientem pro delictis ſuis & omnimodo curam vulneris ſui ſanitatemq; requirentem, licet præventus ſit & lapſus, volentem tamen medelam ac ſalutem reparare; ſi ergo hujuſmodi homo memor delicti ſui, confiteatur quæ commiſit, & humana confuſione parvi pendat eos, qui exprobrant eum confitentem, & notant vel irrident, ille autem intelligens per hoc veniam ſibi dari, & in die Reſurrectionis pro his quibus nunc confunditur coram hominibus, tunc ante Angelos Dei confuſionem atq; opprobria evaſurum, ut nolit tegere & occultare maculam ſuam, ſed pronunciet delictum ſuum, nec velit eſſe Sepulchrum dealbatum, quod deforis quidem appareat hominibus ſpecioſum, id eſt ut videntibus ſe quaſi juſtus appareat, intus autem ſit repletus omni immunditie & oſſibus mortuorum.

Non ait neceſſe eſt ut confiteantur, jam de contemptu loquitur.

Et paulo poſt, Quoniam iniquitatem meam pronuncio. Pronunciationem iniquitatis, id eſt confeſſionem peccati, frequentius diximus, vide ergo quid edocet nos ſcriptura divina, quia opportet peccatum non celare intrinſecus; fortaſſis enim ſicut ii qui habent intus incluſam eſcam indigeſtam, aut humoris, vel flegmatis ſtomacho graviter & moleſte imminentem, ſi vomuerunt relevantur; ita etiam hi qui peccarunt, ſi quidem occultant & retinent intra ſe peccatum intrinſecus urgentur, & propemodum ſuffocantur a phlegmate vel humore peccati: Si autem ipſe ſui accuſator fiat, dum accuſat ſemetipſum, ſimul evomit & delictum, atque omnem morbi digerit cauſam. Tantummodo circumſpice diligentius cui debeas confiteri peccatum tuum, proba prius medicum cui debeas cauſam languoris exponere, qui ſciat infirmari cum infirmante, flere cum flente, qui condolendi & compatiendi noverit diſciplinam, ut ita demum ſi quid ille dixerit, qui ſe prius & eruditum medicum oſtenderit & miſericordem, ſi quid conſilii dederit, facias & ſequaris, ſi intellexerit & præviderit talem eſſe languorem tuum, qui in conventu totius Eccleſiæ exponi debeat & curari, ex quo fortaſſis & cæteri ædificari poterunt, & tu ipſe facile ſanari, multa hac deliberatione & ſatis perito medici illius conſilio procurandum eſt.

Cyprianus in Sermone de Lapſis.

Denique, quando & fide majore & timore meliores ſunt, qui quamvis nullo Sacrificii aut libelli facinore conſtricti, quoniam tamen de hoc vel cogitaverunt, hoc ipſum apud Sacerdotes Dei dolenter & ſimpliciter confitentur, exomologeſin conſcientiæ faciunt, animi ſui pondus exponunt, ſalutarem medelam parvis licet & modicis vulneribus exquirunt, ſcientes ſcriptum eſſe, Deus non deridetur; derideri & circumveniſi Deus non poteſt, nec aſtutia aliqua fallente deludi: plus imo delinquit qui ſecundum hominem Deum cogitans evadere ſe pœnam criminis credit, ſi non palam crimen admiſit. Chriſtus in præceptis ſuis dicit, qui confuſus me fuerit, confundet eum filius hominis, & Chriſtianum ſe putat qui Chriſtianus eſſe aut confunditur aut veretur: Quomodo poteſt eſſe cum Chriſto, qui ad Chriſtum pertinere aut erubeſcit aut metuit? minus plane peccaverit non videndo idola, nec ſub oculis circumſtantis atq; inſultantis populi ſanctitatem fidei profanando, non polluendo manus ſuas funeſtis ſacrificiis, nec ſceleratis cibis ora maculando; hoc eo proficit ut ſit minor culpa, non ut innocens conſcientia; facilius poteſt ad veniam criminis pervenire, non eſt tamen immunis a crimine, nec ceſſet in agenda pœnitentia, atq; in Domini miſericordia deprecanda, ne quod minus eſſe in qualitate delicti videtur, in neglecta ſatisfactione cumuletur. Confiteantur ſinguli, quæſo vos fratres, delictum ſuum, dum adhuc qui deliquit in ſœculo eſt, dum admitti confeſſio ejus poteſt, dum ſatisfactio & remiſſio facta per Sacerdotes apud Dominum grata eſt; convertamur ad Dominum mente tota, & pœnitentiam criminis veris doloribus exprimentes Dei miſericordiam deprecemur; illi ſe anima proſternat, illi mæſtitia ſatisfaciat, illi ſpes omnis incumbat; rogare qualiter debeamus dicit ipſe, Revertimini inquit, ad me ex toto corde veſtro, ſimulq; & jejunio, & fletu, & planctu, & ſcindite corda veſtra & non veſtimenta.

Fatetur Cyprianus Confeſſionem auricularem nobis non plus præcipi quam vir ginitatem.

Si præceptum haberet non perſuaderet.

Præterea Eſaias peccatorem admonet Cap. 42. ſecundum 70. inquiens, Dic tu prior iniquitates tuas ut juſtificeris; & Salomon Prov. 18. ait, Juſtus prior eſt accuſator ſui, atq; ideo ne Satan nos in judicio coram omnibus accuſet, nos illum in hac vita, per priorem confeſſionem delicti noſtri factam aliis prævenire debemus, nam Deum prævenire in noſtri accuſatione nequimus, qui omnia facta noſtra jam novit, immo vero antequam fierent ea præſcivit; quare Confeſſio illa neceſſe eſt, intelligatur, de extranea confeſſione facta Dei miniſtro qui id ignoravit, nam Deum nihil unquam latuit non modo jam factum, ſed ne futurum quidem quicquam.

Hi omnes ſuadent, ſed non præcipiunt.

Circa perſonas vero miniſtrorum quibus fieri deberet Confeſſio, atq; circa tempora Eccleſiæ nonnunquam aliquid immutarunt, & varie pro regionibus ſtatuerunt.

Cum nec cui nec tempus deſignatur non firmum præceptum datur.

Et ne tuam ſolicitudinem, Sacratiſſima Majeſtas, circa publicam Regni tui tranquillitatem ſtabiliendam ſanctiſſime occupatam, longa multorum lectione, quæ præter iſta afferre poſſem, remorari videar, plura adjungere ſuperſedebo, illud tantummodo precatus, ut meam hanc ſcribendi temeritatem boni conſulat, quam ego totam perſpicaciſſimo atq; eruditiſſimo Majeſtatis tuæ judicio conſiderandam penſitandamq; committo. Atq; ita fœliciſſime valeat Sacratiſſima tua Majeſtas, cujus Regnum & proſperrimum & in ſœculum diuturnum nobis fore precamur.

XI. *A Letter of King* Henry's *to* Tonſtall, *Biſhop of* Dureſme, *againſt Articular Confeſſion being of Divine Inſtitution. An Original.*

Cott. Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5. SInce me thought (my Lord of *Durham*) that both the Biſhops of *York*, *Winchester*, and your Reaſons and Texts were ſo fully anſwered this other day, in the Houſe, as to my ſeeming and ſuppoſal, the moſt of the Houſe was ſatisfied; I marvelled not a little why eſt-ſoons you have ſent to me this now your writing, being in a manner few other Texts or Reaſons than there were declared both by the Biſhop of *Canterbury* and me, to make ſmally or nothing to your intended purpoſe: but either I eſteem that you do it to prove my ſimple judgment alone, which indeed doth not much uſe (tho not the wiſeſt) to call in aid, the judgments of other learned Men, and ſo by mine ignorant anſwer, ſeem to win the Field; or elſe that you be too much blinded in your own fanſy and judgment, to think that a Truth, which by learning you have not yet proved, nor I fear me cannot by Scriptures, nor any other Directors probable grounds, though I know mine unſufficiency in learning, if the matter were indifferent, and that the ballance ſtood equal, ſince I take the verity of the Cauſe rather to favorize the part I take than yours; it giveth me therefore great boldneſs, not preſuming in Learning, but in juſtneſs of the Cauſe, ſeeing by writing you have provoked me to it, to make anſwer to your Arguments: Therefore I beginning now to reply to your firſt Allegation, ſhall eſſay to prove, if I can, that your own Author in place by you alledged, maketh plain againſt your Opinion; for as you alledg him, St. *Chryſoſtom* ſaith, *Quod ſufficit ſolus pudor pro pœna*, then Articular Confeſſion is not by commandment neceſſary; for if it were, this word (*Solus*) is by your Author ill ſet; therefore your Author in this place furdereth you but little, To your *Fallax* Argument, I deny your conſequent, founded only upon ſmall Reaſon, which is the ground of your *Fallax* Argument: which Reaſon I need not take away, for your alledged Author doth ſhew too plainly, in his 5. *Homily*, *Tom.* 5. that you gather wrong ſenſe upon his words; for he ſaith, with much more touching this matter, theſe few words, *Non hominibus peccata detegere cogo*; then this other Text before rehearſed, is not to be underſtood as you will by writing it. Further, me thinketh, I need not (God thank you) too greatly ſtudy for Authors to conclude your wrong taking of Texts, for thoſe your ſelf alledg ſerveth me well to purpoſe: for all your labour is to prove that Auricular Confeſſion were by God commanded, and both your Authorities of *Bede* and *Paul*, ſheweth nothing but that they did confeſs their ſins, and yet do not they affirm that it was by commandment; wherefore they make for mine Argument and not for yours. Your other Texts of *John* 21. and *Matthew* 10. were ſo throughly anſwered this other day, and ſo manifeſtly declared not to appertain to our grounded Argument, that I marvel you be not aſhamed eſt-ſoons to put them in writing, and to found your Argument now ſo fondly on them; for what fonder Argument can be made to prove thereby a neceſſity of Confeſſion, than to ſay, If you confeſs not, I cannot forgive? Would a Thief which committeth

mitteth Felony, think himſelf obliged by the Law to diſcloſe his Felony, if the Law ſay no more, but if thou confeſs not I cannot forgive thee? or would theft the ſooner therefore to be forgiven? This is matter ſo apparent, that none can but perceive except he would not ſee. As touching *Origens* places by you alledged; as the firſt, in *Leviticum*, ſheweth that we be as much bound *lavare ſtratum lacrimis*, *as dicere Sacerdoti*, which no Man, I think, will affirm that we be bound to do; and yet he affirmeth not that any of them is commanded: the Text alſo whereby ye would approve his ſo ſaying, doth not yet ſpeak *quod pronunciabo juſtitiam meam Sacerdoti*, but *Domino*: The other of *James* ſeemeth better to make for extream Unction, than for Confeſſion; for when was ever the uſe, that Folk coming only to Confeſſion, were wont to be anointed with Oil, therefore this makes nothing to your Argument. As touching *Origen* in *Pſal.* 37. he ſaith not, *quod obligamur dicere Sacerdoti*, but *ſi confiteantur*; and ſeemeth rather to perſwade Men that they ſhould not *parvipendere Confeſſionem*, (as all good Folk wold) than that they were obliged to Confeſs them to a Prieſt. Though *Cyprian de Lapſis*, doth praiſe them which do Confeſs their Faults to Prieſts, yet doth he confeſs that we be not bound to do ſo; for he ſaith in the higheſt of his praiſe theſe words, *How much be they then higher in Faith, and better in fear of God, which though they be not bound by any deed of Sacrifice, or Book, yet be they content ſorrowfully to confeſs to the Prieſt ſins!* He knowledgeth no bond in us by neither fact of Sacrifice or Libel, why alledg you (tho he praiſe Auricular Confeſſion) that we ſhould be bound by God and Law thereto? This is no proof thereof, neither by Reaſon nor by Scripture, nor any good Authority. And whereas he ſaith further, *Confiteantur ſinguli, quæſo vos fratres, delictum ſuum*; this doth not argue a precept: nor yet the ſaying of *Eſay*, cap. 43. *ſecundum Septuaginta*; nor *Solomon* in the *Proverbs* 10. for theſe ſpeak rather of knowledging our Offence to God in our Heart, than of Auricular Confeſſion; after *David* the Prophets ſaying and teaching, when he ſaid; *Tibi ſoli peccavi*, that was not to a Prieſt. By the text alſo which you alledg, beginning, *circa perſonas vero miniſtrorum*, &c. you do openly confeſs that the Church hath not accepted Auricular Confeſſion to be by God's Commandment; or elſe by your ſaying and Allegation, they have long erred: for you confeſs that the Church hath divers times changed both to whom Confeſſion ſhould be made, and times when; and that alſo they have changed divers ways for divers Regions; if it were by God's Commandment they might not do thus: Wherefore, my Lord, ſince I hear no other Allegations, I pray you blame not me tho I be not of your Opinion; and of the both, I think that I have more cauſe to think you obſtinate, than you me, ſeeing your Authors and Allegations make ſo little to your purpoſe. And thus fare you well.

XII. *A Definition of the Church, corrected in the Margent by King* Henry's *own hand. An Original.*

De Eccleſia.

Cotton Libr. *Cleop.* E. 5.

ECcleſia præter alias acceptiones in Scripturis duas habet præcipuas: Unam, qua Eccleſia accipitur pro Congregatione Sanctorum & vere fidelium qui Chriſto capiti vere credunt, & ſanctificantur Spiritu ejus; hæc autem una eſt, & vere Sanctum Corpus Chriſti ſed Soli Deo * cognitum, qui hominum corda ſolus intuetur. Altera acceptio eſt, qua Eccleſia accipitur pro Congregatione omnium Hominum qui baptizati ſunt in Chriſto, & non palam abnegarint Chriſtum, nec ſunt † excommunicati ||: quæ Eccleſiæ acceptio congruit ejus Statui in hac vita duntaxat, ubi habet malos bonis ſimul admixtos (a), & debet eſſe cognita per Verbum & legitimum uſum Sacramentorum ut poſſit audiri; ſicut docet Chriſtus, Qui Eccleſiam non audierit. Porro ad veram unitatem Eccleſiæ, requiritur ut ſit conſenſus in recta Doctrina Fidei & adminiſtratione Sacramentorum.

* *Sponſa Chriſti cognita.*

† *Juſte.*

‖ *Aut obſtinati.*

(a) *Et cognitio hujus Eccleſiæ pervenit per uſum Verbi & Sacramentorum, acceptione perfecta, unitate annexa, ac unanimi conſenſu acceptata.*

Traditiones vero & ritus atq; Cæremoniæ quæ vel ad decorem, vel ordinem, vel Diſciplinam Eccleſiæ ab hominibus ſunt inſtitutæ, non omnino neceſſe eſt, ut eædem ſint ubiq; aut prorſus ſimiles: hæ enim & variæ fuere & variari poſſunt * pro regionum atq; morum diverſitate & & commodo †, ſic tamen ut ſint conſentientes Verbo Dei: & quamvis in Eccleſia ſecundum poſteriorem acceptionem mali ſint bonis admixti, atq; etiam Miniſteriis Verbi & Sacramentorum nonnunquam præſint, tamen cum miniſtrent non ſuo ſed Chriſti nomine, mandato & authoritate, licet eorum miniſterio uti tam in verbo audiendo quam recipiendis Sacramentis, juxta illud, Qui vos audit me audit; nec per eorum malitiam imminuitur effectus aut gratia donorum Chriſti rite accipientibus, ſunt enim efficacia propter promiſſionem & ordinationem Chriſti etiamſi per malos exhibeantur.

* *Modo rectoribus placeant quibus ſemper obtemperandum eſt, tamen ut eorum inſtitutio atq; lex Verbo Dei non adverſetur.*

† *Iſta eſt Eccleſia noſtræ Catholicæ & Apoſtolicæ, cum qua nec Pontifex Romanus, nec quivis alius Prælatus aut Pontifex, habet quicquid agere præterquam in ſuas Dioceſes.*

The End of the Addenda.

A Table of the Records and Papers that are in the Collection, with which the places in the Hiſtory to which they relate, are marked; the firſt number, with the Letter C. is the Page of the *Collection*; the ſecond, with the Letter H. is the Page of the *Hiſtory*.

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7. *The King's Letter to the Colledg of Cardinals, from which it appears how much they favoured his Cauſe*	28	52
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10. *The Decretal Bull that was deſired in the King's Cauſe*	31	ibid
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FINIS.

Errata *in the* Collection of Records.

PAge 21. Line 4. *compendio*, read *Compendio*. P. 19. l. 32. *huic*, r. *hic*. P. 21. l. 23. *datum*, r. *datam*. P. 65. l. 30. before *to*, r. *than*. P. 38. l. 5. *and take*, r. *to take*; l. 22. *gentily*, r. *generally*. P. 111. the Marginal Note should stand 6 lines higher. P. 124. l. 14. *for*, r. *her*; l. 15. *Word*, r. *were*. P. 128. l. 12, 13, 14, 15, the *Comma's* are all wrong placed. P. 137. l. 42. *other*, r. *Oath*. P. 154. l. 19. *as if*, dele *as*. P. 157. l. 12. *here*, r. *have*. P. 190. l. 18. *our*, r. *your*. P. 220. l. 5. *Queſt.* 3. r. *Queſt.* 9. P. 269. l. 47. *Variety*, r. *Verity*. P. 285. l. 19, 28, r. 18. P. 305. l. 30. *in any*, r. *many*. P. 311. l. 41. *and*, r. *that*. P. 317. l. 26. *ſay-men*, r. *Lay-men*; l. 45. *refuge*, r. *refuſe*. P. 322. l. 30. *only*, r. *every*. P. 339. l. 35, 36. *fides lis*, r. *fidelis*.

Literal Faults, or eſcapes in the Punctuation, are left to the Reader's Correction.

Wm Magnes Cattlin

An ADVERTISEMENT.

THe Second Part of this Hiſtory, containing the Reigns of King *Edward* the 6th, Queen *Mary*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, is preparing, and will go to the Preſs with all convenient ſpeed, moſt of the Records and other Materials being already gathered.

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